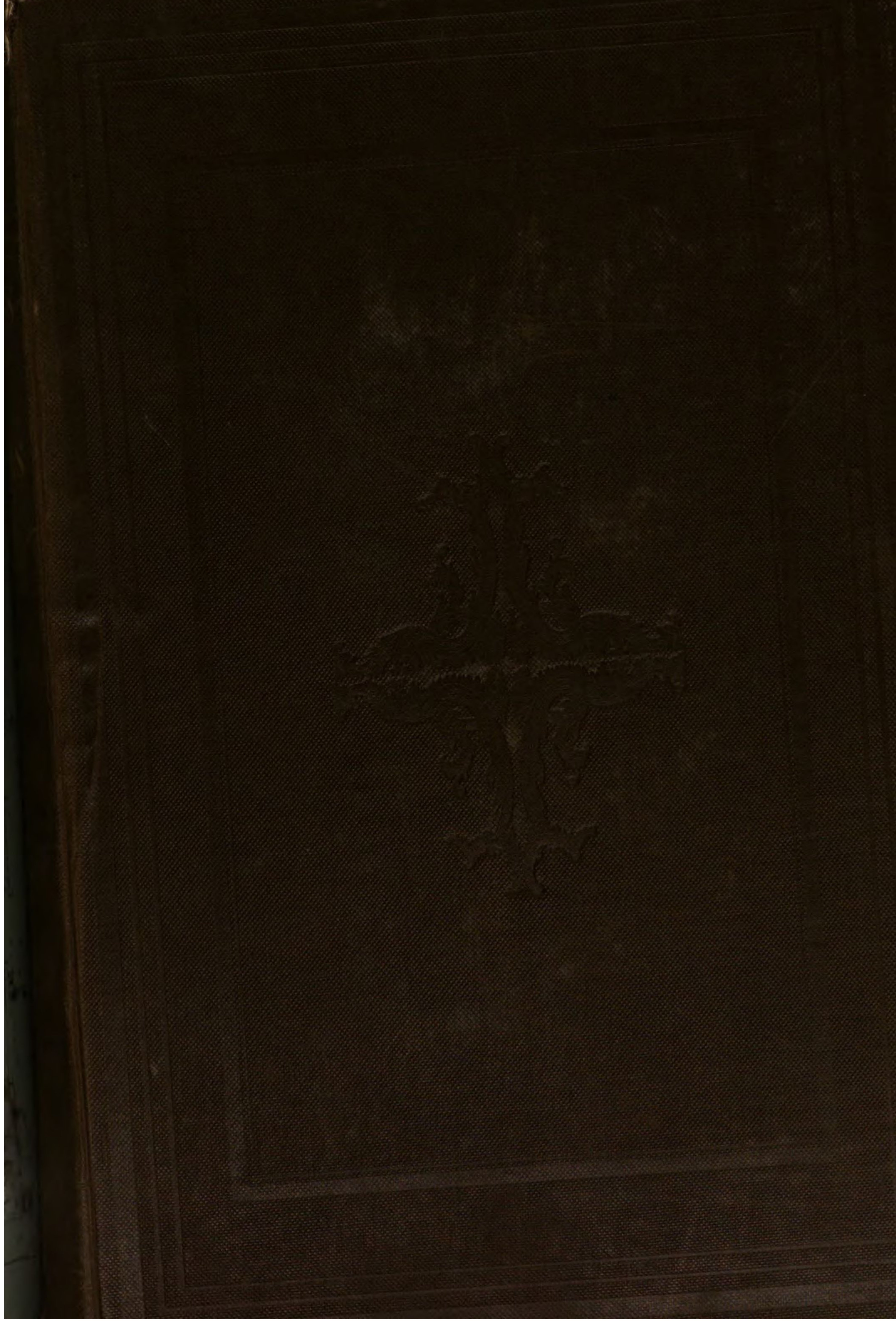




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LETTERS AND PAPERS

ROBERT WALTON

PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

M.DCCCXXVII

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS

BY DAVID LAING, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME SECOND

EDINBURGH

PRINTED FOR ROBERT LEITCH

49 SOUTH BRIDGE

1827

THE
LETTERS AND JOURNALS
OF

ROBERT BAILLIE, A.M.

PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

M.DC.XXXVII.—M.DC.LXII.

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M.DCCC.XLI.



EDINBURGH: ALEX. LAWRIE & CO. PRINTERS TO HER MAJESTY.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

LETTERS AND JOURNALS

OF

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

1642.

Page

Letter from Mr. Alexander Henderfon, 20th April,	1
—— to Mr. William Spang, 10th May,	2
Letters relating to Baillie's Translation to Glasgow.	
A. Letter from the Provost, &c. 7th March,	11
B. His Answer, 11th March,	12
C. 1. Letter from Mr. David Dickson, 28th March,	13
C. 2. ——— to Dr. Strang, (without date,)	14
C. 3. ——— to Mr. David Dickson, 21st March,	15
D. Supplication of the University, (without date,)	15
E. His Answer, in the Synod (without date,)	16
F. 1. Letter from Mr. Robert Ramsay, 16th April,	17
F. 2. ——— to the same, (without date,)	20
F. 3. ——— from Mr. David Dickson, 15th May,	21
F. 4. ——— to the same, 17th May,	22
F. 5. ——— to Mr. Robert Ramsay, 17th May,	23
F. 6. ——— from Mr. David Dickson, 26th May,	23
G. 1. ——— to Mr. Alexander Henderfon, 30th May,	24
G. 2. ——— to Lord Warriston, 30th May,	25
G. 3. ——— to Mr. Robert Blair, 30th [10th] May,	27
G. 4. ——— to the same, 30th May,	28
G. 5. ——— from Mr. Alexander Henderfon, 3d June,	29

	Page
Letter G. 6. ——— from Lord Warrifton, 2d June, .	30
G. 7. ——— from Mr. Robert Blair, 2d June, .	30
H. ——— to the Presbytery of Kilwinning, (with- out date,)	31
I. 1. ——— to Lady Montgomery, 28th May, .	34
I. 2. ——— to Lord Montgomery, (without date,) .	35
K. 1. ——— from the Principal and Professors of the University of Glasgow, 28th June, .	37
K. 2. ——— to the same, in June,	37
1643.	
Letter to Mr. William Spang, Postscript, (without date,) .	38
—— to Mr. George Young, (without date,)	39
—— to Lord Warrifton, (without date,)	40
—— to Mr. William Spang, 18th February,	42
—— to Mr. George Young, (without date,)	61
—— to Mr. William Spang, (without date,)	62
—— to the same, 2d June,	64
—— to the same, 26th July,	72
—— to the same, 22d September,	81
—— to Sir William Mure of Rowallane, 9th October, .	101
—— to Mr. William Spang, 17th November,	101
—— to Lord Warrifton, 5th December,	106
—— to Mr. William Spang, 7th December,	107
—— for Scotland, (without date,)	116
1644.	
Letter for Scotland, 1st January,	119
—— to Mr. William Spang, 1st January,	127
—— to the same, 18th February,	128
—— to the same, 10th March,	143
—— for Scotland, 2d April,	144
—— to Mr. David Dickson, (without date,)	155
—— to Mr. Robert Blair, 26th March,	159
—— to Mr. George Young, (without date,)	160
—— to Mr. William Spang, 12th April,	163
—— to the same, 19th April,	168

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

v

	Page
Letter to the same, 26th April, . . .	169
—— to Mr. David Dickson, 29th April, . . .	171
—— to the Earl of Eglintoun, 30th April, . . .	174
—— to Mr. William Spang, 3d May, . . .	174
—— to Mr. Robert Ramsay, 9th May, . . .	176
Memorandum to Mr. David Buchanan, (without date,) . . .	179
Letter to Mr. William Spang, (without date,) . . .	180
—— for Scotland, 14th May, . . .	182
—— to Mr. Spang, Postscript, 17th May, . . .	183
—— to Mr. Robert Blair, 19th May, . . .	185
—— to Mr. William Spang, 31st May, . . .	186
—— to Mr. George Young, 7th June, . . .	189
—— for Scotland, 7th June, . . .	190
—— to Mr. Spang, 9th June, . . .	193
—— for Scotland, (without date,) . . .	194
—— to Mr. Robert Ramsay, end of June, . . .	195
—— to Mr. Spang, 28th June, . . .	197
—— to the same, 5th July, . . .	200
—— to the same, 12th July, . . .	202
—— to Lieutenant-General Baylie, 16th July, . . .	206
—— to Captain Porterfield, 16th July, . . .	207
—— to Mr. Robert Blair, 16th July, . . .	208
—— to the Earl of Eglinton, 18th July, . . .	209
—— to Mr. David Dickson, 23d July, . . .	211
—— for Glasgow, 7th August, . . .	214
—— to Mr. Spang, 10th August, . . .	216
—— to James Mitchell, 13th August, . . .	219
—— for Scotland, 18th August, . . .	220
—— for Scotland, 28th August, . . .	223
—— to Mr. Spang, 13th September, . . .	225
—— for Scotland, 16th September, . . .	227
—— to Mr. David Dickson, 16th September, . . .	229
—— for Scotland, October, . . .	231
—— to Mr. William Spang, 25th October, . . .	232
—— to the same, 1st November, . . .	239
—— for Scotland, 21st November, . . .	241
—— for Scotland, 1st December, . . .	243
—— to Mr. Spang, 6th December, . . .	245
—— for Scotland, 26th December, . . .	246

	Page
Letter to Mr. Spang, 27th December;	250
—— to Mr. Buchanan, (without date,)	252
—— to the same, (without date,)	253
1645.	
Letter to Lord Warrifton, January,	254
His Affembly Speech at Edinburgh, 23d January,	255
Letter for Scotland, 25th April,	266
—— to Mr. Ramfay, 4th May,	270
—— to Mr. William Spang, (without date,)	275
—— to Mr. David Dickson, 10th June,	277
—— to Mr. Cranford, 17th June,	278
—— to the Earl of Lauderdale, 17th June,	279
Mr. Cranford's Information, &c. 10th June,	281
Letter to the Commiffioners of the Kingdom of Scotland,	
17th June,	282
—— for Glasgow, (without date,)	286
—— to Principal Strang, 1st July,	289
—— for Glasgow, 1st July,	291
—— to the Earl of Lauderdale, 1st July,	293
—— to Mr. George Young, 8th July,	295
—— to the Earl of Lauderdale, (without date,)	297
—— to the Earl of Eglinton, 8th July,	299
—— for Glasgow, 8th July,	300
—— to the Earl of Lauderdale, 15th July,	302
—— for Glasgow, 10th August,	304
—— for Glasgow, (without date,)	306
—— for Glasgow, (without date,)	309
—— to Mr. Spang, 15th August,	310
—— to Mr. Cranford, (without date,)	312
—— to Mr. Spang, 5th September,	313
—— for Glasgow, 14th October,	316
—— to Mr. George Young, October,	318
—— to Mr. Spang, 17th October,	321
—— to the same, 24th October,	323
—— for Glasgow, 25th November,	324
—— to Mr. Spang, 29th November,	327
—— for Glasgow, 2d December,	328
—— to Mr. John Row, (without date,)	329

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

vii

	Page
Letter to Sir William Mure of Rowallan, (without date,)	329
—— to Mr. Robert Dalgleish, (without date,)	330
—— to Mr. Robert Douglas, (without date,)	333
His advice to Mr. Rous, concerning the Erection of Congregational Elderships, &c. (without date,)	333

1646.

Letter Mr. Robert Ramfay, 15th January,	335
—— to Mr. William Spang, (without date,)	342
—— to Mr. Francis Roberts, 22d January,	345
—— to Mr. David Dickson, 31st January,	346
—— for Glasgow, in February,	349
—— to Mr. William Spang, 20th February,	351
—— from the Earl of Lanerick, 26th February,	353
—— to the same, (without date,)	354
—— to Mr. Dickson, a Postscript, 6th March,	356
—— to Mr. Roberts, (without date,)	358
—— from the same, (without date,)	358
—— to Mr. Roberts, (without date,)	359
—— to Mr. Dickson, 17th March,	360
—— to Mr. Spang, 3d April,	363
—— to the same, 23d April,	364
—— for Scotland, 24th April,	366
—— a Memorandum, 8th May,	370
—— to Mr. Spang, 15th May,	370
—— to Mr. Alexander Henderson, 16th May,	371
—— to the same, 18th May,	372
—— to Mr. David Calderwood, 19th May,	373
—— to Mr. Spang, 26th June,	374
—— for Glasgow, 14th July,	378
—— to Mr. Spang, 17th July,	380
—— to Mr. Henderson, 18th July,	381
—— to the same, (without date,)	382
—— to Mr. Calderwood, 4th August,	384
—— to Mr. Henderson, 4th August,	384
—— to Mr. Robert Blair, 4th August,	385
—— to Mr. Spang, 7th August,	386
—— to Mr. Henderson, 13th August,	387
—— to Mr. Blair, 18th August,	389

	Page
Letter to Mr. Dickson, 18th August,	390
—— to Mr. Ramfay, 18th August,	392
—— to Mr. Tate, (without date,) . . .	393
—— to William Murray, 8th September,	394
—— to the same, Memorandum for your Agent,	394
—— to the Earl of Lauderdale, (without date,) .	396
—— to Mr. Dickson, 22d September,	397
—— to Mr. Spang, 2d October,	398
—— to Mr. George Young, 13th October,	402
—— to Mr. Dickson, 27th October,	406
—— to Lord Warriston, 27th October,	407
—— to Mr. Blair, 3d November,	408
—— to Mr. Young, 1st December,	410
—— to Mr. James Robertson, 8th December,	413
—— to the Earl of Loudoun, 25th December,	414
—— to Mr. Spang, 24th December,	415
Lieutenant-Generall Baylie's Vindication of his Conduct at Kilfyth, 1645,	417

APPENDIX.

No. I.—LIST OF PAPERS INSERTED IN VOLUME FIRST AND
SECOND OF THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF BAIL-
LIE'S LETTERS AND JOURNALS, FROM 1642 TO
1646. 425

No. II.—ORIGINAL LETTERS AND PAPERS, CHIEFLY RELATING
TO ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND, 1639 to
1646.

(Continued from Vol. I. page 492.)

1639.

43. Dr. Balcanquhall's Queries to Charles the First, with
the King's Answers, 429

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ix

	Page
44. Letter from the Pastors and Professors of Zurich, Berne, &c. to Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury; with the Archbishop's Answer,	431
45. Letters to Dr. Balcanquhall, Dean of Durham,	435
1. From Jane Countess of Roxburghe, 20th May,	436
2. From the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, 12th June,	436
3. From Mr. Thomas Hamilton, 24th June,	437
4. From Mr. Richard Stewart, 27th June,	437
46. Letters to and from the Scottish Army, in May and June.	
1. From General Lesley to the Committee at Edinburgh,	438
2. From Lord Loudoun and others, to the same,	439
3. From Lord Yester and others, to the same, 30th May,	440
4. From Lord Balmerinoch to General Lesley, 27th May,	441
5. To the Earls of Montrose and Marisbal, 28th May,	441
6. From General Lesley, and others, 4th June,	442
47. The Supplication for Translating Mr. Robert Baillie to Glasgow, with his Reasons against it,	443
48. Instructions to the Earl of Loudoun, 1st November,	449
49. Letter from Johnstone of Warriston to Baillie, 25th December,	450

1640.

50. Letter from the Ministers of Edinburgh to Presbyteries, 3d March,	461
51. Baillie's Overtures respecting the College of Glasgow,	463
52. Bond of the Marquis of Montrose, &c.	467
1. The Bond subscribed by Montrose and other Noblemen,	467
2. Declaration of the Noblemen who subscribed the Bond,	468
3. Declaration of the Assembly respecting such Bonds,	469
53. Letter from General Sir A. Lesley to the Committee of Parliament, 2d September,	470

	Page
54. Letter from the Earl of Argyle to James Douglas of Stanipeth, 19th September,	471
55. Letter from Alexander Balfour to his brother Sir James Balfour of Denmylne, December,	472
1641.	
56. Letter from John Lord Maitland to Lord Balmerinoch, 2d March,	473
57. The Inventory of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Papers, subscribed by Adam Blair, 17th June,	474
58. Supplication to the King from the Commissioners of the General Assembly; and the King's Answer,	476
1642.	
59. Reasons for appointing Ruling Elders as Commissioners to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, by Mr. Robert Baillie, November,	478
1643.	
60. The King's Letter to the Toun of Glasgow, April,	479
The Earl of Lanerick's Letter to the same, May,	480
61. Mr. Samuel Rutherford to Mr. Thomas Wylie, 20th October,	481
1644.	
62. Letter from the Scottish Commissioners at London, to Mr. Robert Douglas, 29th January,	481
63. Letters of Mr. Alexander Henderfon to the same, (in 1643 and 1644,)	483
64. Letter from Mr. Thomas Henderfon to the same, 5th November,	486
1645.	
65. Papers concerning the Lord Savile's Business, April to July,	487

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xi

	Page
66. Letters from Mr. George Gillespie at London :	
1. To Mr. Robert Douglas, 10th September 1643,	499
2. To Mr. Robert Morray, 11th September 1644,	500
3. To Mrs. Gillespie, 6th November 1644,	502
4. To Mr. Robert Morray, 22d November 1644,	502
5. To Mrs. Gillespie, 29th April 1645,	503
6. To Mr. Robert Morray, 9th May 1645,	504
7. To the fame, 21st May 1645,	506
8. To the fame, 5th August 1645,	508
9. To the fame, 27th February 1646,	509
10. To the fame, 3d July 1646,	509
11. To the fame, 8th December 1646,	511
12. To the fame, 20th March 1647,	512

1646.

67. Letter from Major-General Middleton to Mr. Robert Douglas, 17th March,	512
68. Letter from Mr. David Dickson, &c., to the fame, 2d April,	513
69. Memorandum for the Lord Balcarras, 4th May,	514
70. Letter from Lord Balmerinoch, 11th July,	515
71. Letter from the Scottish Commissioners at London, 10th September,	516

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

66	Letter from Mr. George Gilchrist at London	499
1	To Mr. Robert Douglas, 10th September 1843	500
2	To Mr. Robert Murray, 11th September 1844	503
3	To Mrs. Gilchrist, 23d November 1844	503
4	To Mr. Robert Murray, 23d November 1844	503
5	To Mrs. Gilchrist, 20th April 1845	504
6	To Mr. Robert Murray, 9th May 1845	506
7	To the same, 21st May 1845	508
8	To the same, 6th August 1845	509
9	To the same, 27th February 1846	510
10	To the same, 1st July 1846	511
11	To the same, 8th December 1846	512
12	To the same, 20th March 1847	512

1846

67	Letter from Mr. General Nicholson to Mr. Robert Douglas, 17th March	512
68	Letter from Mr. David Dickson, Secy to the same, 2d April	513
69	Memorandum for the Lord Treasurer, 11th May	514
70	Letter from Lord Robertson, 11th June	515
71	Letter from the Scottish Commissioners at London, 10th September	516

LETTERS AND JOURNALS

OF

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

VOLUME SECOND.—M.DC.XLII.—M.DC.XLVI.

LETTERS AND JOURNALS

OF

MR. ROBERT BAYLIE.

VOLUME SECOND. M.DCC.LXII-M.DCC.LXVI.

LETTERS AND JOURNALS

OF

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

MR. HENDERSON'S LETTER TO ME. ⁽¹⁾

REVEREND AND LOVING BROTHER,

I HAVE perused your papers, and I thank God for your judgment, zeall, and paynes, which I hope shall prove verie profiteable and usefull to many; yet would I wish you to advyse whether it be expedient to publish them presentlie, for two causes: One is, because much more, I heare, is latelie come to light on both sides, in Holland and England, than we have yet seen, which being perused by you will make your work more perfect: The other cause is, that it would seem good yet once againe in the Generall Affemblie to trie the estate of our Kirks, and whether such a work be necessarie; and therefore I wish you had it readie for the presse against the Affemblie, and in the mean while you may give copies, in write, to whom you think meet. This is my wonted libertie, but with submission to your owne judgment.

I did begin to put my hand to the task put upon me, ⁽²⁾ but

⁽¹⁾ This Letter occurs towards the end of the Second Volume of Baillie's MS. among Letters chiefly written in 1647. It is preceded by the Author's address "For the Æquitable Reader," intended to accompany "A Treatise against the Brownists; which, on Mr. Henderson his advyce, I kept in till it came out in my Dissuasive [1646] more fullie and seasonable." This sufficiently explains the first part of the letter.

⁽²⁾ See vol. i. pp. 365, 376, for the task which was laid upon Henderson by the General Assembly in 1641, and which was happily accomplished three years later by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

have ceased long since : because, (1.) I had no tyme, being taken up with the charge of a whole parochie, in discipline, visitation, and catechiseing. (2.) Although I had not been soe busied with those, and a multitude of affaires beside, I confesse I found it a work farr surpassing my strength ; nor could I take upon me either to determine some poynts controverted, or to sett downe other formes of prayer than we have in our Psalme Book, penned by our great and divine Reformers. (3.) Although neither time nor weakness had hindered, I cannot think it expedient that anie such thing, whether Confession of Faith, Direction for Worshipec, Forme of Government, or Catechisme Less or more, should be agreed upon and authorized by our Kirk till we see what the Lord will doe in England and Ireland, where I still wait for a reformation and uniformitie with us ; but this must be brought to passe by common consent, and we are not to conceive that they will embrace our Forme ; but a new Forme must be sett downe for us all, and in my opinion some men sett apart sometime for that worke ; and although we should never come to this unitie in religion, and uniformitie in worship, yet my desire is to see what Forme England shall pitch upon before we publish ours. All this I write to you ingeniousslie, without professing, that, in the midst of manie difficulties and discouragements, I shall be willing to obey the voice of my brethren, and of none more than your owne, whom I heartilie love, and doe highlie reverence, as becometh

Your faithfull Brother,

Edinburgh, April 20th 1642.

ALEX^R. HENDERSON.

To MR. W. SPANG.

COUSINE,

THE reason why this long tyme yow have gotten bot few and short letters from me is, that I did wait long for our Acts of Parliament, by them to goe on in my narration of the storie of our Parliament, as I had begun. Bot before these came out, I was involved in so manie private affaires, that till now, I could have no thought of wryting any long letter ; and at this verie tyme, thrice preaching a-week, dailie catechiseing before the communion, the contraverfie to be handled by me before the Presbytrie, and, which vexes me more than all, the over-pressing call of my removeing to Glasgowe, makes my leasure bot small ; also the tyme is so long, and my thoughts have been so diverted, that I pro-

fesse forgetfullness will hinder me to give yow any such accompt of our affaires as some tyme I have done : onlie, that yow have no quarrell with me at meeting, which I hope shall be shortlie, I thought good to wryte this one. I am content that my letters from the Assemblie have so weell satisfied your session, that yow and they minde to give readie obedience by your prefence at St. Andrewes, the 27th of July nixt as I take it. Yow have here my Lord Eglintoun his armes and styles ; faill not to have that Cart of the sherifdome of Aire ⁽³⁾ to his Lordship from yow weell dedicat to him. I should wish his sonne, my Lord Montgomerie, had the Cart of Barranthrow ⁽⁴⁾ dedicat to him ; for no man hes such propertie into it as he : by the election of the Shyre, he was their onlie crouner in all the great service.

I gave yow ane account of what passed betuixt Glasgou and me, the last Generall Assemblie : for a while that matter lay dead ; now and then in my secret thoughts I had me rejagges (?), finding that I trifled much good tyme in ryding and idleness and poor studies, which I would have employed much better for the publick, if I had accepted Glasgou's call ; bot those thoughts I suppressed, thinking that ease and quietness was to be embraced, whatsoever the call to labour was resistable with a good conscience. In Glasgou, the grief was universall for my losse ; bot since the matter was remediless, they sett themselves to provyde their places, which, till then, for my cause, they had kept vacant. While Mr. David Dickson was in England, Patrick Bell, with Mr. Robert Ramfay's consent, had gotten in Mr. Edward Wright ; his humour at once did kythe much crosse to Mr. David. In a short tyme there arose such a faction in the Town, and Presbytrie, that to hold doune Mr. David, least he should, as they feared, take too much upon him, whatever he intended in Town, or Presbytrie, it was all crossed. The King's Majestie, for all that could be done, would needs choose the Town's magistrates this year himself ; and for that effect sent Sir Robert Gordoun down with his commission. It was thought Patrick would have done more, had not partlie irritation and partlie vexation of minde, by a number of the Town's men, troubled him ; for a number of them, as was thought most from spleen, gave in to the Parliament ane odious lybell

⁽³⁾ In Bleau's "Atlas Scotiæ," (see vol. i. p. 368, note,) the map of Cunningham, one of the three Divisions of Ayrshire, is dedicated to Alexander Earl of Eglintoun.

⁽⁴⁾ Barranthrow, or Renfrewshire.

againſt him, as ane extortioner of the cuſtomes above the Book of Rates. I was witneſs of his offers to them of all reaſonable ſatiffaction; which being refuſed, at laſt after much perplexitie, by his known honeſtie and the diligence of his manie great friends, he gott himſelf weell expedit to their ſmall contentment, who had been his untymous troublers. However, he would not medle with any office in the Town; yet it ſeems Sir Robert Gordoun did follow his advyce to nominate theſe Magiſtrates who were moſt according to his minde; who were no ſooner placed, bot they were as carefull to have the Deacons and all other officers placed according to their humour. The laſt year they found that Mr. David had made them faſhrie, by the ſeſſion making them to give a call to Mr. James Sharp to their miniſtrie; therefore, to preveen the lyke, they reſolved to chooſe a ſeſſion after their own minde. The cuſtome of Glaſgow, as they alleadge, time out of minde, was that the Magiſtrates and Miniſters, in a private meeting, did elect the ſeſſion. That cuſtome was evidentlie wrong; Mr. David and Mr. Robert Ramſay deſyred them to amend it, and required, that the old ſeſſion ſhould chooſe the new: this they peremptorie refuſed; onlie they aſſent to follow whatever order the Generall Aſſemblie ſhould preſcryve; bot for Mr. David Dickſoun's reformation they would none of it. Mr. Edward went their way, ſo the ſeſſion was choſen by the Magiſtrates and Mr. Edward. Mr. Robert Ramſay, by Mr. David's advyce, was keeped from a proteſtation, bot did the equivalent, reading in publicke, after ſermon, Reaſons why that form of election was vitious: this did much increaſe the diviſion. Bot ane other miſ-accident made the matter farr worſe, and near to ſome violent and ſhameful extreame. The Town in their concluſion with the King, had accepted the right of their perſonage, and the ſpiritualitie of the Biſhoprick, for all that they craved for the maintainance of their miniſters and cathedrall: of the perſonage, dureing Blantyre his tack, they were to get nothing bot the teyndſ of the Town, which would do no more than pay Mr. Edward Wright; out of the ſpiritualitie, till the tacks fell, they were to gett bot little, not at moſt one miniſter's ſtipend. It was provyded by Act of Parliament, that in everie Cathedrall there ſhould be a preacher provyded out of the firſt of the Biſhops rents. Mr. Patrick Gilleſpie coming to viſite his good-fiſter, the Lady Sinclair, did preach in the town to all their good lyking. The Provost, James Stewart, made him burgeſſe, at the table, before the Magiſtrates who were preſent; among other cour-

teous words, the Provost told him, he wished he might supplie one of their vacant places. Mr. David finding him a good young man, and, as some say, singularlie weel qualified, encouraged him to seek a presentation to the Cathedrall; this by his brother Mr. George his allay, William Murray, he obtains from the King, and comes with it to the Presbytrie. The Town Councill were highlie displeased that any man, let be a young man and meer stranger, without their advyce, should offer himself to their chief place, and that to ten chalders victual, did oppose his presentation. Mr. David Dickfoun, and these who favoured him, did assist the young man with all their power. In the Town Councill while the rest voyces to oppose, Gabriell [Cunninghame,] James Stewart, George Porterfield not only dissent, bot the nixt Presbytrie day, when James Bell and others from the Councill compeared to oppose, they give in a wryt in their own name, and all who would adhere, requireing the young man might be receaved to his tryall according to his presentation; to this their wryte a number of the burgessees did adhere. The Councill did summond those three to compear the nixt day before them to hear themselves decerned perjured and unfaithfull to the Town, and so to forfault all their liberties. They did compear, and appeal to the Councill of Scotland; they procured the Chancellor's letter to the Magistrates, commanding them to surceasse till the Councill took notice of their proceedings. In the meane tyme, the one part is urging Mr. Hugh Blair's transportation to Mr. Robert Wilkie's place, the other, Mr. James Sharp to Mr. John Bell's. It was much feared, and too like to have gone to ane publick tumult; never such an unhappie division, the one part counting Mr. Edward, the Magistrates, the Councill, and these that followed them, men irreligious and prophane; the other proclaiming as great disrespect of Mr. D[ickson] and Mr. R. R[amsay,] and their favourers. All in the town men and women, [yea] the whole Presbytrie was cutted in two, not one of any credit to deall betwixt them: here both the fydes cryed out on me, alleadging all of them ever, that if I had been among them they would have easilie composed or preveened all these differences. I thought them in ane error, and was glad I was farr away, bot from my heart pitied them, and wished fundrie things on both hands had not been. Allwayes whill thir jarrs are running to the Councill, my Lord Argyle moved them to draw up ane submission on both hands to himself, the Chancellor, and Glencairne, their neighbours: nothing yet is decerned, and neither as appears in haste can be; yet

since that submission all lyes over, and is quiet. This was the state of Glasgow, as they said, all through my default.

As for my estate this was a part of it. Robert Livingstoun had been a maine instrument of bringing me to Kilwinning; at his death he intrusted me most with all his affairs, he was my most special friend, and I his, since our first acquaintance. My Lord Montgomerie, I knew, was obliged to him so farr by good services and faithfull promises, as any master could be to a servant; for all that, doe I what I could, his Lordship incontinent began to deall with his wife, as I thought, not only unkindlie, bot unjustlie. I knew his Lordship could never be so much obliged to me, nor any living, as he had been to Robert Livingstoun. Wherefore seeing his carriage towards that man's widow and orphanes, who were most entrusted to me, I resolved to putt him to present tryall what he would doe to my self, to whom he professed more than ordinarie kindness. Since the thirty-fifth year of God, my stipend had been verie evill payed, and farre worse than any man's I knew, he was onlie due to me for it; I therefore sent to his Lordship, and required that some better dutie might be done: fair words anew and promises were given; bot pressing that his Lordship might doe something, and cause give me either money or his band, for a part at leist of what was long due, it was refused. When I sent word that such usadge would make me think of a transportation, the motion was misregarded; so I concluded, that however I would think nought of my transportation, yet that I would expect no more favour of that man of whom I had gott such a prooffe. Farder, I had been oft grieved with the excessive drinking of fundry of my parochiners: when my Lord Eglintoun's daughter, my Lady Yester, was going to be married, I went over and admonished my Lord, and his children, and his servants, that they would beware of excessse; and in regard my Lord Seatoun, Lord Semple, and other papists, would be present, I entreated the ordinar exercises of religion in the familie might not be omitted, for their pleasure; notwithstanding all were omitted. My Lord Eglintoun himself stayed out of the Kirk on Sondag afternoon to bear my Lord Seatoun company. My Lord Montgomerie having invited all the company to his house, there was among the Lords more drink than needed; among some of the gentlemen and servants evident drunkenness. One that served a gentleman of my flock, who oft before had been excessive in drinking, within two days being in companie with a gentleman of our neighbour parochie,

with whom at Newcastle, when both had been in drink, he had ane idle quarrell, they fell in words, though neither then was drunk, the other strook him dead with a whinger at one stroke, and for this his rashness, had his head the nixt day stroke off by the Justice. It had been a verie great losse of both the young gentlemen. The day thereafter, being Sondag, I was in high passion, Satan having so much prevailed at my elbow, and in the zeale of God, in presence of all, did sharpelie rebuke all sins came in my way, especiallie drunkenness and cold-ryfness in religion; somewhat also of the breach of Covenant was spoken. This was evill taken by manie of the Lords, bot Callendar was most displeased: Eglintoun thought himself publickly taxed, and complained to everie one he mett with. To all that spoke to me, I replied, I had not spoken any thing personallie, bot when upon so horrible occasion God's Spirit had moved me, from the word of God, to rebuke open sin, if any took it in evill part, they behooved to know I was the servant of God, and would not spare to reprove sin in the face of King Charles, let be of all the Earles of Scotland; and if this displeased them, I wish they were assured it should be bot a beginning; so long as they were my parochiners they should have much more of it. When my Lord Eglintoun some twenty days thereafter drew me by and admonished me sharplie of that day's extravagancie and fume, (as he spake,) I told him, I had done nought bot my dutie, whereof I did not repent, nor would not be directed by him in my sermons, and if he was displeased with my ministrie, he should not be long troubled with it. These things going farr and broad, bot not by me directlie nor indirectlie, Glasgow thought it then high tyme to stirr: hoping that these grounds of malcontentment would move me to accept a place with them, they sent to solist me by diverse, and wrote to me a publick letter subscribed by their whole Councill, with verie manie fair words (A.): I returned to them a courteous answer (B.); bot withall peremptorlie refused the call, and wryt privatlie to my friends that they would desist; for it was not possible, in regard of the sentence of the Generall Assemblie, that I could come to them. With much adoe I got them to cease, but when they leave off, the Universitie begins: they give me a verie heartie call to a Divinitie Profession (C.); this affrays my people, Presbytrie, and my selfe, more than all that had been before: the Generall Assemblie had given to Universities almost a Sovereigne power to call to their profession any Minister of the land; onlie in the last Assemblie overtures were made, that no

minister should be transported any where till his people and Presbytrie were duly advertised. The Univerſitie did ſend a Commiſſioner with letters to our Presbytrie, and my Seſſion, on the days that were appointed and were ordinarie, immediatelie before the Provinciaall Synod ; bot upon extraordinar occaſion, both the Presbytrie and my people had prevented that day, knowing truelie nothing of the Univerſities purpoſe. The letters, and Dr. Maine, the carrier, required the calling of both meetings ; bot I being Moderator of both, could not call a meeting for ſuch a purpoſe. When we came to the Provinciaall, with too great a conſent the Moderation is laid upon me ; when it came to my own cauſe I gave the chayre to Mr. James Cunninghame : my perplexitie here was great. I was dealt with by Mr. D. D. and Mr. R. R., by my friends, by the chief of both ſydes in that toun, with all earneſtneſs to accept ; I remember that thoſe who had the chief hand in the Univerſitie both of St. Andrewes, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, had dealt with me latelie to accept a charge in all thrie Univerſities ; on the other hand, the difficultie of the charge, and my preſent inabilities, the pitifull and paſſionate dealing of a moſt loving people and Presbytrie ; my fear of ſuch croſſes, as the moſt of transporters fell in, theſe and other conſiderations, held the ballance evin : I made God my refuge, and caſt over on his wiſdome my fooliſhneſs. To the Univerſities ſupplication (D.), I read my answer (E.): It was a humble deſyre, for the reaſons I had given oft before, I might be permitted to die with my flock. Notwithſtanding it was voyced unanimouſlie that I ſhould transport. My Presbytrie did appeall to the Generall Aſſemblie, in regard that formalitie in advertiſeing them had not been uſed. My Lord Eglintoun was in town the day before ; I deſyred him to be preſent ; bot partlie for fear to be affronted by the Synod in his face, and partlie by the conſent of thoſe of my brethren who faireſt would have kept me ſtill, his Lordſhip refuſed to be preſent, which did further much the Synod's ſentence againſt me. Since that tyme, I am holden waking. Continuall letters and meſſages from the Toun to draw me, and much dealing by my Lord and others here to hold me, and what to doe I know not yet ; onlie I am inclyning to think it is God's will that I ſhould goe to Glaſgow, and yet I dare not be reſolute ſo to doe. Lord help me ! I am here verie weak, and knowes not what is beſt ; yet I moſt ſhortlie be at ſome point.

For our publick affaires, yow ſhall, with the nixt, expect from me a large narration : for the tyme I have no more leaſure. I

thank yow for Pagett, I have not yet read him. Johnstoun is one of the poorest pedants, and most unable for storie, of any I ever saw in print ⁽⁵⁾: yow would deall, and I shall also endeavour it, for the credite of the nation, and the poor man's also, who hes left in legacie to diverse places in our countrie large sounes of monie, that the rest of his books may be suppressed. I write to yow oft about Salmasius, Vossius, and Heinsius setting on work; and the setting of your Printers on work, for the giving us the Septuagint, the Targum, the Talmud, and other Hebrew books, in little handsome volumnes, with the points; to which motion yow never yet answered. Poor Cochrane ⁽⁶⁾, his credite is undone among us; my heart pities his misfortune. Upon the back of that foule plott, when he had gott his libertie, while he is attending the Councill for his payes and recompense for his negotiation abroad, the brute raises, that the ship of coppar he had obtained from Sweden for our use, and which he was ordained to send back with manie thanks, that he had sent it to Amsterdam to be sold for his own use: for this slander he is accused before the Councill; he denies it absolutely, with oaths. Whill they are goeing about the trying of it, without good night to any, he convoys himself away to York to the King; had not some of his friends prevented it, it was moved, in the Councill, to execute him in effigie for that base wrong done to the two nations: the word goes that in Sweden he is hanged in effigie. He was weell receaved by the King, and sent over sea, for what it is not yet known: there was never a sojour of his years of so great credite and expectation universallie in all our land, and now none universallie in such disgrace; from my heart I wish he might clear himself of these blames.

I marvell yow let us hear nothing of that so much noised sedition, they say is among yow there for our Queen's cause. Let us hear what is doing at Hagg [the Hague.] I am glad for the judgement of God against Culen. I hope, when the Bavarian Army is separate from the Emperor, and when Leopold and Piccolomenie leaves it all to Lovineburg's command, that the Sweds

⁽⁵⁾ Dr. Robert Johnstone, whose posthumous work, "*Historia Rerum Britannicarum*," was printed at Amsterdam in 1655, folio. The first portion of it, alluded to in the text, was published under this title "*Roberti Johnstoni Scoti-Britanni Historiarum*," &c. (1572-1581,) libri duo, &c. Amstelodami, 1641, 12mo.

⁽⁶⁾ Col. John Cochrane, who is previously mentioned by Baillie, (see vol. i. pp. 260, 393.)

getting Gustave Horne for their head, shall doe some service this Summer. It is like, that since France in earnest fetts on Spaine, and the Portugalls diverts him on the other fyde, that God's vengeance may come on Spain ere it be long, for all the rivers of blood they have shed since they grew great. What the Cardinall can mean by his tampering with Protestants at such a tyme, I cannot dream. I hope against my nixt come to yow, yow will be making readie to come over. My heartie service to your Wife; she will be most welcome to all your friends, and to none more than to me. The Lord be with yow.

Your Brother,

Kilwinning, 10th May 1642.

R. BAILLIE.

A POSTSCRIPT.

AFTER the sentence of the Synod, I found my mind more inclynable to Glasgowe than before, and declared so to fundrie of my acquaintance; yet could not see a means of so fair a looseing as I desyred. The Presbytrie was irritat with the too precipitat sentence of the Synod, as they called it; the chief of the brethren would not by any means grant me a dimissoun. Mr. Hew Mackaill and Mr. John Neve [Nevay] were said to be content of my removeall, that their authoritie in Presbytrie might increase; to refute this false and idle slander, they would demonstrate their desyre of my stay. Mr. John Bell and Mr. William Ruffell were said to be aiming at my place; to clear themselves of so wicked ane imputation, they would kyth passionat for my retention. However, their love to me, and their fear to be vexed with my succeffor, together with their professed designe to please my people, that they might have the more hand with them in planting my place, made them much more averse than reason or true affection to my credit would permitt: the rest followed these four to advyse me to permitt their appeal to be discuffed by the Generall Assemblie: this same was the disposition of my parochie. Mr. Claud Hamiltoun, through his preposterous love to me, was too buffie to put all my people in hope of getting me kept, unlesse I would take it upon me to remove; by the whilk, they were unwilling to dismisfe: these things put me to much fashrie and perplexitie of minde. Mr. David and Mr. R. Ramfay did presse me continuallie with letters (F.); for my coming to them was the onlie hope they had of a peaceable ministrie there; if my cause came to the Generall Assemblie, they were desperat to carrie it: so small respect had the town of Glasgowe

hitherto found in all their contests with my Lord Eglintoun. At last, I fell on this expedient, to wryte to Mr. Alexander Henderfoun, and Mr. Blair, also to Sir Archibald Johnstoun, for their advyce. My letters and their answers yow have at (G.) Mr. Alexander Henderfoun his letter chieflie did put my mind to rest; whereupon I resolved, and did declare myself to the Presbytrie, as yow have at (H.) However, my great grief for my Lord Montgomerie his change of partie, notwithstanding of all I could either say or wryte to him (J.), and for his presenting that infamous supplication, did further me in my purpose to leave him; yet he was verie vehement in the Presbytrie that day for my stay, as also my Lord of Eglintoun, his father, thereafter in the visitation of our church. The Colledge was not content with all this, bot pressed me (K.) to enter in possession before the Assemblie, lest if I delayed, I should be caught be Edinburgh. This I was most loath to doe (L.); yet finding both my Presbytrie and people misregardfull of all I said of my danger to be transported elsewhere, I was necessitate to goe this far on also, and to begin my profession before the Assemblie; which thereafter I found the best of it, for hereby I was freed of the appeall, and of Edinburgh's call, which was more reall and true than my people would ever believe. I profess I am fallen in my people's misconstruction; bot this I digest, upon the conscience of my honest designes, and their small deserving at my hand who make most dinn for my removeall. I must learn to walk through the way of evill report, to me hitherto unknowne, and to sacrifice to the service of God that my verie darling of credite.

[LETTERS RELATING TO BAILLIE'S TRANSLATION TO GLASGOW.]

(A.) GLASGOW'S LETTER TO ME.

SIR,

NOTWITHSTANDING our former sutes and endeavours for yow have not had the desyred successe, we purpose not to give over, in hope that, if nothing else, yet at last the importunitie of your Mother Citie shall prevail with yow. Wee therefore of the Councell of Glasgou, for ourselves, and in name of the whole Incorporation, doe againe heartilie call yow to employ your talent amongst us where yow first receaved it. Sir, we need not use arguments with yow, who can better move them to yourself; for what ne-

cessitie we have of pastors, and conveniencie to have yow, yourself knowes. Onlie we desyre yow to advert, that this reiterate calling is of God, who we hope intends your comeing. Struggle not, therefore, we intreat yow, bot yield to your Master who calls yow hither; where, we are perswaded, yow shall live with alse much love and lykeing, and be alse able to doe good in your ministrie as any where else. We committ yow and your resolution hereanent to the mercies of God, and rest,

Your most loving Friends,

HENRY GLEN.	WM. STEWART, Provest.
THOMAS MORSOUN.	JO. ANDERSOUN, Baillie.
WILLIAM NEILSOUN.	JA. BELL, Baillie.
MR. HARIE GIBSON, Clerk.	MANASSES LYELL, Baillie.
JAMES PADIE.	WALTER STIRLING.
JOHN ANDERSOUN.	JOHN BARNS, Deane of Gild.
JAMES TRAN.	NINIAN GILLHAGIE.
COLINE CAMPBELL.	ARCHBALD FAULDS.
JAMES COLHOUN.	GAWAN NESBITT.
	WALTER DOUGLASS.

Glasgow, March 7th 1642.

(B.) MY ANSWER.

FOR THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL HIS WORTHIE FRIENDS THE
PROVEST, BAILLIES, AND COUNCILL OF GLASGOW.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

THE continuance, if not contrare, yet far above my deserving, of your desyre towards my ministrie, makes me sorie that I am not hable to give yow satisfiactioun: truelie, I am no wayes senseless neither of my manifold obligations towards that place where I got my life, my grace, my letters, my means, and all I have, nor of the diverse opportunities, which, by the blessing of God, with your love there, I might possiblief have to doe good both to myself and others, more than I have where I am. There is, I confesse, inviteing arguments anew, that might inclyne a more stable minde nor myne to hearken to your most loving call; bot I am still restrained by that whereof oft I wryt to yow. My conscience permitts me not to loose myself from my flock; and albeit I were so willing to be loosed, as indeed I dare not, for fear of sin, have any such resolution, yet

the sentence of the Generall Assemblie, ordaining me to stay where I am, and not come to yow, is so clear, that if I would assay to doe any thing to the contrare, I could not eschew the censure of lightness and worse faults. Wherefore I must intreat yow would be pleased to take in good part, not my excuse, bot my necessitate refusall of your undeserved desyres, lest if yow should insist any longer, yow should fall again into that inconvenient, whereof ever I gave clear warning; I meane the keeping of a place vacant for me for no purpose, bot the losse of labour, tyme, and means, to yow; of which evill, as I was before, so now much more would I be forie to be reputed ane occasion to yow, unto whose more than ordinar affection I professe myself singularlie oblinded, and willing in any thing else, that may stand with my conscience and honestie, to give all contentment. So, wishing the best blessings of God upon your good Toune, I rest

Your much oblinded to serve yow, and everie one of yow,
R. BAILLIE.

Kilwinning, March 11th 1642.

(C. 1.) TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I KNOW yow have your own miscontentments in the place where yow are, which I foresaw and told yow of before, and yow have used your own way in refusing apparentlie God's calling elsewhere; and namelie to Glasgow, in such a way as none could but yield unto yow, except they would have resolved extreamlie to crosse and grieve yow; if yow doe so still, it is in vain for any man, bot for your enemies, to move any thing for your transportation. Yow know the estate of the Colledge for the present, and all our parts: yow remember also that yow have made this a main exception against the taking on a profession in the Colledge, that yow doubted whether yow might be able and fitt to discharge your self as became, whereof we and such as know yow, makes no doubt. Now the matter is so contrived in God's providence, as I see not how yow can refuse the call, as yow will particularlie see by the bearer. Therefore my advyce to yow as to a friend is this, that yow professe to your brethren openlie, and to all your friends, that seeing the Colledge of Glasgow, which hes such interest in yow, doe call unto yow to undertake a profession, which as yow dare not altogider refuse, so till

yow take tryall how yow may be worthie of the trust put upon yow, yow cannot so deep ingadge into as to be fast for ever: If the Colledge will be content with what yow can doe convenientlie for a year or two, whill yow are upon a course of fitting your studies for that service, then yow will yield unto them, and cannot refuse, having so fair an offer of being free, if yow find not yourself after such a tyme able and willing to be tyed dureing life unto them. If thus yow doe, I say it is weell; your brethren and your parochie shall find yow allwayes the same; the sentence of the Generall Assemblie is duly respected, and your credit is provyded for, for the present, and for tyme to come, whatsoever hand yow shall turn yourself to, after two years serving the profession as yow may. Bot if this course seem not good in your eyes, I should be glad to hear your reasons, face to face; that either ye might make me of your mind, or I yow of my mind, and both might rest; for till now, doe what I could, I was never able to find a lyklye ground to goe upon to bring yow hither, since the Generall Assemblie gave their sentence. What comfort yow may, God willing, expect in our fellowship, I will not speak much of it, wishing rather reallie to be friendlie than largelie to undertake. The Lord direct you, and I rest

Your loving Brother,
DAVID DICKSONE.

March 28th, 1642.

I remember that the granting of this condition (which I have wished yow to crave,) to Trochrig, made him yield to the calling, and till the Colledge granted him this condition he would not accept. I have no more to say till I see yow face to face, and I pray God direct this work.

(C. 2.) FOR DR. STRANG.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I RECEIVED the Universities letters and mind by Dr. Maine. I cannot bot thankfullie acknowledge the kind respects and undeserved esteem of yow all towards me; yet to yield to your desyres I dare not: my desyre to stay with my flock, and my sense of insufficiencie for these things yow must expect from any man that can serve in that charge yow call me unto, forces me to beware to give my assent. Alwayes I take the Assemblies to be judges ordinar

of our Church, who must decide all contraverfies of this kind; if they fhall favour me and my flock fo farre, as hitherto they have done, to permitt us to dwell together, I trust yow will not take in evill part that equitable fentence. So, intreating yow will be pleased to report to the Venerable Univerfitie this my anfwer; and to remember my beft affections to Mr. David, Mr. Ro. Ramfay, and all the Regents,

I reft your beloved Brother to ferve yow,

R. BAILLIE.

(C. 3.) FOR MR. D. DICKSONE.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

AFTER long filence I have receaved three of your letters latelie: your purpofe I doe conjecture; I professe I am perplexed about it: diverfe both naturall and spirituall confiderations inclyning me to yield to your defyres; diverfe both naturall and spirituall confiderations more ftronglie drawing me back from all fuch thoughts; and what to refolve I know not, bot am cafting my follie on God's wifdome, and laying out all my finfull infirmities before his mercie, and waiting how he who hes guided my rash fimplicite, in all bygone tymes, in a moft fatherlie and fweet way, will refolve my mind. I defyre not to come in to your Toune before the Affembly, neither can I goodlie doe it. I expect your prayers to God for me, that when I am tempted by fo manie of yow, I may for your pleasure and perfuafion doe nothing that may be difhonourable to his name, nor hurtfull to any of his people here or there, nor prejudiciall to the peace of my mind in any time coming. The Lord be with yow,

Your Brother,

R. BAILLIE.

March 21st 1642.

(D.) THE SUPPLICATION OF THE UNIVERSITIE OF GLASGOW UNTO
THE REVEREND SYNOD.

HUMBLIE SHEWING,

THAT we, the Governours and Masters of the faid Univerfitie, intending fo convenientlie as we are able to erect a fufficient number of Professors of Theologie for the publick good of the Miniftrie and common benefit of this Western part of this kingdome, and

foreseeing in more than probable appearance that Mr. ROBERT BAILLIE shall shortly be transported to some more eminent place or other Univerſitie, except this preſent opportunitie be made uſe [of,] have invited the ſaid Mr. Robert Baillie to employ his talents amongſt us for the help of the Profeſſion of Theologie, and have ſent one of our number to the Preſbytrie of Irvine with our letters, requeſting them for his transportation, and have ſent advertiſement to the Patron, and the parochie, of our invitation and intention, deſyring their conſent; who being all of them diffident of any reaſonable anſwer, which they ſhould give to the juſt deſyre of this Seminarie and nurserie of Learning, have ſlighted and ſhifted theſe our invitations, requeſts, and advertiſements, given unto them ſo reſpectfullie and tymeouſlie as we could, of purpoſe, as appeared, to make uſe of this their reſolved way, for delaying and frustrating our juſt ſuit. Wherefore we are forced to employ the authoritie of this Reverend Synod that he might be transported for the effect forſaid; requeſting your Wiſdomes not to ſuffer our reaſonable intention to be fruſtrate, by their affectionat preferring of their own particular good to the more publick and uſefull employment of his talents, eſpeciallie being joyned with the certaine hazard of depriving both themſelves and the Univerſitie of him, if, by your Wiſdomes authoritie, he be not transported now in the opportunitie of tyme to us.

(E.) MY ANSWER IN SYNOD.

I AM aſhamed there hath been ſo much dinne in our Aſſemblies of my transportation. I deſyre to be believed, that whatever motion, firſt or laſt, hath been thereof, it was never procured by me directlie nor indirectlie. When the Towne of Glaſgow did ſute me to their miniſtrie, I did teſtifie firſt in your Venerable audience, then in the face of two Generall Aſſemblies, my great willingneſs to abide where I was, that I might enjoy ſtill the fellowſhip of my moſt affectionat and worthie Brethren, that according to my power I might continue to doe ſervice to my noble Patrons, and, above all, that I might abide with my verie loving and verie much beloved Flock. In all this, as yow doubtleſs remember, I obtained of both the Generall Aſſemblies a favourable, and yet bot ane equitable hearing. When now the Univerſitie does call me to a Profeſſion, I muſt not onlie continue to profeſſe, as before, my affection and bound dutie, towards my noble Patrons, towards my loving

Brethren, and above all to my most dear flock : Besyde all this, which I pleaded in former Assemblies, I must now adde, and intreat my addition may be weell considered, that the highness and greatness of the charge whereto now I am required does much more scarre my minde from the acceptance of it, being conscious of my great unfufficiencie for any such matter. Bot knowing yow are to hear more from my Brethren of the Presbytrie, and some thing also from some of my flock, I shall say no farder, bot onlie intreat yow may be pleased so farr to favour us, that we may no more be put to these continuall feares and fashries, bot may be permitted to live togider in peace till death or other accidents, whereof yet we know not, shall make us more willing than yet we can be to a mutuall separation.

(F. 1.) TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

REVEREND AND WELL-BELOVED BROTHER,

WE have taken this purpose of wryting, so shortlie after the occasion we had of meeting with yourself, not that we have any thing to add unto that which was then spoken, bot that, at this poynt of tyme, when you are about your resolutions, yow might have these things fresh in memorie, and before your eyes, so once to cast the ballance as it might not sweigh back againe ; if so it may be the Lord's will to be mercifull to this place in granting yow to us, and disappointing the Devill, who labours to marr that great and good work whilk we expect here. And because I know there is nothing that will prevaill more with yow, nor some goodlie evidence that this busyness proceeds from the Lord, therefore it is my wish, that, after retire, yow would gather up what tokens thereof shall meet yow ; among which are these following :—

(1.) That yow see it most apparent that yow shall not continue in the place where ye are, in respect of the case of our Church, whereof yow are not ignorant ; and the severall discourses had with yourselfe, be men judicious and your friends, in favours of all the Universities, is to yow an intimation of it. (2.) The great respect which yow have had still to this place above all other, not onlie for naturall considerations, but much more for spirituall, can be expounded to be no other thing, bot the Lord prepareing, disposing, and inclyning your mind to that whilk now he is about to

doe. (3.) It is like a wonder in myne eyes, that after such a dash as the Towne gott when they futed yow last, and all hopes concerning yow were given over, that yet there should any assay have been made for yow, especiallie with such unanimtie of parties, who uses not to draw so equallie in manie matters; and that it should have been profecuted with such constancie and activitie: Consider what this may be, if not the Lord stirring instruments. (4.) That since that victorie yow had at Aberdeen, I know the common voyce among your people, both one and other of them, have been, that though now they were secure as concerning the Toune, yet if the Colledge futed, they had no fend: Was not this in the foresight of that whilk now is adoeing to yield the cause? (5.) Is it not a providence that at such a tyme when the Univerfitie needed professors, [and] were, because of the scarcitie of able men, speaking afar off even to strangers, that even then the carriage of matters among yow should have directed the calling towards yow? (6.) Think yow nothing of the looseing of your affection frae that place where yow have lived? and that yow are made any whit more enclynable to a public profession, frae whilk, I am sure, not long since ye were averse? Who hath made this change bot the Lord, in whose hands our hearts are, whose hand appears so much the more clearlie because of your own former inclination to the contrare. (7.) See yow not the Lord looseing bands on both fydes? as yow from that place, so the chief of your flock from yow: Hath not Eglintoune rejected that overture as absurd and impossible, which alone yow declared would be satisfactorie to your mind anent your staving? How Montgomerie hath showne himself since his home-comeing, I know not; bot I hear his Lordship made it no quarrell that Mr. David did contribute his best endeavours to bring yow hither. Yea, your people generallie appears to be weakened in their affection, in that they are become jealous of yow without cause, and talks, I hear, reallie lyke enough, though unjustlie, that your own hand hath been in bringing about this whole busines. Was not your generall and wyfe answers in your first Session after the Synod, construed to be a taking of your leave of them? All your people thinks yow enclyned to this calling ye have frae the College: Ye hear this, it may be, from some men's mouths, bot sure ye may read it in all their countenances. They are presentlie there satisfied, or in a fitt disposition to receive satisfaction from these who shall speak to them: If ye delay, if I have any sagacitie to conjecture, yow shall not finde them such as now,

and their mindes being possessed as they are, cannot bot think it a thing made and fashionall, that yow consent to concurr in any means for your retention among them: except you use your former vehemencie and oratorie at the Generall Assemblie, yow shall put yourself in worse case with your people nor ever. Were not your people sensible of the feeble defences yow made at this Synod, in comparison of these ye made before? What hath caused all these jealousies bot this? If yow kyth in the Assemblie unwilling to come to us, I will answer, it shall not avail Kilwinning, bot yow shall make way to Edinburgh, St. Andrewes, or Aberdeen's fute; or if yow sett yourself to declyne these, that yow shall be forced to explain yourself more plainlie there, than you have done either in your Synod or Presbyterie: What may be the consequences of it, ye see weell enough. In a word, if this matter come to the Generall Assemblie, behave yourself as yow please, yow shall fall under misconstruction, and cast yourself into greater straits than yow have found from the beginning. (8.) I finde the chief of your brethren in the Presbytrie with whom I have had occasion to meet, convinced that the Lord hes a work for yow here, whereunto as the most publick, and most conducing to the glorie of God and good of his Church, they must yield, though with their own losse and great grief. (9.) When yow yourself compares your present employment with that whereunto yow are called, I doubt nothing bot yow shall preferr that charge wherein, through God's blessing upon your labours, yow shall be made the instrument to breed manie youths who shall be leaders of fundrie congregations, (I mean gentlemen in the countrie,) and ministers for the Church, more able than yourself, before the private charge of one congregation onlie, and find yourself obliged to employ your talents there where yow most may be serviceable; and that such an occasion will represent to yow fundrie characters of a vocation ordered from above.

These are a few of these considerations that have occurred to me. Your own mind, if it be indifferent, will furnish yow with manie moe. Put the matter therefore to a speedie point: let your brethren be directed to deall with your people in the wyfest way. Adresse yourself hither, on the back of your Communion, that ye, the three Professors of this Universitie, may, after conference, divide the course of Theologie among yow, and the way to be followed for the students their best furtherance, that these things being rumored may bring up a good report upon the Colledge; for which effect your lesson must be hastened before the schollars

begin to fkaill. Write to us a certain and direct anfuer with this bearer, as also advertife me concerning your houle, that I may caufe George drefse the ftudie in the ftairhead, whilk will be a commodious room for you. The houle hes kitchen and chambers anew, and vaults beneath. Yow fhall have the houle wherein Abigaill now dwells the nixt yeare appearandlie, fo it will be ane eafe to have your gear fo fhort way to transport. The Lord give yow wifdom and direction in all things, namelie, in this great particular, which is the prayer of

Your loving Brother,
MR. RO^T. RAMSAY.

Glasgow, Apryll 16th 1642.

(F. 2.) TO MR. ROBERT RAMSAY.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

WHAT your importunat and peremptor craveing of a present anfuer from me with this expresse bearer may meane, I doe not understand. I fhall take it onlie to proceed from your love towards me, and expectation of profite by me to the publick of that place, wherein I wifh yow be not disappointed. If there be any more in it, I muft referre it to the wifdome of him to whom, in this great incident of my life, I have commended my fimplicitie to be guided. However, I confesse my resolution to come to yow is dailie increafing; yet I am determind, before I make ane absolute conclufion in my own mind, let be to expresse it to any other, to goe to Edinburgh for advyement. Againft this my courfe I fee no appearance of any reason, and therefore I mind not to change. In the meane [tyme,] if any thing interveen, either upon the part of yow, my futers, or from thofe with whom I goe to advyfe, or from the publick, or any act whereof I have no present thought, to marr the matter alluterlie, I am to acquiefce to the good pleasure of God, who is to difpofe of me according to his wonted favour, whether in ftaying where I am, or comeing to yow, or going elfewhere, as he may finde it moft meet. However, I mind to remaine fenfible of my obligations toward yow for thefe your late paines to have my company, befyde all bygane. The Lord be with yow.

Your Brother,

R. BAILLIE.

(F. 3.) TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

BECAUSE the chock of tyme is now, when either yow must resolve the obedience of the sentence of the Synod, ere we resolve in our dayes to quite thoughts of yow; therefore, for my exoneration, I have resolved to speak home to yow. Remember, that you was the first motion-maker of my coming to the Colledge, and the chief instrument of bringing it about, and that yow used for arguments, such as I lay now to your doore back againe: the good of the publick, in the weell of the feminarie; the comparifon of both preaching in the kirk and teaching in the schooles, with the worth of preaching, etc; the obligation to the Colledge of Glasgow, and to the West-countrie, for whose use chieflie it doth serve; and others lyke. I pray yow, (partialitie laid aside,) think upon how oft yow have been called upon, to say no more, in God's providence, which is not lightlie to be looked upon? How manie Affemblies your name hes been tossed into? How news went at Aberdeen, that yow should have been fanged for that Univerfitie? And how impossible it is to keep your appellation undiscussed, except yow judge Glasgow, town and presbytrie, so senseless as to quyte the sentence of the Synod with shame and skaith both? How foolish a proposition it will be thought to be, to make ane motion of an act of never transportation of yow; and that everie wise hearer will judge it as much as if the proponers should say to the Affembly, Settle this man in some Univerfitie, for there will be no rest till it be done; and either doe it now, or else bind your own hands, never to medle with him hereafter, how usefull soever he may seem. Therefore, doe not mock yourself and others also; either testifie your respect to this Colledge now in tyme, or be assured to be disposed of otherwayes than either your Presbytrie or we would. If yow will bot delay to put this matter to a poynt, blow mist in your own eyes as yow will, you are gone [lost] to that West-countrie, as any reasonable man may see. I will seek to submitt my self to God's will, which, within two or three dayes after this, in my expectation, will be revealed. He that refuses a calling, and he that intrudes in a calling, is [alike] blameworthy before God. I have said, and God doe as he pleases. I rest, your loving Brother,

May 15th 1642.

DAVID DICKSONE.

(F. 4.) MY ANSWER.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I CANNOT bot acknowledge, with thanks, your love and respects to me in all these your continued cares and pains for me. I professe your reasons and your affectionat importunitie vexes me. What poor gifts yow are chafeing, yow may easilie judge by this inclosed paper, my Theses, handled this day in the Presbytrie. The brethren appointed to speak with me, had this day their long consultations: by the little they communicat to me, I find they inclyne that I should stay till the Generall Assemblie discuss my cause. For anie certain securitie to my feares, none of them could see anie, bot thought I might and should wait upon a providence: in a word, I revered their discourse, bot did not gett much satisfaction by it. I told them, if they saw no appearance of a possibilitie to get me secured in Kilwinning, I was near to a conclusion in my own mind; yet, lest I should be rash, I would not conclude till, after my Communion, I went East and conferred with my good friends Sir Archibald Johnstone, Mr. Alexander Henderfone, and Mr. R. Blair; from whom if I gott not a satisfaction, in my apprehension of a lyklie removeall, I would trulie, at my returne, for anie thing I knew, if God put not all our countrie in a confusion, declare, both to my people and my presbytrie, my resolution to accept of Glasgow's call. If, notwithstanding of my declaration, they would think meet to have my appeal discussed, I was not to hinder; bot lyklie I would declare, in the face of the Assemblie, what I fand to be my own mind. This past among us: I told, that my craveing their advyce was not to make them actors in my removeall, farder than they thought reason oblinded them, bot because I was truelie in perplexitie, as indeed I am; bot if I were once at a point in my own mind, as yet I was not, they should not be troubled, for I would not be afraid, if once I were resolved, to avow all my thoughts before them all. To you I can say no more.

By God's grace, a little after my Communion, I shall be a little peremptor; before I cannot, for I resolve to conferre with the men I named. Wonder not at this my resolution, the matter is verie weightie; I am weak and simple, and have powerfull attractives on both hands: bot I hope the goodness of God, which hes ever

been to me verie great, will guide this matter to all our satisfactions. I rest,

Your verie loving and much obliedged Brother,
R. BAILLIE.

Kilwinning, May 17th 1642.

(F. 5.) FOR MR. ROBERT RAMSAY.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I AM obliedged for your kind and loving letters ; your reasones, manie of them, are to me verie confiderable. What is past, and what I resolve, my letter to Mr. David will shew you. It seemes my Brethren will lay over the matter too much upon myself ; and truelie the case [is, unless] they will be pleased to assist, if our countrie break not, readilie I may take the more upon me than I intended ; bot I hope, in this greatest accident of my life, God, in his mercie, will guyde by his wisdome. The Lord be with yow,

R. BAILLIE.

May 17th [1642.]

(F. 6.) TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

REVEREND AND LOVING BROTHER,

BECAUSE I am not sure if this week I can winn West, I resolved to wryte, and I conceive if this doe not prevaill, it will be in vaine hereafter to wryte to yow. Your brethren, as I understand by Mr. Hew Mackaill, have laid the bridle on your own mane, and more they cannot doe, nor should not doe, except they would thrust yow from them ; which were in them not to be expected. Yow are running yourself in new difficulties, yea snares, I am sure. Yow purpose to goe to Edinburgh to seek their judgment : Brother, consider what yow are doing : their judgment yow have else, that yow are altogether fit for a Colledge, and so will be the judgement of all the world that have read your contest with Canterburrie. Why goe yow to tempt them, and to ensnare yourself ? If any man were in their place, finding yow sentenced by the Synod for Glasgow, would they not (as doubtless they will) take advantage of your irresolution to obey a dismissed appeall before a judicatorie, fitter for discerning of the estate of the West

countrie, and Kilwinning and Glasgou, than the Generall Affembly can be; and by all means foster your irresolution till the appeal be discussed, and then stryve to catch yow from us, whom all the rest of the Colledges and their followers in the Affembly will bear down, when they see us minting to three professors, &c. Therefore, seek God, and resolve with him who must help yow however the matter go. For me I will despaire of seeking to yow any more, for I am certain yow are lost to us, and my conjectures yet about yow have not much failed, the causes are so clear. Besyde this, we have, on Saturday last, subscribed a sute to the Chancellor for a Visitation; and if yow be not ours ere it fitt, consider the consequences. So, be at a poynt, and give us ane answer to or fro, ere yow goe to Edinburgh, from which journey I for my part doe dissuade yow. So expecting yow will do so, except yow will quyte us, I rest,

Your loving Brother,

May 26th 1642.

DAVID DICKSONE.

(G. 1.) FOR MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSONE.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I OWE yow verie heartie thanks for your last verie kind and loving letter: I acquiesce fullie to your judgement, both concerning my own papers, and the answer yow made to our Synod's desire, anent the burdens laid on yow be the Generall Affembly.⁽⁸⁾ I am emboldened by that last kindnesse, and manie moe before, humbly to intreat for your advyce in a particular that long hes much perplexed me. These years bygone, the Generall and Provinciall Synods have been fashed, much more than I could have wished, with my transportation. The Universitie of Glasgou being obliged, in their signator of Galloway, to maintaine a new Professor of Divinitie, did choose me for that place, and are verie earnest with me to embrace it; their arguments are as manie and pressing to allure my mind, as can be to me for anie place while I live. At our last Provinciall, they gave in a petition for my transportation; my Presbytrie and people, out of their undeserved respects towards me, fearing the Synod's sentence, gave in ane appeal to the Generall Affembly; for indeed the advertisement,

⁽⁸⁾ This refers to Henderson's letter of the 20th of April 1642, which is printed at the commencement of the present volume.

which the Univerſitie ſent by their Commiſſioner to our Preſbytrie and parochie, came not in due tyme. Notwithſtanding, the Synod unanimouſlie decerned, I ſhould tranſport. Since that tyme I have been continuallie beaten upon, ſome to hold me where I am, others to draw me elſewhere : I am in perplexitie. I beſeech yow, as yow never yet denyed me, give me your fatherlie advyce ; eſpecially in this poynt, If yow think it lyklye that I may obtain ſo much favour of the Generall Aſſembly, as to be put out of theſe continual feares and faſheries of tranſportation ? I confeſſe the overtures of the laſt Generall Aſſembly, that gives libertie to the Towne of Edinburgh, and all the Univerſities, to take men for their ſervice, together with diſcourſes which thoſe who have chief hand in all the Univerſities have had with me within this twelvemonth, putts me in feare, that when leaſt I expect, I may be ordained to tranſport, and in that caſe, I will repent that I accepted not Glaſgow's call ; for if I would remove, I ſhould be unnaturall and imprudent if I ſhould not chooſe to goe there rather than anie where elſe : bot my beſt were to ſtay where I am, if ſo I might have any ſecuritie for my ſtay. Some makes me to believe that it would be preſumption for me to ſupplieat the Aſſembly for anie ſuch favour, and that it is not poſſible to obtaine it. May I here beg your judgement ; for indeid if I thought the grant of that favour deſperate, I would be loath to have my name more toſſit, bot, without more adoe, would accept of Glaſgow's call ; and that ſo much the more, that I find it the mind of my Preſbytrie and people both, and of all who would moſt gladlie have me ſtay, that I ſhould goe to Glaſgow farr rather than anie where elſe, if ſo be that they cannot gett any certaintie of my ſtay among themſelves.

I know, Sir, your manifold occupations ; yet I muſt expect this favour to have ſome answer. I have ſent my boy expreſſie for this verie eirand to yow and Mr. Robert Blair, upon whoſe gracious wiſdomes I depend verie much. I hope on Saturday morning, at which tyme I think the boy may be back from St. Andrewes, there ſhall be in your houſe a letter for me ; for which I ſhall be moſt willing to give yow heartie thanks, and to remain,

Your moſt loving Brother ever to ſerve yow,

R. BAILLIE.

Kilwinning, May 30th 1642.

I am vehementlie preſſed by both parties to declare my own mind, which hitherto I have delayed ; for truelie it is perplexed

and oft doubtfull; bot I truſt, if I had your clear advyce, to winn to a reſolution.

(G. 2.) FOR MY LORD WARRISTOUN. ⁽⁹⁾

ARCHIBALD,

I THINK at this tyme your leaſure is not great, yet, had yow never ſo much adoe, I muſt have one word, after the old faſhion. I have ſent in my boy to yow expreſſie for your advyce in the greateſt incident of my life that yet hes befallen me. You were ever boaſting me with a profeſſion in a Colledge: how unmeet I was for it I have oft proteſted to yow; however, the Univerſitie of Glaſgow hes made election of me for a Divinitie profeſſion. Our laſt Provinciall Synod unanimouſlie hes ordained my transportation; my Preſbytrie and people hes appealed to the Generall Aſſemblie: ſince that tyme I have been much dealt with, by the one to goe, by the other to ſtay. The arguments are pregnant on both hands. I am come to this in my own mind, that except I had certaintie, at leiſt verie probable appearance, of my ſtay where I am allwayes, without the danger of transportation to more remote places, I would be loath to reſuſe the call of Glaſgow. I pray yow, as yow love me, tell me freeſie your mind what yow think I ſhould doe; and eſpeciallie, if yow think it probable, that my patron, my Preſbytrie, my people, and myſelf agreeing to ſupplieat the Generall Aſſemblie, that, after ſo manie troubles and faſheries about my transportation, at laſt we might be permitted to live together in peace, without any hazard ever to be transported any where againſt my own conſent, if in your judgement this much I may obtain in the nixt Aſſemblie? for I would think it my hurt to diſcuſſe my appeall, and ſo to croſſe the Colledge of Glaſgow, except I had affurance, when I had ſhifted them, to gett ſtayed allwayes where I am. As yow would not fail me in a moſt neceſſare tyme, give me your advyce freeſie and fullie. I have written to Mr. Robert Blair for this ſame end. See on Saturday morning, that my boy find ane anſwer from yow, waiting in your houſe for him. My heartie ſervice to my Cummer.

R. BAILLIE.

Kilwinning, May 30th [1642.]

⁽⁹⁾ Sir Archibald Johnſtone, on being appointed a Lord of Session, in November 1641, assumed the title of Lord Warriston. Baillie, at times, as in this letter, addreſſes him in very familiar terms.

(G. 3.) FOR MR. ROBERT BLAIR.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

IF your affaires could permitt, I should be content to confer with yow, if yow will meet me any day yow will name betuixt the 6th of June and 14th, either in Edinburgh or Kirkaldie. Yow were appointed by the Generall Affemblie to goe to Shettland; we heard much of your voyage also to Ireland: bot neither are. I wrote to yow anent our refounding in our English charges; yow answered nothing to that poynt: when I meet, I shall tell yow the easie, honest, and short way I used to winn to some toller-able reason, and came speed. Brownists conceits still fasches us here; yet we seem to misken all. I have drawn up, in some four or five sheets, the Brownists tenets, and proofs on the margine, by citation of their authors, after the way of "The Canterburians Self-Conviction." Mr. Alexander Henderfone and Mr. David Dickfone have seen it, and professe to lyke it. At meeting, yow shall cast it over. What yow can bring with yow of these men's last wryts from Mr. Samuell, I shall be glad to have a blenk of them. Bot my maine and chief errand why I desyre to meet with yow is, to have your advyce in a particular which concerns me most nearlie.

I have had, since I saw yow, some grounds of miscontent both from my Lord Eglintoun and my Lord Montgomerie: These for myself I suppressed, and digested as I might; yet whether I would or not, the report of them went abroad; whereupon the Town of Glasgow conceived some hope of my possible transportation; they deall with me, both privatelie and publickly, most effectually for that end; yet I did peremptorily refuse them. When I had put them to silence, Mr. David and the Colledge sett on me for a Divinitie profession. All the offers can be made, have been made to me; and I, by their sollicitations, have been kepted waking as a ramadge hawk these two or three moneths. The Provinciall Synod of Glasgow have unanimously decerned my transportation to the Colledge. My Presbytrie, because not formallie advertised before the Affemblie, hes appealed to the next Generall [Affemblie.] My Lord Eglintoun and his sonne repents their rashness towards me. My people will be als forrie to let me goe, as any other people in the land have been. What I shall doe I am in great perplexitie. I beseech yow send me your free and full ad-

vyce after the old fashon, for I depend much upon it, more nor upon any one man's. I could inclyne to stay where I am, if I could obtaine ane Act of the nixt Generall Assemblie that I should never be transported after without my own consent. I pray tell me your opinion, If yow think it lyklye that by the dealing of my Patron, my Presbytrie, and my owne, such a thing could be obtained? for if I did not obtain this much securitie to stay where I am, I would be loath to refuse Glasgows call. I remember that yow and diverse others of Fyfe have been wishing me to St. Andrewes; also these who have chief hand in Aberdeen have latelie told me of their desyre of my service rather than any other. Sir Archibald Johnstone and Mr. A. Henderfone, who hes a chief hand in Edinburgh Colledge, have told me, that it is their judgement I should goe to a Colledge. These and other things putts me in a reall fear that it may fall out, when least I expect, that ane sentence of ane Generall Assemblie may compell me to transport to a place that may be bitter, to my tender and foolish mind, as death; for true-lye I neither have, nor for some years would be able to acquire these gifts which would satisfie the mindes of strangers who had no particular interest in me, as Glasgows hath by these bands, which makes them full content with any thing from me, as they professe, and I believe them. I pray yow let me have your mind with diligence. Inclose your letter to me in one to your brother James: send it over to Edinburgh to be given to William Cunninghame at the Custome-house: he will get it quicklie to Irvine. I am pressed continuallie on both hands to declare my mind. I will suspend till I gett your answer; and if I may gett mett with yow, about the tyme named, I should be glad: I will get no longer delayed, bot must then answer at fardest. My hope is that the Lord, whose great and more than ordinarie indulgence continues with me to this day, will guide me in this great incident, notwithstanding of the great simplicitie and rashness which is familiar to me in all my busines. He hes been sweet to me in all this matter, and I hope whatever shall be the event, his grace shall assist me: onlie when I have much to doe, with your prayers and advyce, I pray yow faill me not. The Lord be with yow.

Your Brother after the old fashon,

R. BAILLIE.

Kilwinning, May 30th 1642.

(G. 4.) FOR MR. ROBERT BLAIR.

DEAR BROTHER,

I EXPECTED before this ane answer of my last ; bot since it hes not come, I am forced to send my boy expresse to yow for your advyce. My last informed yow at length in the particular, bot leift it have miscarried, the matter shortlie is this. The Univerfitie of Glasgou hes called me to a Divinitie profession ; the provinciall Synod hes decerned me to transport unanimousslie ; my Presbytrie and people have appealed to the Generall Assemblie. I am perplexed with the affectionat, continuall, and importunate dealing, and pregnant arguments of both parties. I am come to this, that I think I am oblinded to accept of Glasgou's call, and obey the Synod, except I could have some certaintie to gett staid where I am. I pray yow, upon whose advyce I doe much depend, give me your advyce in the whole matter ; especiallie, If yow think I may gett ane favourable act in the nixt Generall Assemblie, not onlie to keep me from Glasgou, bot from all other places without my own consent, for except this were obtained, I could think my crossing of Glasgou's designe for no purpose. I have hitherto holden off, for before I heard your mind, whom I have allwayes found to have had a fatherlie care of me, I will not give ane peremptor answer. So expecting without fail a full and free answer, I rest

Your Brother,

Kilwinning, May 30th 1642.

R. BAILLIE.

Both parties press to have my distinct answer before the Generall Assemblie, and I mind to declare myself, if once your advyce were come to my hands.

(G. 5.) TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

REVEREND AND WEL-BELOVED BROTHER,

I AM bound to yow in a special manner for dealing so ingenuousslie with me, both in matters that concerns your self and concerning me yow are still lyke your self, which tyeth my heart more and more to yow. I was desyred by your Earle to deall earnestlie for your stay, and would willinglie serve his Lordship in everie dutie. Bot I told my Lord, that there was bot small hope of it ; and so farr as I can apprehend, yow neither will nor can be permitted to stay in a

place so privat. Yet would I not wish that yow should remove before the approaching Affemblie. This is my simple advyce, of which I could give myne own reasons, bot I leave them till meeting. I say no more, bot *verbum sapienti*. Yow renunce private respects *in termino a quo*, doe it als much *in termino ad quem*, and your comfort shall be the greater; which beseeching the Lord to multiplie unto yow, I rest, with a fore heart for Mr. Harie Rollock's death, June the 2d, about 9 before noone,

Your own Brother,

Edinburgh, June 3d 1642.

ALEXANDER HENDERSONE.

(G. 6.) TO THE SAME.

As for your Glasgou bufiness, yow know long since my mind for your goeing, after so frequent calls, to that Colledge; since God sends so few for the schooles, and so manie for the pulpits. I did never think, nor cannot imagine, that ever yow will gett libertie to live in peace in Kilwinning. My Lord Eglintoun might weell fight on with the inclination of the Affemblie for a tyme; bot certainlie yow would be removed at the end to some other Colledge, or eminent Burgh. It is bot a phansie to imagine, that ane Affemblie could bind up the hands of ane subsequent Affemblie never to transport yow from Kilwinning. Preferr the doeing of the more publick good to your more private ease and content; and seeing your name hes been so oft tossed in the Affemblie, truelie I could wish yow to end it by fettleing your self in Glasgou beforehand: this is my free advyce. You may know I have not much tyme to spare, when I am this week sitting in the Outter-house of the Session. The Lord direct us in his affaires. I rest,

Your loving Brother,

SR. A. JOHNSTOUNE.

Edinburgh, 2d June.

(G. 7.) TO THE SAME.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

THE other letter, which I left open for Mr. David, shewes the reason why I could not advertise yow to meet me, both my coming hither being soon expected, and my stay short. I receaved also your former letter, and was resolved to have mett yow here, bot resolved to let our Commission tyme passe. As for your Glasgou

business, though yow did wryte largelie, I wish yow had cleared to me this point concerning your Ministrie, for you wryte onlie of the Univerfitie's call to a Profession; if that be all, I wish yow be not hastie in declareing yourself, unless yow be called also to a Ministrie, that yow be not put to Mr. David's part of the play: But if that also be clear, that yow have place and authoritie of a Minister, then truelie I would advyse yow to give place to the Synod's sentence; for it is impossible to obtaine such ane act of ane Generall Assemblie, to fix yow for ever to that station yow are in. The seeking of it would seem unreasonable, and without example. The onlie wise Lord himself shew yow his will, and make yow follow it. Grace be with you.

Your own Brother,

June 2d 1642.

R. BLAIR.

(H.) TO THE PRESBYTERY OF KILWINNING.

REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN,

Yow doubtless remember how oft, these yeares bygane, yow have been fashed with my transportation? How affectionatlie I have endeavoured my stay among yow, in the three last Generall Assemblies, and diverse Provincials, I hope not a few of those who are present will be my true witneses. When latelie the Towne of Glasgou renewed their sute to me, by their publick and most preffing letters, I gave them such answers, and dealt so with them by my friends, that I moved them to give over. Thereafter the Univerfitie sett upon me; I confesse my apprehension of ane weell near absolute power in all Univerfities to take for their professions whomever they thought expedient, together with my manifold obligations to that Univerfitie above all other, with some other reasones, moved me not to reject, so violentlie as I was wont, all thoughts of their call; bot as that call was not procured by me in anie wayes, by word or deed, directlie or indirectlie, so was I carefull to hold myself free from the least ingagement, till the last Provinciall, at which tyme, finding, that notwithstanding of all my protestations of willingness to remaine in my present station to my death, for anie thing I know, seconded with the most affectionat dealing of yow, my Brethren, [and] of my flock's commissioner, yet unanimouylie the whole Synod, with the exception of verie few voyces, did decerne my transportation. By the sight of this, I cannot deny bot my mind was somewhat brangled, and brought to

think it might be the Lord had some purpose to have me removed to that place ; yet the blessings I had felt on my poor labours where I was, the dutie whereby I was tyed to my noble patrons, and the more than ordinarie love which, ever since my first coming to this day, I have found with yow my Reverend Brethren, and with my verie dear flock, held me up that I durst not yeeld to that sentence ; onlie I fand myself in perplexitie, not knowing what to resolve, being toft on all hands by continuall dealing, and verie pregnant reasons and arguments : at last I came to this thought, and declared it to these of my Brethren whom yow appointed to conferr with me, that I should be glad to use all possible meanes to declyne Glasgows call, If so I might obtaine anie securitie for my stay where I was ; bot if no probable certaintie could be shewn me [to] be freed of the hazard of removeall to more remote and inconvenient places, I did enclyne, without more dinne, to obey the Synod's sentence. This my inclination, seemed to me the more reasonable, when I remembered the overtures of the last Generall Assemblie, too likelie to be concluded in the nixt, giving libertie to Edinburgh, and all the four Universities, to remove anie they think meet for their purpose, whether the persons be willing or not : the thought of these overtures, together with what had past even latelie, betuixt me and some pryme men, both of the Towne of Edinburgh and the other three Universities, did increase my feares, which I did propone, both to these my Brethren I conferred with, and the chief of my flock ; from whom, after some weeks advysement, when I could find no probable certaintie of my stay, I was more moved than before to accept in tyme that charge, wherein I thought I was likelie, by Gods help, to doe better service than anie where else. Yet lest I should be rash in making any conclusion, I resolved to have the advyce of those whom I thought most able and willing in the kingdome I knew, to give me gracious counsell, I meane Sir A. Johnstone, Mr. A. Henderfone, and Mr. R. Blair ; and lest my conference with them should have been by anie either mistaken or mistrusted, I thought meet to have their judgement in wryte under their hand, when I had proponed to them the case soe clearlie and impartiallie as I was able. Yow may read in all their answers their opinions, agreeing in this, that there is no possibilitie for me to gett anie certaintie of my staying where I am, by ane act of the Generall Assemblie ; next, that in all their judgements I shall not faill, doe what I will, and all who will assist me, to be removed somewhere ere it be

long: bot here the difference, that, upon these grounds, two of them advyse me distinctlie, without more delay, to goe to Glasgou; the other would have me to delay till the Generall Assemblie, as it seems to me that I may eschew Glasgou, and by the Assemblie's authoritie be forced to goe to another place than either myself, or anie who loves me here, could wish. These things being, as I have truelie to my remembrance related them, I am at last, after all my perplexed hæsitationes, come to a resolution, which I pray the Lord may be found for the honour of his name, without the hurt or just discontent of any man, especiallie of yow, my most dear and respectfull brethren: I mind to yield to the Universitie's desire. If to this my purpose I may have your brotherlie benediction, and the blessing of my dear flock, I will be much the more encouraged; bot if your wisdom shall finde this my resolution unjust, and shall think it expedient to have the cause discussed by the Generall Assemblie, I wish yow may be pleased to consider, that if it so fall out, that while yow are disputing my call to Glasgou, the Assemblie shall think meet to dispose of me, without either your or my consent, for ane other place, as I have good grounds to fear it, what then will be my condition?—and how little it will rejoyce yow to have been the occasion, certainlie of my great grief, and readilie of my great hurt and discouragement in that measure, that may make my dayes more bitter than they would ever have been among yow, or if I must remove, they are likelie to be in that place of my birth and education, and best friends, which continues to call for me with more than ordinarie unanimitie and earnestness. I will say no more to this purpose, bot expects your answer; and, if it may be, your benediction to my purpose of obeying the Synod, which, truelie, I had not at this tyme intended, if I had seen any probable certaintie of my abode among yow.

Great grumblings for the small dispatch of justice: its good ye know all this, except God will be for the Parliament, shortlie Ireland is lost; and we are much afraid for the insolence of more nor a partie at home. The Lord make yow wise and gracious at this tyme; though my wife and daughter's extream danger keep me here, yet my spirit and prayer shall be with yow.

Yours,

R. B.

Yow will have fundrie honest Ministers who will be your faithful agents in all yow require.

(I. 1.) FOR MY LADY MONTGOMERIE.

MADAM,

THESE are heartie thanks for your Ladyship's remembrance once and againe; for this day I have received your Ladyship's second letter. Our heartie prayers are for that great meeting; we made that a great part of our last Sunday's humiliation. We are hopefull our Counsellors will not be so mad as to yock us most needleslie with that Parliament of England. However, I know there be some desperate men, who having lost their estates, or their good name, or both, or being malcontent, would be glad of confusions for their particular intereffes, though their Religion, King, and Countrie, should be put in hazard of perishing. Yet we trust that these whom the King and Parliament has entrusted to be Counsellors, will be loath to ingadge us in a new warre with our best friends, for no other end, bot to put the Isle againe, both for Religion and Liberties, under the feet and sole pleasure of anie who guides the Court; for we believe, that none can be so blind bot they see clearlie, [if] the courtiers, for anie cause, can gett this Parliament of England overthrowen by forces, either at home or abroad, that all, either they have done, or our Parliament hes done alreadye, or whatever anie Parliament should mint to doe hereafter, is not worth a figg. Bot as that unhappie faction hes hitherto been crossed by God in all their mischievous designes, we trust in this their last most wicked purpose, of blowing up by our hands the Parliament of England, for the undoeing of the King and us all, they shall not thryve. That my Lord, by anie, should be thought to have the least affection to that malignant partie, it is my great grief. Besyde all I said to him, I did write this inclosed, to have been delyvered by Sir Alexander to him; bot he was gone before my boy could winn to him. Since I could have no bearer, and now I fear the season of it be past: however your Ladyship shall break it up and read it; and if your Ladyship think yet it may come to my Lord for some purpose, you may delyver it, and back it, as I know yow doe daylie, by your more powerfull diversiones. If notwithstanding of all we can say, my Lord will goe on on that way that we compt pernicious, his Lordship must permitt us, who were his old friends, to be extremelie grieved for his case, and to be content to hear and see us at all occasions, by word and deed to power, on all hazards, to oppose and

croffe whatever he will doe or say, for advanceing of that way which we esteem to be much opposed to the honour of God, the weell-being of Church and State, the good of our Prince and all the good subjects; bot withall, that we intend to keep heartie affection towards his Lordship's person, and still to pray for his weelfare, and the prosperitie of his familie; bot of none more in it than your Ladyship, to whom, since first acquaintance, I have found my heart ingadged, with true affection, for continuall favours; for which I intend to remaine, by God's grace, for ever,

Your Ladyship's, in all heartie affection and dutie,

R. BAILLIE.

Kilwinning, May 28th [1642.]

(I. 2.) FOR MY LORD MONTGOMERIE.

MY VERIE GOOD LORD,

HOWEVER at our last meeting I did show your Lordship my mind plainlie enough, yet the great respects, which sixteen or seventeen yeares intime familiaritie oblidges me to carrie to your Lordship, forces me to wryte my mind. That which I told is come to passe. We who loves your Lordship's person and honour, have our eares beaten in all companies, at home and abroad, with reports of yow that vexes our heart. At the first, manie whispered, now all proclaimes, that your Lordship, who had purchased latelie more love and honour in all Scotland, for your zeall and happie paines in the good cause, than anie of your age, are now clean changed; that evidentlie, in your discourfes with everie one, and in your actions, yow fyde with those, whom all good men, to this day, and yourself, were wont, before this voyage, to take for evill instruments, such as Montrose, Mortoun, William and Mungo Murraies; on the contrare, to be averse from these whose labours God hes bleffed to save our poor land, to your own knowledge, from imminent ruine, such as are Argyle, &c.; also, that in this new devyce, which all I know of anie goodnes takes for alse wicked and dangerous a motion, as ever yet was on foot, to divide our nation, to undoe our King, and make fyre and sword to rage in all the Isle, and that quicklie; to ranverse whatever our Assemblies and Parliaments have been doing these yeares bygone; to marre all that good which was begun to be done in the Church and State

of England; to content none bot a faction of miserable malecontents, whom yow were wont to know were readie not onlie to set Kirk and Countrie on a flame, bot to goe to the ports of hell, to be avenged of these disgraces, most justlie their misdeservings hes procured. We hear, I say, that no man is more for ward, in the late designe of these men, to draw our Counsell, and so our Nation, upon the Parliament of England, as these who are injurious enemies to the person and prerogative of our Prince.

My Lord, the remainder of old kindness forces me to beseech your Lordship, that the great honour, and sweet contentment of a good name, is worth verie much; that the changeing from the partie which yow, alse much as anie, proclaimed to be for nought bot the honour of God, the reall good of the King, the weell of the Countrie, to fyde with a faction which yow know fought nothing bot, by anie possible meanes, to set the feet of the King on the neck, both of the Church and State, of all his dominions, and that, not for anie love they carried to the Prince, bot alone for the satiffaction of their owne ambition, revenge, and greed; who, for the attainment of their private ends, were ever readie to hazard the good King, and so the ruine of the King, and all his dominions. Such a change in your Lordship cannot be verie gracious, whatever be the pretext; yet evidentlie, to the sense of all reasonable men, these counsells must be of the Devill, which cannot faill to trouble, with great confusion, our poor land newlie settled with so much travell and hazard; to keepe that miserable countrie of Ireland in that fyre of warre which was on the poynt of flockning; to bring most cruell warre on England, which was advanced to have made a fair reformation both in Church and State, to have put the King's revenues at home, his allayes and opprest Churches abroad, his buried honour, everie where to such a state as would have made us all rejoyce. If your Lordship, upon anie privat malecontent, or anie misinformations fra persones, (of whose malicious humours, within these few moneths, yow did nothing doubt,) should give your heart to affect, or your power to second anie such counsells, I am perswaded yow would doe what would bring to your God, and the cause yow professed, great dishonour, to your self disgrace, to your new friends no more reall help than others before of equall power to your Lordship; bot to all your true friends a great deall of grief, and to none more, both of dolour and shame, than to me, who was alwayes wont, and still resolves to continue a daylie interceder with God, for all I conceive to be

for your true honour and weelfare. This is, your affectionat friend
and fervant,

R. BAILLIE.

(K. 1.) TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

WEE have given to yow, and to all who have interest in yow, sufficient tyme to confider of the obedience which yow owe to the sentence of the last Synod, transporting yow to the Univerfitie of Glasgow, orderlie past, after discuffing all that was opposed, and finding themselves judges to the cause; and now, feing it is made manifest unto yow, by the foresight of the wyfest, that yow cannot choose bot be transported elsewhere, at the nixt Affembly, if yow should not tymeously come unto us, lest we should be found lakeing in our dutie to the Univerfitie and to the whole West countrie, and so censureable to the Synod for our negligence, we, for our own exoneration, doe hereby earnestlie request yow, and legallie require yow, as yow will be answerable to your perrill to the next Synod, that yow come at the fardest upon July the 12th, and accept the place whereunto the Synod hes adjudged yow. We trust yow will not disobey the Synod, and cast your self out of the West countrie; and doe rest,

Your loving Brethren,

June 28th
1642.

DA. FORSYTH.
JA. DALRYMPLE.
WI. SEMPLE.

JO. STRANG.
DAVID DICKSON.
DA. MUNRO.

(K. 2.) TO THE PRINCIPAL AND PROFESSORS OF THE UNIVER-
SITIE OF GLASGOW.

REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN,

As I promised to yow at meeting, so I performed in our Presby-
trie, in Mr. Robert Ramsay his hearing: I declared my resolution
to answer your call in these termes, whereof he hes the double in
wryte. I declared as much to my Lord Eglintoun and my Lord
Montgomerie in private, and to my Session in publick. Concern-
ing their appeal, I told yow distinctlie that I could doe no more in

it bot perfwade. With the Presbytrie I have some hopes to come speed; with my Lord Eglintoun and my people, I have as yet none at all, their earnestness to stick by me to the uttermost, yet continues. I have spoken to them publickly that day, in the visitation of my Church, as yow could have wished, bot no appearance of looseing. As for my incoming to enter by any publick lecture, I did not promise it; and if I should doe it, I would draw on my back a greater measure of obloquie from all this countrie, nor I am able to bear, unlesse I would winn some of my people to some more silence, which I am labouring. However, if they will draw my cause to the Affemblie, I shall, in the face of it, avow my willingness to come to yow which is all I promised; and much more than once I was minded ever to have done. If I can get more done with any peace of mind, possible I shall doe more, bot more I have not, nor I will not promise. So praying God to blefs yow, and to direct me in this matter, which hes and does put me to great perplexitie, betwixt your drawing and others holding, I rest,

Your loving Brother and Servant,

Kilwinning, 2d (?) June 1642.

R. BAILLIE.

A SECOND POSTSCRIPT OF MR. WILLIAM SPANG'S LETTER DIRECT
TO HIM, MAY 10TH, 1642. ⁽¹⁾

THIS much I had written to yow some months agoe, and to acquaint yow with the true grounds of this great accident in my life, had sent to yow the verie autographes of the Letters which had past betuixt me and all the agents of my removeall, that yow might judge of the honestie or dishonestie of my fact. As yet my heart does not challenge me, albeit crosses more than ordinar, have oft put me to a revision of this matter; for my dear Wife, since my being in England, hes been feekly, and oft this twelve moneth near death. Also I have had within this halfe year my youngest daughter, a verie prettie child, removed; and since my coming to Glasgow, my wife and both my sonnes verie sick of a fever; yet

⁽¹⁾ *Vide supra*, p. 10. This Second Postscript has no date, but it appears from the various allusions it contains, to have been written about the beginning of 1643.

all now are safe, and I acknowledge verie great favour in God's mercies towards me in their delyverance; and in their dangers, was oft put to it, if God wes pursueing me for my consenting to transport, bot hitherto I have not been weighted herewith. I am so much the more encouraged, that these of my Presbytrie and flock who were most opposit to my removeall from them, long agoe professes their heartie dismissing of me, and their conviction of my divine call from them; also some appearance I have, by God's blessing, to see the town planted with Mr. George Young and Mr. Hew Blair, which is lyke to settle all our divisions here. Also God's blessing in the Colledge, in which we have gotten all things settled, as we could have desyred, by a visitation from the Generall Assemblie, wherein, besyde others, the Chancellour, and Hamiltoun our Chancellour, and Argyle, did fitt. They tell me there will be near fixtie Bajouns alreadie, and above fortie Semies, and above twentie youths Laureat, ⁽²⁾ who attend us; I have daited [dictated] allready my proemiall leffoun which you heard, a copie whereof yow have here. I hope to dait [dictat] before June, a little compend of the chief controversies, and much more Hebrew, I meane of the text, than was ever here. As for my English voyadge, for the present the English pitifull warre makes me forgett it. Bot of all that matter, and of our affaires, private and publick, more with the nixt long one which is lying beside me, written more than this moneth; bot waiting for some crise in the English disease, I have yet kepted it in.

[TO MR. GEORGE YOUNG. ⁽³⁾]

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I WISH at your first being in Edinburgh yow would deall with my Lord Chancellour in my name, if, by his Lordship's means, in any fair, short, and quiet way I might be refounded in my true expences I was at in my London voyadge. For this end yow would represent to his Lordship, that after my manifold expen-

⁽²⁾ The usual names given to Students according to the year of their attendance at the University, were, *Bajans* for the first year, *Semi Bajans* the second, *Bachelors* the third, and *Magistrands* the fourth, when the Philosophical course terminated, and the Students were *Laureated* or obtained the Degree of A. M.

⁽³⁾ Young, to whom this letter appears to have been addressed (*Vide infra*, p. 55) was one of the Regents in the College of Glasgow, and afterwards one of the Town Ministers.

five voyadges for the publick, whereto yow are privie, and after, at the direction of the Committee at Edinburgh, I had collected, with some labour, and attended the printing of The Canterburians Self-Conviction, my Lord Argyle was pleased, by his letters, to send for me to Edinburgh in October 1640, and to make me goe with his Lordship to Newcastle; whence I was directed by the Committee to goe to London, and there I was made to attend till after the beginning of June 1641. Not only as a preacher to the Commissioners, bot at their direction I was put to the labor of frequent wryting. Six peices for the presse, such as they were, in the defence of our Church and State their late proceedings, past my hands. Canterburry and the Lieutennant of Ireland their challenge, for the first draught and matter, was myne, though the last forme, as oft all our wrytes, was Mr. Henderfon's; the large Supplement of the Self Conviction, the Parallell, the Antidote, the Question of Episcopacie discuffed, ane Answer to Dr. Eglinbie for Mr Henderfon's treatise of Episcopacie, by God's help alone, came all from me. Since I was not only allowed, bot directed to wryte so much, I was bold to venture on the buying of some more books than had been possiblie needfull. All that I receaved first or last was 50 lib. Sterling. I came from my house on my own charges to Darnton, and came from London home on my own charges also. I was allowed to keep ane young gentleman to attend me all that 8 months; whose expences in apparell and purse I did bear. To dissemble nothing, I got for the copies of the pieces I printed, from the Stationers at London, about four or five hundred merks worth of bookes; bot besyde all this, I declare, that I find my self superexpended, above that fiftie pounds and all I got of the printers, weell near fiftie pound more. Everie one of the burgesse, besyde their charges for their voyadge home and a-field, receaved at London two hundred pound sterling, and that expresse bot for the interim; what they have gotten since, and what they expect, themselves know. As for me, I seek no recompence; onlie if my reall and true charges may be defrayed to me, I will thank God and my Lord Chancellour for that favour; or if this my desyre may be found to his Lordship to be unreasonable, or may tend to anie long or publick agitation, I require no more favour bot that it may be suppressed; for my meane estate hath not, thanks to God, so farr ever prevailed over the honestie of my mind, that I would choose to have my name toffed for large foumes.

[TO SIR ARCHIBALD JOHNSTONE, LORD WARRISTON.]

MY LORD,

THE necessitie of my absence, the bearer, Mr. David Dickfone, can declare. I followed all your directions: if yow have not come from the West, at this meeting, ⁽⁴⁾ it is not my fault. There is a great change in our countrey: if yow think that any considerable partie in the West will be gotten to move for the Parliament of England, I fear yow shall be altogether deceived. It seems to us who are ignorant how affaires are carried, that yow have not used ordinarie diligence at that unhappie Counsell-day. Had a new Letter been written from your neighbour to his friend, and weell-willers been advertised to supplicate, the purpose which miscarried then in the Banders and my Lord Montgomerie's hands, had come no better speed by its new agents: we have given a wound, so farr as in our Counsell lyes, to the Parliament of England, which hardlie can be helped again. We think yow cannot pretend ignorance or surprise; although yow had no more friends in Court, I think my Lord Lindefay could not have so farr forgott his charge, as to have permitted yow to be ignorant of my Lord Lanerick's instructions, which his deed did occasion. We think if Argyle and the Chancellour had done and said what was requisite in busineses of that consequent, Hamiltoun would not have been willing or able to have carried that strange conclusion, the like whereof, we think, hes not passed our Counsell ⁽⁵⁾ since Dunce Law. I may say to yow all my mind, for I have yet some hopes that that great god the World hes not so farr prevailed with yow as to make yow dishonest. To gett that act cancelled, I fear it be impossible; bot if this meeting sett not a barr to that [which] I fear shall be the consequent, we cannot bot count yow unhappie, if not worse. To dream of any assistance from us to England at this tyme will be a meer fancie. I wish yow may see weell that none be lifted amongst us against them: that now is the great danger of our land, and would now be seen

⁽⁴⁾ This letter, which has no date, occurs in the heart of the previous Correspondence respecting Baillie's transportation to Glasgow, but it evidently was not written until January 1643. The meeting which Baillie says he could not attend, was that of the Commission of the General Assembly, held at Edinburgh about the 10th of January.

⁽⁵⁾ The Act of Privy Council on the 22d of December 1642, to attend which meeting Lord Warriston was sent down at the request of the English Parliament. (*Vide infra*, p. 43.)

to by yow. A New Letter to a Friend⁽⁶⁾ must now goe athort to inlighten and quicken us, for we are both ignorant of affaires and dead. Better no Commissioners should goe for treatie, than such persons who should be at the Marqueis Hamiltoun's devotione, who alreadie hes kythed himself so partiall. If a treatie must be, by all means keep Argyle at home, else yow put us all in evident hazard: two of everie Estate is enough; so the Chancellour and Lindefay will serve; if there must be three, Caffills, for all his interest in Hamiltoune, seems among the meetest. In all the West I know not one of the Barrons so meet as need were; Rowalland is among the best. For Burrowes, Mr. Robert Barclay farr best: John Semple may be thought on. I hope yow will instruct them so that they shall not be able to hurt or discourage the Parliament. Yow must see at this tyme that one be put in dear Borthwick's place, when it shall chance our Church Commissioners to be called; for, this is of consequence: in my judgement Mr. Blair is the fittest, neither will he refuse, if called. I think this meeting will not fail to appoint a generall fast. If we had that ordinarlie monethlie fast with England in the same day it were not amisse. The Generall Searcher troubles the Burrowes; the Annuities scandalizes the gentrie: a pitie bot both should be abolisshed; malecontentment enough also in the Ministrie at the present governours.

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

COUSINE,

Yow had long agoe from me, ane account of our Parliament; what hes fallen out since in England and Ireland, yow know it as well as I. The world sees the passages daylie in print, and, it is lyke, manie hands will be carefull to give account to posteritie of so manie notable pieces of state as have fallen out this year in our dominions. The misintelligence of the King with his Parliament continues to this day. When they had found the accusation, and assaye to arrest by force, in the midst of the House of Commons, fyve of their weell deserving members, to[gether with] the King's long stay in his way from Scotland, and extraordinarie careffing of the Citie of London, they became more jealous than ever that their old enemies was on some new wayes to make all their labours fruitless. Their great fears forced them to these

⁽⁶⁾ Alluding to a pamphlet attributed to Lord Warriston, *infra*, p. 43.

guards, which occasioned the King in malcontentment to goe from Whythall, and the Queen to leave the kingdome. Mutuall misunderstandings hes ever since increased pitifullie; the putting of Sir William Balfour from the Tower of London; my Lord Digbie's appearing in armes about Kingstoune, his flight to Holland, and idle letters to the King and Queen; my Lord Newcastle's attempt on Hull, before Sir John Hotham's comeing there; Sir John's refuseing to let the King enter; his Majestie's besiedging of that place; my Lord Warwick's useing of the navie against the King's mind; the great desertion of the Parliament, by noblemen and others; that thryce traitor Goring's delyverie of Portsmouth to the King; hes now weell neir betrayed Ireland to the will of the barbarous rebels, hes put Inghland in the posture of a most civill dangerous warre, the event whereof, what it may be, we tremble to think. The best affected of our Councill, before these evils went so high, thought meet to send up our Chancellour to see what his counsell might effectuate betuixt King and Parliament. His Majestie, at that time, mislyked the way of intercession, and caused the Chancellour to return; withall requiring our Councill to read and consider all that had past betuixt him and the Parliament, that finding how much he was injured by them in his just and legall prerogative, our Councill might, in name of our kingdom, declare their sense of these wrongs to the Parliament, by what commissioners they pleased. To this councill-day were invited, by his Majestie's letters, all the noblemen and other counsellors who were affected his way. The Parliament, to prevent inconveniencies, moved our Commissioners to send doune Sir Archibald Johnstoune with a declaration from them of their proceedings; trusting thereby to demonstrate, that all their wayes with his Majestie should appeare necessare and just. Upon that meeting of our Councill there was manie eyes. The Banders flocked to the Toune with so great backs, the Chancellour and Argyle's company was so small, that there was a great rumor raised of a wicked designe against Argyle's persone: bot incontinent the gentrie and ministrie of Fyfe running over in thousands, and the Louthians with the Towne of Edinburgh cleaving to Argyle above expectation, the Banders courage and companies of horse and foot melted as snow in a hott sunshyne. A paper of Sir Archibald Johnstoun's, as A Letter to a Friend, gave so good satisfaction to the minds of men; the petition of those who mett was so resolute, and full, and weell received; my Lord Montgomerie's

petition⁽⁷⁾ was so evill taken ; that the Councill, however at the beginning, for the farre most part, so resolute to have concluded a boasting mediation to the terrifying of the Parliament, yet in end was glad to lay down all such motions. Since the King was not able to carrie his intentions, his pleasure was, we should desist for the tyme to assay any accommodation. When the Marqueis Hamiltoun had left, first the Parliament, and then the King, we thought he had come to us with some instructions from the one or both ; bot it seemes he had nothing from either : bot to eschew drowning, had choosed to leave both for a tyme, since both could not be kept, and to both his obligations were exceeding great.

It were a great pittie that our armes were so unhappilie employed, when there is so fair ane occasion offered to sett our friends abroad on their feet, and to put our enemies once for all over the bray, never more to arise to their terrible former greatnes. When the Swedds have defeat the Imperiall and Saxon army, killed their generall Lovenburgh, run through at their pleasure Silesia, Boheme, Moravia, and are lyke, for all the opposition that Leopold and Piccolomenie can make, to affray Austria and Bavaria with the evils of fyre and sword ; when the Hassian and French army are so long a tyme domineering along all the Bishoprick of Culein ; when Don Melos, for all his advantage of the taking of Bassell, and routing the French army, is forced to content himselfe with a walk from one end of these provinces to the other, without any profite bot the beholding of the Bavarian army at Culein, and the looking thereafter on the walls of Sedan ; when the Spanish plott against France hes produced no other fruit bot Monsieur's flight out of France, Bouillon's imprisonment, and Legrand's execution ; when the taking of Perpignan will confirme the conquests of Catalonia, and further the revolt of Aragon ; when Parma's warre with the Pope diminisheth the Church's authoritie in Italie ; when the subsistence of the Portugall at home, and the falling in of his ancient Provinces to him abroad, drawes the best blood from the King of Castill ; when Holland is confirming and encreassing their power in Asia and America,—That we should be occupied in so lamentable a civill warre, it is the fruit of our finnes, and the wicked folly of the misleading faction, who for all its wounds and dissipation is yet alive, and als maliciouslie active as ever : Bot God will send better.

At this tyme I will only give yow ane accompt of our late

(7) The Bander's petition, presented to the Privy Council the 25th of May 1642.

Affemblie at St. Andrewes. On our way we heard of fundrie rumors of the Banders intention to assay their numbers, to extort from the Affemblie ane exposition of our Covenant, favourable for ane expedition to England for vindication of the King's honour, which was alleadged to be unjustlie trampled upon by the Parliament. However, we found no footstep, when we came to the place, of any such plott; yet to preveen it, manie of our best noblemen thought meet to countenance the Affemblie: not onlie all the noblemen of Fyfe, Weems, Burghlie, Sinclare, Elcho, Balcarras; bot Argyle also brought over with him Eglintoun, Caffills, Glencarne, Lauderdale, Gordoun, Maitland, and others, which all were elders, and voyced. The Parliament of England also thought meet to send to us, by our Commissioners, a Declaration of their earnest desyre to have their Church reformed according to the word of God, and a copy of their Petition to the King for peace. Left the carrier hereof, Mr. Robert Barclay, should have been so long detained by the King, whom he was directed to visit by the way, ane other copie was sent to us, which came with Mr. Borthwick's man, on the fourth morning, from London. We thought ourselves much honoured by the respectfull letters both of the King and Parliament to us. It seemes it concerned both to have our good opinion.

On Mononday, the 25th of July [1642], we came over the water; not without danger and fear. Tuesday the 26th, we came to St. Andrewes. We found there, in the people, much profanitie in ignorance, fwearing, drunkenesse, and the faults of the worfe burghs, with extraordinarie dearth. On Wednesday, 27th, was a fast. Mr. Henderfone preached graciousslie and wyselie, on 2 Cor. vi. 1, 2, 3; taxed freelie the vyces of ministers, among other the humor of novation. In the afternoon, Mr. Blair had a sermon on Isaiah lii. 7, 8, 9. He had preached thryce that week for Mr. Ruthersford, and was unwell: It seemes he expected Mr. Andrew Ramsay to have preached that dyett, being the antecedent Moderator; bot he was absent, not being a Commissioner. After both sermons, we entered the Old Colledge Hall with great trouble. Dunfermling took the chair of estate for the King. He was in his way for France; for hither his minde carryed him, against the heart of all his friends: bot having this favourable commission put on him, by all men's expectation, he came with a number of his noble friends; his nephew, the Master of Yester, did carrie the commission in a purse before him. After prayer, the Moderator

leited Mr. R. Dowglas, Mr. J. Boner, Mr. A. Cant, Mr. R. Blair. Caffills, for the keeping of the Affembly's libertie, caused add Mr. R. Ramfay. Mr. J. Boner got some voyces; the rest almost none: bot unanimouſlie Mr. R. Dowglas was choſen. Before the election, the commiſſions were given in, the names were read, and booked. Want of charges made manie Preſbytries ſend bot one miniſter. The King's commiſſion was referred to conſideration, becauſe of a claufe of the Chancerie, of not tranſferring the Synod without his Grace's advyce. The King's letter was read: it was verie gracious; yet had a diſcharge, expreſſe enough, to meddle with any thing concerned us not. The Commiſſioner craved libertie of aſſeſſors: (he ſpake little and low,) it was refuſed, except for private conſultation. The King had written to Hamiltoun, Argyle, the Chancellour, Mortoun, and Southesk, to attend, and aſſiſt him. Argyle read his letter; bot profeſſed his preſence there alone, in qualitie of a ruleing elder from the Preſbytrie of Enraray [Inverary]. Southesk did ſitt at his footſtooll, and oft whiſpered his not verie favorie advyce. None of the other appeared. The commiſſion from Camphire was welcomed.

Thurſday, 28th of July, I was ſent for by the Moderator in the morning to Mr. Blair his chamber. There the Moderator had appointed his privie meetings with his aſſeſſors, for regulating of difficill affaires. The members were ſecretlie advertiſed; for none were allowed publickly: Mr. Henderſone, Mr. Cant, Mr. Dickſone, Mr. Blair, Mr. Fleeming, Argyle, Caffills, Lauderdale, Sir Archibald Johnſtoun, Mr. G. Wintoun, John Binnie. We reſolved there upon the Committees. We were feared for a ſtorme about novations. The ableſt men of the kingdom were preſent. I advyſed to name the committee for regulating of Shetland and Orkney firſt, and to put upon it theſe men from whom they expected more faſherie, ſuch as Mr. H. Guthrie, Mr. D. Dalgleiſh, and fundrie moe. The committies for bills and reports I got ſo ordered, that Mr. Ja. Boner became moderator for the one, and Mr. Robert Ramfay for the other, with Mr. George Young his clerk, who made all the reports in the face of the Synod, as he had done twice before; onlie ſome of my friends were neglected through my forgetfullneſs, who therefore were like to have created us trouble, had I not gotten to them ſome employment thereafter. The Clerk had drawn up a number of matters for the Synod, which then we examined. No ſermon that day, for Mr. R. Ramfay, nominat by the Moderator bot yeſternight, had refuſed. In

the Affembly, the committies for bills, reports, and Shetland, were appointed, as we had resolved. The commissions for visiting the Univerſitie of St. Andrewes and Glaſgow were renewed. I admired the induſtrie of Argyle. All the dyetts of our Synod he kepted, and did give moſt and beſt advyſe in everie purpoſe came by hand. Our privie Committee, before or after the Affembly, he never miſſed; the committee for viſitation of the Univerſities he punctuallie attended, and yet never compleaned of wearineſs. We put Eglintoun on the committee of bills, and Glencarne on the reports, where he became a little more buſie than was weell taken. Becauſe of the ignorance of the Acts of Generall Affemblies, the Clerk was deſyred to draw together in one bodie the generall Acts of the old Affemblies, to be readie for the preſſe, and to print, without delay, the Acts of the laſt fyve Affemblies. Mr. George Halliburton was ſomewhat tedious in his ſpeeches anent the plantatioun of Dundie. His ſone was preſented by the Viſcount of Didup; yet at the Towne's deſyre, the young man did paſſe from his preſentation. Mr. D. Dalgleiſh did ſpeak much and weell, bot ſo boldlie and oft, that he was little regarded. Mr. George Gilleſpie's cauſe came in. His patrons Weems and Elcho did ſpeak much for his retention; himſelf alſo was verie earneſt to ſtay. Manie did marvell of the difficultie wes made; ſince long before, as was alleadged, the Toune of Edinburgh had agreed with Mr. George for his transportation, with his patron's conſent. The King's letter was read againe, and overtures for Papiſts, and preſentations, were referred to the Moderator. The Committees were appointed in the afternoone. At our meeting, it was laid on Mr. Henderſone to anſwer the King's and Parliament's letters. The overture anent Papiſts was committed to me, which I drew, as it was thereafter approven in the Affembly, without alteration. We ſpake much of Patronages. The overture whereupon the Commiſſioners of Parliament had agreed with the King, I ſhew was of no uſe to us; for it was hard for us to finde one perſon to a vacant kirk; bot to ſend up fix to the King, wherever he was, to preſent any one whereof we would aſſure ſhould be accepted, by all who had enterest, it was not poſſible. Argyle made a fair offer for himſelf, and all the noblemen preſent; hoping to perſuade other noblemen and gentlemen to doe the lyke, that they would give free libertie to preſbytries and people to name whom they would to vacant places, on condition the Affembly would obleidge intrants to reſt content with modified ſtipends. I reaſon-

ed againſt this condition, not for ſtipends already modified, but where benefices were yet intire; for there it was hard for us to dilapidat theſe few relicks with our own hand. Lauderdale was much againſt popular elections. So we reſolved to have nothing ſpoken at all of Patronages.

Fryday, 29th. The Provinciall Aſſembly books were produced by the Commiſſioners where the Clerk reſided. A very weell-penned letter from fundry noblemen and gentlemen was read, for help of Miniſters to Ireland. After much private debate, Mr. David Dickſone having peremptorie reſuſed, it was laid by the voyces of the Aſſembly on Mr. R. Blair and Mr. Ja. Hamiltoun to goe to Ireland for the firſt four moneths; on Mr. R. Ramſay [and] Mr. J. Mackleland for four moneths following; on Mr. J. Livingſtoun and me for the nixt four. It came ſo ſuddenlie on me, that all my oppoſition was in vaine; and it was the Aſſembly's care, to beware leſt all the men who went over to that land ſhould be in danger, in the firſt ſetling of that Church, to favour any differences from our Church. There was much debate for reading of the Parliament of England's letters: the Commiſſioner was paſſionate that no anſwer might be given to them till the King's licence might be obtained for that end. When his weeping could not obtaine this, Southek ſuggeſted the delay of anſwer only for 24 houres. This alſo was reſuſed; for however the anſwer was not ready for ſome days thereafter, yet we eſteemed it a dangerous preparative, to be hindered to anſwer, when we ſand meet, the motion made to us by leſſe conſiderable parties than the Parliament of England. Mr. R. Brown, haveing ſatiſfied the Preſbytrie of Penpont for his long delay to come in the Covenant, upon his humble petition, was received ane expectant. Afternoon, in our Committee, the book of the Commiſſioners of the laſt General Aſſembly was reviſed, and approven by us. Mr. A. Henderſone made a long and paſſionate apologie for his actions; that the nomination of William Murray to be agent for the Kirk till the nixt Aſſembly, was by the Commiſſioners, and not by him; that the man had done manie good offices, and none evill, to the Church; that he had reſuſed to ſerve any longer in that place; that what himſelf had gotten from the King, for his attendance in a painfull charge, was no penſion; that he had touched as yet none of it; that he was vexed with injurious calumnies. After the venting of his ſtomack, to all our much compaſſion, the gracious man was eaſed in his mind, and more cheerfull. It is true, ſome

expressions in his sermons before the King, and his familiarities with Will. Murray, who was thought to be deep in all the plots, made him somewhat less haunted by our nobility than before; and Mr. D. Calderwood and Mr. And. Blakhall their censure of the Ministry of Edinburgh, in the late Provincial of Lothian, for not applying their doctrine to the evils of the time; also his dissuading of his acquaintance, at Mr. W. Scot's buriall, to come over to the Council-day, and his small countenancing of the Ministers petition to the Council, occasioned many unpleasant whispers against him; but certainly the man's great honesty, and unparalleled abilities to serve this Church and Kingdom, did ever remain untainted.

Mr. R. Blair and Mr. S. Rutherford moved us to assist them for an act of transportability. There was a great heart burning for the time in the Town. Mr. Andrew Affleck of Largo had been nominated by Mr. A. ⁽¹⁾ to have been his colleague in St. Andrewes: the whole Town did much affect him. Mr. R. and Mr. Sa. had given once way to his transportation hither; yet when Mr. Ja. Bruce, and Mr. Arthur Mortoun, and Mr. George Hamiltoun, had carried the plurality in the Presbytery for his keeping at Largo, his doctrine not being so spiritual and powerful as the case of St. Andrewes required, Mr. Robert plainly avowed his dissent from his transportation; whereupon almost the whole Town did much storme, and refused to regard any of Mr. R. and Mr. Sa. desires. This made both urge at least a transportability. I helped Mr. Sa. to obtain it; but to my great repentance, if he make any use, as he is too much inclined, of that his liberty. Mr. R. got some more contentment by the transporting of Mr. Andrew Hinniman to be his colleague. Mr. Andrew Affleck also was taken to Dundie, for the ending that teach plea betwixt the town and the Constable.

All this while my Lord Eglintoun was seeing what he might gett done for my retaining. He was assured by all, that the Assembly would transport me; and, for this effect, Edinburgh had sent a warrant to their Commissioners, which I knew not for the time. His Lordship, therefore, resolved to speak nothing of his appeal; only he required the favour of an act to transport in the Synod of Glasgow any he could find without a burgh and nobleman's residence. This was granted: and so his Lordship went away, being

⁽¹⁾ Probably a mistake in the MS. for "Mr. R."—that is, Mr. Robert Blair, one of the Ministers of St. Andrews.

much afflicted with the death of his noble sonne Sir Alexander, the Colonell.

The 4th session was on Saturday, July 30th. A letter from a number of English Ministers at London was read, showing their desire of Presbyterian Government, and a full union with our Church. The question of Mr. Jo. Bruce's admission came in. The Patron, Presbytery, and Provinciall Synod, urged his receiving; William Rigg, and the people, vehementlie opposed, because of his great insufficiency, and neglect of some part of his tryall: he was decerned to be admitted. Mr. Andrew Stewart's question was agitated: the Provinciall of Galloway had made an act, to put all the transported Ministers in their bounds unto all the tryalls required of expectants. This by all was thought to be absurd; yet the Clerk fell on an overture concluded in the last Assemblie, giving libertie to Presbyteries to put ministers to some tryall. The exposition of this act was committed to some who made a commodious interpretation thereof. Sundry bills, and reports of particular affaires, were discussed.

On Sunday, Mr. D. Dick preached, most on the afflictions of ministers, for the comfort of Mr. Blair, as I took it; but was not thought pertinent by the most. Afternoon, Mr. A. Cant preached zealously, on "The zeal of thy house did eat me up."

Monday, the 1st of August, session 5th. The principall of the English Parliament's declaration to us, with their petition for peace to the King, being presented by Mr. Barclay, was read. The King's verie sharp answer, presented by his Grace, was read after it. We had some debate in our Committee about the public reading of the King's answer; yet all did consent it should be read. The Assemblie resolved to supplicate the King, and to deal with the Parliament, for peace. The pieces were drawn up by Mr. Henderson, and committed to my Lord Maitland to deliver; which produced that gracious returne from the Parliament which you see in print. A number of bills and reports were dispatched. Mr. John Guthrie thought he had satisfied for his late subscription of the Covenant, and was earnestlie supplicated for by the whole Provinciall of Murray; yet the patron's (Duffus) dissenting, could not be replanted in his old church. The Assemblie did present Mr. G. Halliburton to the church of Bonimoon: the Presbytery of Brechin alleadges their right: it is resolved that the rights of Presbyteries and Synods must cease, and dissolve in the hands of Generall Assemblies fitting. That great contest had been in Glas-

gow anent the choyse of their seffion, we gott it settled with motioning the occasion ; the old Seffion was ordained to choise the new ; bot that question, which some would have moved, If the old Seffion, being vitiouslie chosen, was to be the elector ? we did suppress. The negligence of some clerk had lost the most part of the acts of the Presbytrie at Newcastle ; bot it was ordained to deliver all could be had to Sir Archibald Johnstone, to keep them *in retentis*. In the afternoon, we had much debate for novations in our Committee. Mr. Andrew Cant, as I alleadged, being putt to by his nephew, did much extenuate them. Mr. Henderfone and Mr. R. Murray fell sharplie on him. He freed himself of all suspition. I was vexed on all hands in the Committee. I was mouth for those who pressed the danger of novations ; out of it I was beaten on as too slack in that matter. When, by the cunning delays of some, the matter was lyke to be cast to the end of the Synod, and so to evanish, I gave over my agentrie ; whereupon these who hated novations being intraged, drew a Petition to be subscryved by too many hands (A.) This I brought to our Committee : it put them in a fray of division. They laid it on me to draw up ane Act, (B) which I did to the satisfaction of all once ; yet thereafter, some of our Committee repenting of their consent, it was laid on Mr. Henderfone to make ane Explanation of the former act anent novations (C.) His draught did displease more than myne. At last, for feare of scandall, we agreed on passing for the tyme all acts, and wryting a letter by the Moderator to the Presbyteries troubled with novations. This letter I drew (D.) to the satisfaction of all ; yet, after the Assemblie dissolved, the forme of my draught was altered : bot to the better (E.) This letter we brought from the Presbyteries it was sent to, into our provinciall Synod, where we got it insert in the questions of our visitations of Churches, that novations in our bounds should be stopped according to that letter : this was the most difficult matter in our Synod. Our Northland brethren were much inflamed ; and if it had come in face of Synod, would have made ane violent act ; yet the places of these evils being alone among us in the West, they did leave the agenting of it to us. Diverse practises of the brethren of Galloway, speciallie the deposition of Mr. Gilbert Power, had wakened many of us against their new way : yet the manageing of that matter, by God's goodnesse, falling in my poor hands, it was guided so peaceable as I was able, and all was for this once fairlie carried to all fydes reasonable contentment.

The next three sessions, on Tuesday, August 2d, and Wednesday 3d, before and afternoone, were spent on particulars, or perfyting the particulars before mentioned. Everie Assemblie is troubled with the plantation of Edinburgh. A little before this Assemblie, their clerk, Mr. Guthrie, with his fyde of the Councill, had been buffie to have drawn in his good commerad Mr. A. Fairfoull from Leith; bot the most of the Toun being grieved with the motion, called themselves together in the Church by the bell after the second fermone; and finding my transportation to Glasgow past, gave a call in the Synod to three, the one failling the other, Mr. Ja. Hamilton, Mr. D. Forret, Mr. Mungo Law. In Mr. James they gott a *nolumus*. Mr. D. did so peremptorie refuse in private and publict, that a whisper went among us he had a dangerous disease; yet when four of us were sent out to conferre with him, we fand nothing bot too great and somewhat melancholic modestie in the man. Upon our report the Assemblie voiced his abideing. In the meane tyme, the Councill of Edinburgh sent over to their Commiffioners new instructions to petition for me and Mr. R. Knox. My matter was then past. Mr. R. Knox was not so weell lyked of: so they moved only for a power to the Commiffioners of the Generall Assemblie to plant them in one man. They pitched on Mr. James Wright; bot his health wes known to be so extraordinarie evill in the toun, that we voyced his abyding: so yet they have been unhappie in their choyces. The last Synod sent to Presbyteries a number of overtures for regulating of transportations. No diligence was used to count of, for their examination or perfyting; so they past in acts at this tyme, rashlie enough in my judgement: bot because of my interest, I meddled not in that matter. The Isle of Sky was adjoyned to the province of Argyle, and not to Rosse. The Earle of Irwine was licentiat to take over to France any two ministers he could perswade for his regiment; the one to be provyded in a thousand pound; the other a thousand merk with intertainment to themselves, horse, and man.

Sessions 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, on Thursday and Fryday, these acts past which yow see in print, with a number of particulars. The Synod of Galloway was much eyed for diverse of their rash acts; their act of putting ministers to the tryall of expectants was repealed; their deposition of ane old man, Mr. George Kinkaid, near 80 years, for insufficiencie, was found unjust. The causes of Mr. Gilbert Power's deposition by all were found null, and he ordained

to be repofed by Mr. Ja. Boner. At the day of reposition a number of gentlewomen and others came to the Church, and with clubs and ftaves made oppofition. This infolencie filled all the countrey with clamour, and made the hornes of the new way a little more confpicuous. The difdaine of that affront caft good Mr. Ja. Boner in a long and dangerous feaver. In our meeting at Edinburgh we concurred with Mr. Gilbert to complain of the riot. The Councill took order as we defyred; only we advyfed, and fent our advyfe to the Prefbytries of Galloway, to put all who were convicted to their publick repentance at the churches of Maybole and Stanikirk. Upon the parties humble penitence, and Mr. Gilbert's peaceable repoffeffion, we refolved to fupplicat the Councill for the mitigation of the civill censure. Mr. George Young, clerk of the reports, and fome other, handled that matter fo, that the impertinencie of thefe of Galloway was made palpable to the whole Synod. There was a fafhious proceffe alfo from the Prefbytrie of St. Andrewes. Mr. D. Mernes, a man blamelefs, and of common parts of learning, had been depofed truelie for unfufficiencie; bot a number of other things were put in his fentence, which all were found to be null. With much adoe the fentence flood; bot with fome qualification for the man's credite, and a provifion out of his Church of 400 merks till he was otherwayes provyded. Mr. A. Afflect, Mr. A. Petrie, and Scotifcraige, were appointed for vifitation of Orknay and Shetland. The fighting of the provinciall books wes for good purpofe. A commiffion was drawn up, as yow fee in print, for attending now and then in Edinburgh: a number of good motions was recommended to their care. Upon Argyle his contryving and motion, Maitland unanimouflic was fent as our Commiffioner to King and Parliament, wherein he proved both wyfe, induftrious, and happy. Montgomerie's petition came in hands; fharp enough flyting there was about it betuixt his Grace and Argyle: allwayes for time to come we made ane act againft fuch prefumption. For the tranfmitting of our Covenant to pofteritie, it was appointed, that of the principall there fhould be three famous tranfumpts, under the hand of the Clerk-Register, the Clerk of the Affemblic, and Councill, to be fett in the books of Parliament, Affemblic, and Councill. Mr. Ja. Fairly had oft been a fupplicant for fome place in his great neceffitie; when after long delayes, there did no poffibillitie appear of any flock who would be entreated to receave him, at laft Mr. A. Afflect's transportation to Dundie opened a doore to young

Durie in Largo, where he was patron, to receive his old master, at all our requests.

On Saturday was our 13th and last session. Here a fast was appointed. The causes were drawn up by some longsome and unmeet hand; the draught read was mislyked, and drawn better, as yow may see (F.); yet the print compend is not so good as this. The motion for twentie shilling from everie church was granted to Ja. Murray for this year also; it is lyke it will not be granted again: it is thought a needles burden. The man is called weak, and dear in his extracts. I disuaded Sir Archibald from moving any thing of ane adjunct; yet he did venture, and carried it. He shew his willingness to serve us all his dayes faithfullie and gratis; onlie for his help he desyred he might have one to assist the Kirk meeting when he could not attend, and for giving of extracts, for whose actions he should be answerable. No man did oppose the motion. Scotticraig, since no expenses was allowed, did excuse himself from his voyage to Orknay; and the tutor of Pitligo was named for him. Commissioners of the neighbour Presbyteries appointed to meet with the Presbytrie of St. Andrewes, for settling the differences anent the plantation of the toune; which was done with good successe. The next Assemblie appointed at Edinburgh the first Wednesday of August. The Moderator spake verie wyselie both to ministers and elders, speciallie about keeping of unitie, and being warr of novation. All ended in great peace and love.

After the Assemblie we had not much inward trouble. The letter about novations we made be read in our provinciall Synod of Iruine, and from thence to be sent to particular sessions, where it calmed somewhat the headyness of people; bot the brethren which were taxed thereby, whereof there were some six or seven in Aire, and two or three elsewhere, were the more stirred, and prepared themselves to wryte, as they say, for strengthening their tenets. Some of them are verie headie; yet we are comforted, that they increase not in number, the excesses of some of their followers, who have fallen to rigid Brounisme in whole, does much skarr good people from that way; as also the Presbytrie of Edinburgh their diligence, who, upon the delatione from the Synod of Aberdeen of one Gearnes, a gentleman, his avowed Brownisme, caused read out of all the citie pulpits a warning against that way, as yow have it at (G.) In that our provinciall we made good overtures, for absence, and visitation of churches, which Mr. R. Ramfay drew up in that forme yow see at (H.) They are too long. If

we get the substance of them past the Generall [Assembly], which we mind to try, as we gott them through the Provinciall, our Church Discipline will be better execute.

The commiffion from the Generall Assemblie, which before was of small use, is lyke to become almost a constant judicatorie, and verie profitable; bot of so high a straine, that to some it is terrible allreadie. In one of the two or three meetings I was present; for besyde the public advertisement from the Moderator of the last Generall Assemblie, who is constant conveener and moderator, I was seriouſlie desyred to come by my Lord Warristoune. Our errand was, to hear acompt of my Lord Maitland's negociatione. He delyvered to us the Parliament of England's returne, granting all our desyre, in abolishing of Bishops, and requireing some of our Ministers to assist at their Synod against the 5th of November, or when it might be called. Of this we were verie glad, and blessed God. From the King, his answer was, a promise to consider our desyres. It was found expedient to nominate Commissioners, that might be in readines. It was intended by some, that onlie Ministers should goe, and that verie few. In the meeting I moved the conjunction of Elders; bot I gott not a man to second me; so I gave it over: yet the absurditie and danger of such ane omiffion pressing my mind, I drew up reasons (I.) for my judgement, which I communicat to Argyle and Warristone; and when they had lyked the motion, I went so about it, that at the nixt meeting it was carryed without opposition. Fearing I might be one of the number to goe, I dealt in private to my uttermost to declyne it; besyde the hazardous travell, I remember the great losse I was verie near to have suffered by my last voyadge, had not my good friend Mr. George Young represented to my Lord Chancelor and Argyle the truth from this wryte (J.). Alwayes my experience made me upon manie grounds to declyne that voyadge, some whereof, intending to be gone before the election, I left in wryte to Mr. George Young to be communicat to the meeting (K.), yet I was forced to stay the election. Sundrie would faine have been employed; and lest they should have gotten themselves named, Argyle, in his cunning way, gott them on the committee of nominators. That committee named Mr. Henderſone, Mr. R. Douglas, Mr. S. Rutherford, Mr. G. Gillespie, and me; Caffillis, Maitland, and Waristoune, for elders. Mr. Alexander was extreamlie averſe from goeing, protesting his firme expectation of death before he could attain London: bot when all could not prevail, he passionatelie compleaned of the

great ingratitude he had found of fundrie, who put heavie burdens on him, and were readie to invent or receave injurious calumnies of him. Caffillis was much averse and made great opposition. Everie man said something; bot no man was gotten excused. The miserable condition of the English affaires have yet kepted us all at home.

At that tyme the King was setting up his standard at Nottingham, bot was coming small speed. My Lord Brooke's forces gave the cavaleers fundrie disasters. It was thought, if Essex, in his first march, had used his tyme, the King's armie might easilie have been dissipat, as Bedford did clean beat Hartford out of the fields, as Manchester dissipat Strange his forces, and Fairfax with Hotham did reigne about York. As Portsmouth did render, and nothing appeared of note from Denmark and Holland, so the King's maine armie could not have sustained any great impression if it had been hotlie pursued; bot getting breath and strength from Wales, and being lett goe by at Shrewsburie, by Essex, at once they took that strange resolution of running straight upon London, the heart of the Parliament, where it seems they had intelligence, and great hope of a partie, and the conjunction of Kentshyre being alienat from the Parliament, by their Dearing's disgrace.

In this quick and long march, yow know their meeting at Kyn-toune, where, above all expectation, there was a great battell. To this day the relations are much contrare. That we hear most constant is, that Prince Rupert and Ruthven routed both the wings of the Parliament's horse, and if they had returned timeously from the chase, the foot also might have been undone; bot the foot have been most brave fellows. In some three hours at most, Lindsay the King's generall was killed, his standard taken and regained, a great carnage of men, above six thousand seven hundred were counted buried in that parochie. Both have been throughlie frayed, for the next weell near two dayes, keeping about the same field, neither durst make anie new onsett. Yet with his laimed armie the King makes on toward London; bot Essex preveens, and laid the bodie of his armie in the citie. It seems that his Majesties confidence of a partie has been great, when being weell near beaten by a part, at leist not the whole of Essex's armie, and that harrased in their swift march, he durst yet venture on Brainford, and thereafter intend to assay both Essex's refreshed armie, and all the force of the citie. The most thinks this rashness might have cost him dear, had not good friends in Essex's councill hindered his onsett

and revenge at Brainfoord, much against the advyce of our Hurrie, who for his stoutness and wisdom that day was much cryed up by the Londoners, and intrusted, albeit under the name of Sir William Waller, with a fleeing power of dragoneers, wherewith he took Chichester from Crawfoord's select troupes, and Winchester with Grandeson the governour. The King was glad to retire, since no friendship did appear either in London or Kent, and the Castle of Windsor was made good, by Sir John Seaton, against Prince Rupert. At this place both he since lyen somewhat quiet, the Parliament not daring to attempt Redding, nor the Cavileers Windfore. The King he turned the Parliament's ingyne against them. They resolved, without strokes, to have starved the King's armie for want of monies; but he by the diligence of the Queen, with your Prince, and other her industries, having gotten much monie from abroad, and much also at home by force and intreatie, he hopes to subsist at Oxfoord till the mutinies of the Londoners for want of trade, and the failling of the friendlie shires, after so vast souldes as Scotland, Ireland, and these warres has drawn from them, force the Parliament to put a blank in his hand; which as yet they are not minded to doe, albeit grievously overburdened.

That countrie is in a most pitifull condition; no corner of it free from the evils of a cruell warre. The case is lyke the old miseries of the Guelphs and Gibelines. Everie shire, everie citie, manie families, divided in this quarrell; much blood and universall spoyle made by both where they prevail. Besyde the maine armies, which he made their marches to and fro from Wales to London, there hath been in the north all this winter on foot Newcastle, and Cumberland, and now King, for the King; Fairfax, Hotham, and Chomley, for the Parliament. In the In-shires Derby for him, others for them. In Cornwall, Hoptoun for him, and Stainfoord for them, betwixt which there hath been continuall skirmishing, let be plundering and fessing. Of these evils great appearance of increase with the Spring. We might have been happie instruments of accommodation, had not the wilfulness of both parties going about in a circle, upon their apprehension of their advantage, made them both, but by turnes, untractable, and our own unhappie divisions made us lesse considerable mediators.

I told yow how the way of our first mediation was rejected by the King when our Chancellour came up to York, for then there was hopes of carrying Hull, and of drawing our whole Councill

to declare the equitie of the King's proceedings; bot the Parliament preveened that by Sir Archibald Johnstoun's voyage, by his Letter to a friend, by the Fiffe petition, and conveening the Conservators of peace, who overswayed in that poynt the Councill. At that tyme the King being desperat of our assistance, and the Parliament apprehending no need of it, we were no more solisted by either: so we for a long tyme lay verie calme and secure. The Marqueiffes Hamiltoun and Argyle intim familiaritie, keepest down the malcontents from anie stirring. Yet I was ever fearing what William Murray, who was in the deep of all the King's secrets, his long stay in the Abbey, and his frequent privat meeting with Hamiltoun, might produce. But after Kintoun and Brainfoord or thereabouts, when Newcastle had gathered his northern armie, and in his publick manifest had avowed his imploying of Papists, the Parliament being much abated in courage, they thought meet to crave help of us. There was a great word of commiffioners coming from them to our Councill, and it was a wonder, if they desyred anie help, that they denyed not to use some better meanes for its obtaining. I know there appeared ane inclination in manie to have raised some men to have lyen on the Borders, for our own safetie, at least, if commiffioners had come. Bot such was their, (as I take it,) oversight, that they used no other meanes bot a declaration of their desyre to have our help according to the late Treatie. This is delyvered to Lindsay at London; who immediatelie goes out with it to Ridding, I think, to the King. We heard no more of it for a long tyme, till Lanerick comes down to our Councill with the King's letter, answering that declaration in a most bitter stile. Hamiltoun here bestirres himself, so that the Councill gives warrand to print that letter, for the information of the whole kingdome of the King's equitable proceedings. This was a trumpet that wakened us all out of our deep sleep. Finding that Hamiltoun, Lanerick, Lindefay, had concurred, so farr beynde our expectation, to gett that letter printed, and the Parliament's declaration suppressed, also that Lanerick professed farder instructions to be delyvered to the Councill, 4th of January, we conceaved it likelie that they were, by all the power they had, to gett through a warrand for a leavie to the King. This put us all agast; for we were feared that the first action of such ane armie, might have been the knocking doune our best patriots, who latelie had most opposed the malcontents. To preveen this, there was a great concourse, speciallie from Fyfe, of gentlemen and ministers, to Edinburgh. The Com-

missioners of the Church, the Conservators of peace, the Council, mett all by themselves. The gentry drew up a petition, with the advyce of the Church commissioners, to the Conservators of peace, for to deall with the Council, that the Parliament of England's declaration might be printed as weell as the King's letter; and that it might be declared, that the warrand which the Council gave for printing of the King's letter, should not be counted anie approbation of the matter therein. This they easilie obtained; for Lanerick, at the instant, took out of his pocket a letter from the King, defyring almost the same. Here the matter might have rested: for Lanerick finding the people awakened, thought meet to suppress all his farder commissions; onlie he shew he had brought a safe conduct from the King, which long before was come from the Parliament, for anie we pleased to send to treat. Bot to be even with the Parliament, who had excepted Lennox and Roxburgh from treating, he shew, the King would not have Warristone and Kers; neither, as some say, the Chancellor. It was feared that the faction haveing gotten the new accession of the Hamiltouns, should be most in Council, and so carrie it, that the Marqueis should not onlie be a treater, bot get such colleagues as for the most part should be at his devotion. To help this, Argyle and others were carefull, before the nomination of anie, to have the heads of the commission, and all their instructions, agreed upon. Then they wrought, that onlie one from everie Estate should be named. This being obtained, the last point came of will: for it was evident, that none among the nobles was so fitt as the Chancellour, among the gentrie as Sir Archibald, among the burrowes as Mr. Barclay, and a divyne being necessar for the great affair of the Churches full union, none was comparable to Mr. Henderfone. In that designe the faction was clearly overreached; neither was their other designe more happie. They had gotten a number of hands to a Petition, somewhat crosse to the former, (L.) verie cunninglie and dangerouslie drawne by the heads of Hamiltoun and Traquair, and the hand also, as they say, of this last: the double yow have heir of it. This at once, as a most dangerous piece, was flown upon, both by the Church Commissioners and Conservers of peace. When neither privat nor publick dealing, both in fair reasoning, and threats of citation before the Generall Assemblie, could draw anie of them to disavow their petition, the Commissioners of the Church took a verie good and necessar, bot a most peremptor and extraordinar course, of that Declaration against them to be read in all the

Churches, according to that warning which yow see in print. This is lyke to get punctuall obedience by all the ministers of the land, to the greatest disgrace, bot greatest irritation also, that ever that unhappie faction yet suffered. By this means the faction's followers are made fewer ; yet they mind not to give over. The Chancellor had gotten the gathering the annuities ; these were lifted by Traquair peaceable ; bot the malice of these men is such as to strengthen their partie, and grieve their opposites by anie means. They have drawn a supplication to the King, for remission of the annuities, (M.) to which they have gotten manie hands of men, whom a small profite does mislead. This is a verie untimeous motion : If they obtaine it, they must be account benefactors to the countrey, and the Chancellour have so much losse ; bot which is worst, the supplicants must be engaged to the King's partie for that new favour : if they obtain it not, yet they are the lovers of the countries ease ; bot their opposites are oppressors. After the presenting of the Crosse Petition, the gentrie also made a second petition (N.) to the Commissioners of peace, to deall with the King for a Parliament, and we for a Generall Assemblie ; for which end Mr. Henderfone drew a diligat supplication, which we will not gett, till first it come to the King. For all that Hamiltoun could do to the contrar, the petition for a Parliament was made our Commissioners chief instruction.

Our heart-burnings increasse, and with them our dangers ; so much the more as Montrose, Ogilbie, and Boyne, who this long whyle have been verie quiet, are on a sudden to the King ; for what, we cannot tell. We conceive, through the burning of our neighbours houses in England and Ireland, and the great reek that begins to smoak in our own, dangers cannot be small : As yet the ministrie, burrowes, and most of the gentrie, stands fast ; bot we fear the two part of our nobilitie, and manie of our gentrie. Our greatest fears are from the great securitie, ignorance, and profanitie, and scandalous finnes of all estates, alse manie as ever. Wee have no refuge bot the mercie of God, towards which we resolve to flee, especiallie in that publick humiliation 26th of February, and Thursday thereafter. Our commissioners, we hope, before this are at Court : God give them good speed. Whether the Queen's return shall be for the increasse or diminishing of our evils, we will shortly know. I thinke yow have seen that little fyne piece " Plain English." My replie for Mr. Henderfone, printed a year ago, comes bot now to my hand, whereof yow have here a copie ; the

best half of it the knave hes not printed for the manifold Greek citations. The rareness of my letters are abundantlie compensed with their prolixitie ; albeit their number be farr greater this long while than yours, which yow must help, for when yow neglect to wryte, there is no forraigne intelligence here at all, which to the most, if not to all, except some verie few, is little considerable ; such is the stupiditye of men. The Lord be mercifull to our poor land. Farewell.

Your Coufine,

Glasgow, February 18th [1643.]

R. BAILLIE.

By no meanes give over your task, bot be gathering from all hands materialls. What I know I shall ever give yow ane accompt of it soon or syne.

TO MR. GEORGE YOUNG. (²)

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

BEING necessitate to depart, for these reasons I declared to the Moderator, I intreat yow, if any mention be made of my name for a voyage to England, yow will earnestlie supplicat the brethren in my behalf, that they will be loath to overburden me with any such charge. I have had my part of travell for the publick at home and abroad these five years. There are diverse everie way more able than I, for this imployment, if they were required. It were a pitie in my verie first entrie to a verie publick charge in a Univerfitie and prime Burgh, which the Church hes latelie laid upon me, that they should be disappointed of my service so soone. If personall and domestic impediments might be spoken of, believe me I have of these verie considerable. However, I will forbear reasoning, and by my humble prayers, will expect to impetrat from the equitie and goodness of my dear brethren, my earnest desire to serve God and them and these of my charge, at home for this year, with all the strength that God will give me.

If Mr. David be appoynted to goe, I hope none will be so unjust as to think of my going with him ; onlie here I pray yow to

(²) In the 4to. MS. this letter, which has no address, is marked (K.) That it was addressed to Mr. George Young, before the 5th of November 1642, appears from a former passage : *vide supra*, p. 55 ; *vide* also another letter to Young, at page 39.

labour for my looseing from Ireland, lest in one year that Univerfitie and Citie be deprived of both our labours. If for all this it fall out that ye obtain to me no favour, bot that to England, I must goe, I pray yow faill not to bring with yow a letter to our Synod for the supplying my place in the Toune by the three next Presbyteries, by once preaching a week till my returne; and a letter to the Principall and Mr. David for supplying my charge in the Colledge. Also, either in a publick or private way as yow find meetest, see by what meanes I shall be defrayed in so hudge expensive a voyage. When there was a publick house kept, all who hes tryed know what extraordinar charge they were at. What will it be now when no publick table will be gotten kept? At your coming away, give me accompt of all this, together with this same paper inclosed in your letter. Mr. Robert Wallace will send it to Kilwinning. What further news yow gett, let me hear of it; so for this and all bygone, I mind to remaine your fervant.

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

DEAR COUSINE,

WE are somewhat recreat from the thoughts of our miseries at home, when wee see the justice of God against our enemies abroad. Thanks be to God that goes on yet to humble the arch-enemies of his church, the Houffes of Austria and Spain. That Spaine should be oppressed at home without any possibilitie of helping himself, either against Portugall or Catalonia; that he should be forced to dismishe his minioun Olivarez to a monasterie, and condemne the greatest of his nobles Medina Sidonia; that France should aime to put ane Italian, his vassall, in the Dutchie of Millan; and above all, that the report of Mexico's revolt yet continues, we are verie glad: bot we are afraid that the great change in the Court of France by the great Cardinall's death, shall make ane hudge alteration in the affaires of Christendome. It is marvellous that Sax[ony] is obstinate to abyde so manie buffetts from the Swedds. God helps that people strangely. It is a wonder to me that after so manie grosse defaits, the Emperour is ever able to sett in so short tyme so great armies on foot againe; bot no appearance yet for all these advantages over our enemies, of any the least appearance to the house of Pallatine. The hopes there was of peace in England

are now clean evanished. After the crueltie at Brainfoord, the Parliament cast away, for a tyme, all thoughts of peace; so much the more, as the petition of the Londoners got so hask and infnareing ane answer: yet their necessities made them thereafter once to try it. They spent so much tyme in frameing these fourteen propositions, to which the King's answer, with his fix propositions, was not in my mind so intollerable as I have heard it called; bot the Houses debates about disbanding, and a limitat cessation, took so much tyme, to the hudge losse everie day of the land, wee were once much afraid of their fainting: bot since, wee see their courage continues; and their succeffe both in Lancashyre, and Yorkshyre, and Cornwall, hath been prettie good. Yet the traiterous or casuall slaughter of Brooks, and the shamefull desertion of Hollis, hath done them hurt; bot their greatest damage is from your Prince. Readilie his extraordinarie assistance may undoe either him or your States. If the Queen get her will, were it no reasonable she did employ to the uttermost of her power, all the power of this Isle, for the advancement of her great friends fortoun? If God help the Parliament, shall they not labour with the Estates to gett order with these who have been so mightie instruments of their trouble? A hudge pitie that we should be a fountaine of miseries to these flourishing estates; also the churches of France and Germanie are not yet relieved from the woes, they say we occasioned. However, that treatie which was in hand, we hear is broken off, upon the interception of mutuall letters betuixt the King and Queen, since her arryvall. The armyes are making for ane new battell; the Lord save the King and all his family from the least evill. Our prayers are lykewayes for assistance to the Parliament; for all men who here are counted good, continews to be in the opinion, that the weelfare of the reformed religion, not onlie in this Isle, bot whole Christendome, does much depend on their prosperitie. We hear our Commissioners not onlie have all their propositions denyed, bot their persones vilified at Court, and weell near restrained from free meeting with any. The Councill of our malecontents overfwayes there. We fear a storme may shortlie blow among us. Our Declaration against the Crosse Petition was read in all our land, with good succeffe. The Presbytrie of Stirling was lyke to be disobedient; bot shortlie, without hearing, to our great joy, they became better advysed. Since that ground of division was taken away, the malecontents made ane other band of union among themselves: a petition to the King, immediatelie to be eased of the annuitie.

This diverse of the Councill subscryved by Hamiltoun's example and advyce ; bot the diligence and wifdome of Argyle got this also suppressed. He obtained a command of Councill to all burghs and shyres, that there should be no subscryving of that petition. He brought the subscryvers in the Councill weell near to a censure for that dangerous preparative of petitioning the King immediatelie, out of the legall channell of the Councill. Affurance was given, that the Councill would petition effectuellie for remission of the annuitie ; or if that could not be obtained, for employment of it in defraying the common burdens and King's debt, not for any man's private use ; and however, that at the nixt Parliament, they would use all possible meanes for its abolition. This myne being sufficientlie countermyned, upon the first sure report of the Queen's landing, Hamiltoun and Traquair posted away to Yorke where it is feared they have too much influence in her councill. The report goes, which to me is a fable, of Hamiltoun's advancement to a Dutchie, and marriage with one of the Queen of Boheme her daughters, and of a command to all our nobilitie, who are in England, to come home, doubtless for no good to our land ; bot at once yow shall hear of all, as I get information. The two prime presenters of the Crosse petition, verie shortlie thereafter died of a fever, Kellie and Kerr ; and in Kerr all the males of his father's familie ; so that verie great House must goe to a stranger. The affaires of Ireland goe not weell, the Southern armie, about Dublin, for want of pay is bot weak. It is much for them to keep some few townes they have. The Northern armie hath verie hardlie subsisted. The Parliament hath been able, from the beginning, to send them verie little money. The countrey is weell near desolate. Our weell affected noblemen, and others have contribute, by way of loan, near twentie thousand pounds sterling. It is thought, if anie thing be adoe among us, that armie being on foot, and near, may doe us good service. Readilie, our Councill, on Wednesday, may recall our Commissioners. The event of a battell in England, whatever way it fall, may make strange [work] in all our dominions.

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG, JUNE 2d, 1643.

REVEREND AND BELOVED COUSINE,

YOURS of the 3d and 10th of May I receaved, and as I thinke,

all the former. The Mercurius and Spanheim's Oration I delyvered to the Principall. I lyke Spanheim's lightness weell, and his orthodoxie; bot fears his ingyne be not so deep or large as Voetius; allwayes I cannot say, for I never read more of his wrytes. I confesse I am verie evill satisfied with Voetius's Theses of Presbyteries and Synods: in the manner, I think he is obscure, with a multitude of needles distractions and long involved discourfes; in the matter, he sticks so to Parker's grounds of mutuall affociation and *ecclesia prima*, that I wish he had written nothing in this purpose: bot this to yow onlie. Mr. Samuel Rutherford hath much more readie for the presse of that subject. I am teaching also some parrergetick Diatribes of that matter, whilk ye shall see. For your exceeding great care of my nephew, from the beginning to the end of his being with yow, I give yow still exceeding great thanks; we approve weell of all the course yow took, and intreats yow may continue to send him your directions. Of your mother's estate, whom fundrie tymes I see, and of your sifter's sonnes ingyne, I shall give yow ane accompt with the nixt. I have a course, by my Lord Maitland and my Lord Warristoun, of late, to gett the extract of the Parisian Gazet; so hereafter I will ease yow of the labour of the Amsterdam one. I am much in the wrong, and yow are a part in the wait of it, for not counting long before now: yow sent me a note, December 18th 1641, as I think, wherein I was resting yow twenty-nine gilders, five stivers. Since, my debt is much increased; yow must put all together, and cast it in Scotts money, so I will doe my best to be even. I wish yow may further the printing of Dr. Forbes's book: if he be that wyse as to have nothing in it crosse to our Church, it may doe good, and further his peace here.

As for our publick affaires, so far as I understand, this is the present estate. Upon our Councill's, or rather our Conservators of peace, peremptor recalling of our Commissioners against the fifth of May, they were dismissed. That day they went from Oxford, the King and Prince went, with all they could make, towards Reading, to raise Effex's siege; for after the breaking of the treatie, the Parliament gave order to beleagure that toune. Contrare to all men's expectation, the Governour Ashtoun having gotten a wound by a piece of tyle from the wall with a cannon shott, Colonell Feelding did quicklie capitulat. The King's armie was repulsed at a passe with great losse. However, our Commissioners came by Yorke: The Chancellor onlie saluted the Queen.

On the 10th of May we mett at Edinburgh, albeit not verie frequentlie; the Councell, the Conservators of peace, and [Commiffioners] of the common burdens, [and] of the Church, feveralie in their four bodies. My Lord Chancellor and Mr. Robert Barclay made ane account of their negotiation to the Commiffion for peace; Mr. Henderfone made the lyke to us. We found that all had been exceedingly flighted. His Majestie would give them no hearing, till Lanerick, who had fallen among the Parliament's sojourns, were come. Thereafter he pressed to see their instructions: they were offered all on the acceptance of their negotiation; bot so long as their capacitie and power to treat was denyed, they shunned that anticipation of showing their instructions. Hereupon the Chancellor was sharplie upbraided. When at last their instructions were shewed, their power to treat was questioned. This they did make evident in wryte. Before any answer was given, 20 dayes would passe; for his Majestie had no leasure. When they did in 24 houres give in their replies, other 20 dayes would passe before the secretaries, Nicolas, Falkland, Hyde, Ashburnham, Lanerick, could have leasure to answer: So the year should have passed in vaine, had they not been recalled. No privat nor familiar conference they gott, bot all in publict, in a verie harsh way. At their departure, his Majestie told the Chancellour, He would send his minde to the Councill, but by ane other than him. I think Mr. Henderfone had been brought there much by Will. Murray, and some others advyce, who spake much of their confidence that Mr. Henderfone would doe wonders with the King. At his first comeing, the King strove to perswade him of the justice and necessity of his armes, and of the Parliament's evident injuries. When he found Mr. Henderfone not so credulous as he expected, he did at once change his countenance, so much the more as Mr. Pikerings letters, intercepted by Newcastle, did signifie Mr. Henderfone to be the author of that supplication of the Church, which was brought up, and that it was printed at London for the people's great encouragement, before the King had taken leasure to read it. Also the reports of our evill countrey men, of the sermones of our preachers in Edinburgh, and of their prayers, had made not onlie certain persons, bot all of us, verie unfavourie. Their life was verie uncomfortable all the tyme at Oxford; their letters homeward, or from home to them, all broken up. When they complained of this, his Majestie promised it should be helped, if they would purchase from the Parliament a safeguard for his letters, else

not. It wes answered, they were confident to obtaine it for all his letters to Scotland: bot this did not satisfie; albeit fundrie letters directed to Scotland on the back, were found onlie to be to the Queen and Earle of Newcastle. None durst shew them any sensible favour. In the streets, and from windows, they were continually reviled by all sorts of people; and by their secret friends they were desyred to look to their persons; as if from stobbing or poyson there had been some danger from that intraged partie of Prelats and Papists against whom their commission was expresse. This policie was, lyke the rest of our unhappie malcontents wisdome, extreamlie foolish; for it was verie much for the King's ends to have given to our Commissioners, farr better words, and a more pleasant countenance. Bot we behooved to feell what power our friends at York had at Oxford, to make us resent, though to the King's great damage, our neglect to employ them in this commission. Our voyces being asked, we declared our full satisfaction with Mr. Henderfone's proceedings, bot our great unsatisfaction with manie things in his Majestie's Answer; and above all, his avowing to make use of the Papists armes. We appointed ane Apologie to be drawn for our clearing from diverse imputations laid on us in that printed Answer, together with a new supplication for Uniformitie of Church Government, and disarming of papists. The heads of it were drawn up by some five or six of us, and read publickly, bot left to the Moderator and Clerk to put it in forme at leasure by Mr. Henderfone's pen. We went not farder, I assure yow; whatever state confusion was taken, all of us, so farr as I know, were altogether free of it. His Majestie had sent down the most of the Scotts about him to preveen any motion might be amongst us: Hamiltoun, Montrose, Angus, Montgomerie, Ogilvie, and others, had returned from York, where we heard they had not weell agreed. There was in hands among them a deputation for Scotland, whereby Hamiltoun should have been lieutenant for the [King], Caledon his generall, and Baylie his lieutenant, Montrose generall of horse; bot that Montrose absolutely refused to joyne in any service with Hamiltoun, whom he avowed had been, and would ever be, untrustie. These tales came out from both sydes. From Oxford, before our Commissioners, came downe ane other band; Mortoun, Roxburghe, Lanerick, Annandale, Kinnowle, Carnwath, Dumfermling and others. They made great speed for fear of the Parliament's armie. They thought, when they came to Lancaster, to have been conducted by Derby's forces, bot they fand them

all diffipat ; fo were forced to take fhip, and with much adoe came to Carlifle. Lanerick from Carlifle took poft to York, for the perfyting of his instructions, where his ftay was much longer than the affairs he was intrufted with did requyre ; for it feems his Majeftie did reckon to have had his mind by Lanerick declared to the Councill, alfe foon as the Commiffioners could make their report ; bot, whether by Lanerick's defigne, or negligence, God's providence caryed it otherwayes. The meeting appointed for the Commiffioners was the 4th of May. This, by their letters, on their way to York, was delayed to the 8th. On the 9th their report was made ; and becaufe the matter was of importance, Argyle conveyed it fo, that the three bodyes, all much intereffed, fhould be called together : So on the tenth, there mett with the Councill the Confervers of peace, and the Commiffioners for the common burdens, where, at once, Hamiltoun and his followers fand themfelves overreached ; for the motion being made, of convocating the Eftates, for advyfeing the matters in hand, being of fuch importance, that thefe who were prefent durft not intermedle with them, the difputes grew long and fharp. Hamiltoun, Southesk, and the good Advocat, urged, that the three bodies were mett onlie for confultation, not for determination ; bot the contrare was voyced, that yefterday's Act of Councill gave everie member of all the three bodies a decifive voyce. The nixt queftion was more hotlie handled, of their power to call the Eftates. This Argyle and Warriftoun made clear by law and fundrie palpable practiques, even fince King James's going to England, where the Eftates have been called before the King was acquainted. Then the third poynt was agitat, of the neceffitie or expedience to call the Eftates at that tyme. Hamiltoun preffed much a little delay till Lanerick's coming, which was hourlie expected ; bot the moft being wearie with expectation, from the 4th day to the 8th, from the 8th to the 10th, refolved they could wait no longer than that one night. So to-morrow, to our great joy, and the great confufion of others, verie unanimoouflic they concluded a Convention of Eftates at Edinburgh, June 22d. To this, of all the three bodies, not ten were oppofit : the three named, with Calander, Glencairne, Orbiftoun, Advocat, Regifter, Thefaurer-Deput, Morton, and Dumfermling appeared not. The proclamation on the following day yow may read. No word as yet was of Lanerick. At laft he came on Mononday the 15th, when he feemed to be in a great rage ; for befydcs the conclufion, whereof it feemes they never dreamed, the Chancellour

that morning had gone home, and Argyle lykewayes was from the towne ; so a Councell could not be gotten called for to hear him. After some dayes advysement, he takes a course which seems a strange preparative. He sends to all at least the chief Burghs and Noblemen, particular letters from his Majestie at Oxford, Aprile 21st, declareing most solemnlie his resolution to keep all, which by our Parliaments and Assemblies had been decreed ; and withall requireing, that seditious informers to the contrare, might be punished. How this his Majestie's immediat acceffe to the Burrowes, and others, in matters of that nature, will be taken by the Councell, we will shortly hear. We are all aflought for this great meeting. It is expected there will be there Commissioners from the Parliament of England to require us to arme for them.

We have a solemne fast in all the land Wednesday before the 22d, and Sondag before the Wednesday. We had never more need of God's mercy ; our sins are manie ; the divisions of our nobles open and proclaimed ; the divisions of our Church are nothing less than they were. Your friend, Mr. Jo. Galbraith moderator, had wryten, in name of the Presbytrie of Stirling, as is thought by the pen of Mr. Henrie Guthrie, to Mr. Robert Dowglass, a most bitter letter, concerning the Commissioners of the Generall Assemblies Declaration against the Crosse Petition. This was feared to be the beginning of a great flame ; yet at once the brethren there recalled their letter, and Argyle, casting himself to their synod, seemed to have given them satisfaction. Notwithstanding Mr. Henrie did not, as he promised to Argyle, keep our meeting at Edinburgh ; so that fyre is feared to lye yet under the embers. We past it over in utter silence for the tyme, wishing it may die out of its own accord. On the other part, the matter of our novations is worse than before. Yow were witnes to our great care of it the last Assemblie. The letter I procured to some of our Presbyteries, was made use of, as I wrote to you, in our Provinciall at Irwine. This did much exasperate the brethren who were patrons of that way ; so that immediatlie Mr. Gabriel Maxwell, by the consent of some others, Mr. J. Neve, Mr. M. Mowat, Mr. W. Adair, Mr. W. Cobroune, Mr. G. Hutchesone, and Mr. W. Fullartoun, did wryte, in fyve sheets of paper, a full treatise, in a verie bitter and arrogant straine against the three nocent ceremonies, *Pater Noster*, *Gloria Patri*, and Kneeling in the pulpit ; proving, by a great rabble of arguments, both particular and generall, which goe farr beyond these three particulars questioned, the unlawfullness of our

Church practises : Of this treatise the fame spreads, that our brethren were confident to carry by disputation, in face of any Assemblie, the truth of any of their tenets ; and if they were oppressed by wrong determinations, their willingness to suffer all extremities of persecution. These two reports did much perplex our minds : so at our last Provinciaall in Glasgow, we resolved to be no longer silent, and yet to carry all fair in a quiet way. In the censure of Aire Presbytrie, the misregard of the letter of the Moderator of the Generall Assemblie is regrated ; also the open patroniseing of novations by word and wryte is complained of. Since the brethren, who, as was expected, should have avowed their judgements, did all keep silence, we determined to make a reference of the increase of novations, both in pastors and people, from our Synod to the nixt Generall Assemblie ; and withall required the brethren who had any scruple, to conferr with, and delyver if they had any wrytes, to the Professors and Ministers of Glasgow ; also, that these who shortlie were to attend the Commission of the Generall Assemblie at Edinburgh, should relate the case, and crave the advyce of the brethren there. This determination did please all. The brethren delyvered to us both the former wryt, and ane other shorter, almost the extract of it, drawn by Mr. George Hutcheson, in a letter to Mr. Samuell Rutherfoord. These papers, they said, had the mind of some seven of them, and twyce so manie of the brethren in the Synod of Galloway. As the increase of this evill afflicted me, so this plaine dealing was to me comfortable, and a ground of hope ; for at the last Assemblie, and all former, all of these brethren had assured us publickly, they were free of such a judgement. When we came to Edinburgh, we fand it untymous to make any clamour ; onlie we convened in Mr. Robert Douglass's chamber, Mr. A. Hendersone, Mr. D. Dickson, Mr. R. Blair, Mr. S. Rutherfoord, and Mr. G. Gillespie. Mr. David and I made to them a true and a full relation of the buifness : they were all exceeding grieved. We resolved to wryte answers to their arguments, and assay to satisfie them in reason. For this end, I was carefull to gett promises of Mr. S. Rutherfoord, Mr. R. Blair, Mr. G. Gillespie, also my Lord Warristoun, and Mr. D. Calderwood, our best penmen, that they should, everie one of them, presentlie set themselves to wryte answers to the papers I delyvered them. My colleague, Mr. D. Dickson, hath written already verie good and solid answers to all they say ; and did so farr prevail in one conference with Mr. William Adair, the chief of

them for preaching, that he conformed with us the other day openlie in our Church to all the three nocent ceremonies. We hope God will help us to gett our brither satisfied, and by them our people. However, I am doing all I can to sett all instruments on work for the quenching of that fyre.

Readilie, about the tyme of the Affemblie, I may let out my Mysterie of Brounisme discovered by the pens of its authors, more enlarged than yow saw it, and in the end somewhat about our novations. As for the course of our Divinitie profession, which you require me to write of, for the present our minds are aloft. The feares of publick confusions hath not yet suffered our minds to settle. We have drawn excellent orders for our whole Univerfitie affaires in fundry late sessions of the Visitors from the Generall Affemblie; and for their due execution have sett on foot a ordinar court of the Deane of Facultie once in the month; bot the averfenes of many to passe from their old customes, and the Chancellour his absence hath not let us close our orders; bot we hope for the settling of a better government than ever we had, if the Lord give peace to the kingdome. For the present, Mr. David [Dickson] teaches, on Mononday and Tuesday before noon, his (in my judgement) excellent analytick Commentary on the text of Scripture. It is his purpose to goe through the Epistles this year; the book of Job, Psalmes, Solomon, Ifaiah the nixt; the rest of the Prophets and Apocalypsis the third; the History of all the Old and New Testament the fourth. Readilie it may cost him more tyme; bot the man's gifts is, for this most needfull work, singular; on Fryday morning he teaches precepts for preaching, and cases of conscience, and attends the young men's privie homilies. The Principall [Dr. Strang] dytes, on Thursday betwixt ten and eleven, and on Friday betwixt eleven and twelve, his notes on the hard places of Scripture: all he does is very weell and accuratelie done, onlie the length is the pitie: bot in this it is reason he have his will, for no Principall in Scotland teaches one lyne, and he hath ane charge beyde would kill ane ox. He attends on everie Tuesday afternoon the private disputes, which he can doe better than any of the kingdom; for me, I am but yet a meer novice, and my appointment for England and Ireland hath diverted my thoughts; yet I have taught Hebrew everie Mononday afternoon. I have gone through Buxtorfe's Epitome, and dytes notes on the texts in his end, triple more already than ever was taught in Scotland. I hope, before the end of the second year, to close my Hebrew notes, so that my

third year allwayes may be for the Chaldaick, Syriack, and Rabbinick. I have little of these, bot I hope to learn with my scholars. Everie Thursday, betwixt eleven and twelve, I dyte of the Controversies; I have gone through a little compend of the most of them I had drawn up long ago. Besyde, I take Wednesday, either before or after noon, for some parergetick Diatribes; as now I am on the authoritie of Presbyteries, and shortlie minds to be on Episcopacie and Elders. I wish you [would] send to the Colledge Voetius's Theses, and all that comes from that man or your divines there. I purpose to assay, the next year, the Controversies of Bellarmine, 4th tome; then these of his third; and thirdlie, these of his second; and fourthly, these of his first: How I will be assisted in that high and great task, farr above my strength, I know not; bot I purpose it shall be my exercise. Dr. Maine, on the Friday's afternoon, and other dyetts, hath very elegant discourses on the choicest Phisick questions. All our Regents, at the promotion of our scholars, does come forth, and harrangue very prettylie. We have occasion enough of profiting. For boording of scholars, none of us hath a mind, and least of all I; bot there is the best ordinar table of the kingdome in the Colledge, which the Principall allwayes countenanc'd; the leaving of that table was the great cause of your Hollanders deboshing.

FOR MR. W. SPANG, July 26th 1643.

REVEREND AND DEAR COUSINE,

My last long one, June 2d, I hope you have gotten, long ere now. Your's, with my nephew's to you from Rochell, I got bot now. Since, yow should have written to us more particularlie with your Dutch scholar: we know not what to make of him; he is so extraordinarlie rammage, that I think we will hardlie receive him under our discipline.

The affaires of this Isle goe as a ship exceeding tossed in a dangerous sea. In my last, I shew how Lanerick had sent letters under the cashett to manie noblemen and burrowes, declaring the King's mind to keep what was promised to us, but withall running out in bitter invective against the Parliament of England. In the beginning of July, Hamiltoun and Lanerick, in the first ordinar Councill day, Argyle, Eglintoun, and others, not being come, caryes it over the Chancellour, Balmerinloch, and others, that a

declaration of his Majestie, to the former purpose, should goe from the Councill in print, to all our mercat-crosses. Bot behold, in this verie nick of tyme, while the King's mind, to keep us in a deep sleep, is proclaimed over the whole land, there breaks out a wicked and foull plot to cast us presentlie on fyre and sword, and all the calamities both of ane intestine and forraigne warre; which the nixt Councill-day, at Argyle's comeing, is putt in print, and sent with diligence over all our land, to the great confusion of all the malignants amongst us. The matter was this: On the report of the Queen's landing, the most of our evill Lords went to York; God divided their tongues there for our good: the common report among us goes, to the which the parties themselves gives ground, That Montrose haveing a wryte, as he said, from twentie-two Noblemen, or men of chief respect, did offer to the Queen a leavy of ten thousand Scotts, and for this should have receaved ten thousand pounds sterling; that Hamiltoun being advysed, demonstrated the impossibilitie of that performance; for this disappointment Montrose refused to have anie societie with Hamiltoun, notwithstanding of all her Majestie's endeavours. Yit some mischeif hath been hatched then among them, which thus miraculousslie comes to be discovered. On a day, some myles above Knockfergus, near a creek where the Irish had a castell, Major Ballantine, with some few of our Scotts horse, had ane out-rode, where they perceave a fellow land in a boat from a little ship within sight of shore: the fellow being posed, and, after some perplexed answers, threatened, did declare plainlie, that his master, the Earle of Antrim, was aboard; that he came to spie if in that creek there was safe landing for him, which having found, he was to make a sign to the ship. Ballantine being glad of this report, by threats made the spie give his signe; upon the which Antrim, in a boat, with two or three of his men, came to land, being sure from that castell, with ane Irish convoy, to be brought to Charlemount unto the Irish Generall, with whom some weeks before his brother Alexander had been; but finding himself in Ballantine's hand he was amazed: At once he was carried to Monroe, to his old lodgeing at Carrickfergus, whence the other year he had fled from the Generall's custodie by a prettie stratagem: Having obtained the Generall's passe for a sick man, two of his men carried him in a bed as sick to the shore, and gott him boated for Carlile, whence he went to York, to be ane instrument of this happie dis-

coverie ; the fervant who carryed him away was taken with him, and for his break of prisone was hanged ; before his death he confessed, as for the most part was also verified by the Earle's own deposition, subscribed with his hand, and by the three letters of Nithsdale, and two of Aboyne's, all written and subscribed with their own hands, (found on Antrim at his taking,) which was read and seen in the autographes at our meeting, That a commission was given to Antrim to treat with the Irish rebels, that the English and they might agree ; that Monroe, if he would accept, should receive five thousand pound sterling in hand, and a patent of the third place in the armie which should goe from pacified Ireland to England ; that if this was not accepted, the first service of the reconciled Irish and English should be to dispatch the disaffected Scotts ; that thence they should goe by sea to Carlisle, where Nithsdale and our Southland lords should joyne ; that Colekittoch's sones should waken our Isles ; that McClaine and Gorrum, and the other Clanes disaffected to the Campbells, should goe to armes ; that Huntly and his sone Aboyne, with Bamfe and Airlie, Montrose and Marshall, should raise our North ; that Hamiltoun and manie others should stirr in our In-countrey, that so in a trace we should become a field of blood : great probabilitie for all this, albeit no certaine evidence can be had for some parts of it. Cleare that a service was in hand, in the North, in the South, in the Isles, in Ireland, undertaken at York by Montrose, Aboyne, Nithsdale, Antrim, and manie others, towards which the Queen did send a ship of ammunition, which went from York ; also that Montrose did call a meeting, at Old Aberdeen, of fundrie Noblemen, to subscribe a write for ane interprise under Montrose and Ogilvie's conduct, which Huntly did subscribe, bot Marshall refused absolutelie, and made Huntly recall his subscription ; which, in the great providence of God, seems to have marred the designe : for after that Montrose did speak so to his friends, that some of them in his name did draw on ane conference betwixt him and Mr. A. Henderfone at Stirling, albeit the fruit of this conference is no wayes so great as was expected. The man is said to be verie double, which in so proud a spirit is strange. Argyle and our Nobles, especiallie since Hamiltoun's falling off, would have been content, for the peace of the countrey, to have dispensed with that man's bypast demeanours, bot private ends misleads manie. He, Antrim, Huntly, Airlie, Nithsdale, and moe, are ruined in their

estates; publick commotions are their privat subsistence: Against this dangerous evill our Convention of Estates was a soveraign remead; we had a care in choosieing honest Commissioners.

At the day June 22d, was a most frequent meeting, never a Parliament so great; all the Barrones and Burghs, without exception of one, were for the common weell. The bavard Lords came with great backs, and none greater than Carnwath; bot at once Fyfe and the West gentlemen came in so thick, that the backs of the others were overshadowed and evanished. There was a great meeting of the Ministrie; all went one way; our reply to the King's Answer was printed; we were put on a remonstrance of the Church and Kingdome's dangers. Mr. David [Dickson] and I had resolved at home to be verie quiet in this meeting, and so we were; we thought the necessitie of putting our countrey in a posture for armes great, and our assisting of the Parliament of England also necessare against that partie, whom, we doubted not, intended our overthrow no lesse than theirs. Bot these conclusions of peace or warre being without our element, and alone the work of the State, which then happilie wes conveened, we thought fitt to have no medleing therewith; yet it being demonstrate, from some of my Lord Warristoun's papers, that the Ministrie, in the lyke occasion, have been oft carefull to remonstrate to the State the Church's grievances, dangers, and desyres, it wes, without a contrare voyce, determined that we should draw up a remonstrance to the Estates. We were much encouraged to this conclusion by the verie tymeous letter of your Divines, which we caused to translate and print in Latine and English. Some few did except a little at some expressions which they thought not so opposit to the English Government and ceremonies as the tymes required. I thought we were oblidge to yow for that tymeous courtesie of your neighbours. Surelie if the Synods of Holland and your other Provinces, together with the Churches of Suitz, might be pleased to let such letters fall from their hands, we think it might much advantage the common cause. If the Popish and Prelaticall partie prevail in England, few heir doubts bot a civill warre, or which is worse, a tyrannie shall quicklie arise among yow. Our Remonstrance, now in print, was weell taken by the Estates, and in ane wryte they gave us thanks, adding of themselves fundrie moe sensible dangers, for the remedies whereof they entreated our advyce; this peice of service also wes done in ane short wryte, which also will be printed: In this we carefullie abstaine from the mentioning

of armes, that the envie of this conclusion should not justlie be put on us. All this tyme I was so buſied in private, that ſeldom I went to the publick meetings, and when I come it was bot for the meer faſhion; for my mind wes in adding and pairing, and making readie for the preſſe my peice againſt Brouniſme, which I had forgot much of theſe two yeir, and yet when I had done all I intended, I did erch to let it goe abroad at this tyme, for fundrie reaſones, upon the which I mind to reſolve ſhortlie. In our meeting, Mr. Harie Guthrie's matter came over head, bot the man was ſo diſcreet, that it was carried quietlie. It was compleaned that the warning and declaration anent the Croſſe Petition, which by the commiſſion was appointed to be publiſhed by every Miniſter, had been not onlie neglected by ſome Preſbytries and brethren, bot alſo bitter papers ſcattered againſt that Act of the Commiſſion. At laſt Mr. Harie ſhew that their Preſbytrie had written to the Moderator their ſcruples; bot after, had reſolved themſelves and obeyed: All who had ſcattered that or any paper againſt the peace of our Church, he thought ſhould be cited to the Generall Aſſembly; eſpeciallie theſe who had ſcattered papers againſt the Acts of the Aſſembly, and wryts againſt the three nocent ceremonies, as they call them. It was reſolved that the brethren of Auchtererdoch, for their neglect to read the pieces, ſhould be cited, and if any authors or ſcatterers of theſe ſcandalous papers could be found, that they likewiſe ſhould be ſummoned. As for the wrytes againſt the Acts of the Aſſemblies, it was ane matter for the Aſſembly, and not for the Commiſſion; if any would delate or accuſe any for ſuch wrong, the Moderator promiſed to give them ſummonds for that end. What will become of this matter I know not; theſe who promiſed to wryte did all fail. In a conference we had, Mr. Samuell [Rutherford] and Mr. George Gilleſpie were ſo ſcrupulous in the poynt of ſcandall, which to Mr. D. D[ickſon,] Mr. Robert Blair, and me ſeemed moſt clear, that we had no will theſe two ſhould conferre with the diſſenting brethren, left in that poynt they ſhould harden them. Mr. David and Mr. Robert had two or three conferences with the young men, bot for no purpoſe. Mr. Henderſone and fundrie would have all theſe things miſkend till we be at a poynt with England. In the meane tyme that evill grows among us. What the Aſſembly will do in it God knows.

Our Eſtates receaved from the King, by Lanerick, a ſharp letter, taxing, That he, by their indiction, wes ſurpriſed; that he did per-mitt them to meet for ſeeing to the maintainance of the Iriſh army,

and the defraying, by the brotherlie assistance, their common burthens, and seeing to the quiet of the countrey; bot discharging to medle with the affaires of England. Hamiltoun, and some others of his fyde, voyced their presence according to the King's letter; bot that drew on the question of the House's constitution, whether absolutelie or with limitation: when absolutelie had carryed it, Hamiltoun come no more to the house: this was a matter small in the original, which did aryse to a great height. Among the multitude of our countrey men who were sent from Oxford and York, to advance the King's affairs among us, fix of the chief, Mortoun, Roxburghe, Kinnowle, Lanerick, Anandale, Carnwath, comeing through Lancashyre, were moved, by the Earle of Derby, to write to the Queen, at York; that unless her Majestie would send a speedie supplie of some three or four thousand men, that countrey was like to be lost for the great prejudice of his Majestie's service. This letter is intercepted and sent to the Parliament; who presentlie decerns all the fix intermedlers and disturbers of their peace against the treatie; and that they might be answerable to them, sends one Master Walden to plead before our Conservers of peace. This accident puts these men from all thoughts of that service they come to doe, upon their own defences. At the beginning there was very hard words among them. When they were required to remove from the table dureing their proceffe, Roxburghe was very sharp, bot in terms; Mortoun's passion miscarried him cleane; bot most Kinnowle, with oathes and curses, he would not remove, bot would abyde and voyce; yet suddenie, at his entrie in coatch, so dangerous a collick seized on him, that he was like to have died that night; and to this day was never able to returne to that place. Much labour was for the accommodation of this busines. Once it was near agreed that they should write an humble remonstrance to the Parliament of England, acknowledging their unhappines in writeing that letter, hoping hereby to give the Parliament satisfaction; and in the mean tyme they did promise not to intermedle in any thing concerned England. Bot here was the difference:—they would have the termes of their Act conceived thus, “In the mean tyme, they should give no offence by their intermedling with any thing concerned England.” This all the Lords consented unto; bot Warristoun, by many reasons, required it might be conceived thus, “And in the mean tyme they should not intermedle.” Herein all the barrons and burrowes joyned to Warristoun, and carryed it. This so exasperated the delinquents that they

took up their remonstrance to the Parliament, and required to plead, legallie, their cause, and for that cause required advocates. This, after much debate, was refused, and they were told the Parliament of England was the only judge of their cause. That in these poynts the Conservers of peace were to cognosce, they might use the private assistance of all they pleased, and give in word or wryte all the defences they thought fitt; bot they could hear no advocate plead in that cause. The first write they gave in was very bitter, and questioned the authoritie, as was said, both of the Parliament of England and Conservers of peace; bot being advysed better, they took up that dangerous wryte, and returned to their first way of humble remonstrating to the Parliament. So that matter as yet does stand.

My Lord Carnwath, that monster of profanitie, had, before sundrie, said to the King, when our Commissioners come to Oxford, That Scotland was not content by their own rebellion to have troubled the King; bot also would yet againe joyne with the rebels in England, for to ruine the King and his children. After some dayes he had paissed up with his great back, the Estates sent a maister to make him come instantlie before them; he promised to doe so, bot fled. Whereupon they sent a lyon-herauld to the Crosse, commanding the Earle of Carnwath, within 24 houres, to present his person in the Tolbooth, under the paine of 10,000 pound. Bot he not compearing, searck was made for so much of his money, to be imployed in the first common charge, and witneses were summoned to depone in his cause. Traquair was thought to be a great stickler in our State affaires; that he was a great guider in all the counccills at York; that he had penned the Crosse Petition, and the Petition against the annuitie; that the Act of Parliament, in his favour, was on the expresse condition of his no farder meddling. Being informed by his friends of his danger, he sent, by his sone, my Lord Lintoun, a humble supplication, to be heard at a Committee before they should give order to summond him. At this Committee many a deep protestation he made of his great innocence of all he heard was to be laid to his charge; bot wes not believed. So order was given for his summonding, and many witneses in his cause, before a close Committee for inquisition; who yet should have power to make fast his person if they should find cause. Upon the report hereof, he went to the way, and hes not yet appeared. The first and only great buisness the State yet hes medled with, is a taxation for a loane to the Parliament of England, of 800,000 pound

to our army in Ireland, which in this dangerous tyme, we take for our best defence under God. For the foume and end all did agree, bot about the way of leavie there hes been great contefts. In all bygone tymes our West countrey hath been much oppreffed in taxationes. Their lands are fo high retoured, that a forty merk land with us will not oft pay fo much rent as a two merk land elfewhere; by which meanes it comes, that fome fyve or fix poor shyres in the West, as Air, Galloway, Cliddefdale, Lennox, Barranthrow, will pay more taxatione than all Scotland befyde. This oft hes been compleaned upon, bot never remeided; onlie in our late troubles, with much adoe, the common burthens were laid on, not according to the retoure or merk land, bot the valuatione of the rent: the lyke way was preft now by the West countrie, bot peremptorie refused by the rest: hence the debate. Yet I hear it is accommodat, and fome reason is lyke to be done to the West.

Bot what wee fhall fay to the maine errand of the meeting, wee are in great perplexitie. Wee did certainlie expect that the Parliament of England, understanding perfectlie of the calling of our Eftates fo long before, and that the custome of our natione was not to make stay at our meetings, that they without faill would have had commiffioners from both Houfes waiting on at or before, or at least at the day of our meeting, the 22d of June. Yet all the fourteen dayes thereafter I was in towne, there was no word of them; all did much admire that not fo much as one excuse was made of this fo great neglect; fome did conjecture one cause, fome another. Some did think them fo overwhelmed with plotts and dangers, that they were amused [amazed.] London's plott, authorized by the Great Seall, was of farder reach than yit they were understood. Hurrie's defection had cost their stoutest captaine Mr. Hambdein his life; the pitifull routing of Fairfax's armie, and thereby the loseing of what remained to them in Yorkshyre; the shamefull poltronie of both the Hotham's, in good tyme discovered; my Lord Toft's commiffion from Oxford, allowed by the councill at Dublin, to procure a ceflatione of armes in Ireland, that from both Irish and English there might come over ane armie to England; all these at once falling on their armie, made it not marvelous that their thoughts were troubled. Yet the most thought the greatest cause of their irresolution to flow from their divifion. The House of Lords was said to be opposite to the Commons conclusion of craveing our help. Their fear, if they did begin to imploy

strangers, that hereby the King should be excused to fetch in Irish, French, and Danes ; their foresight of impossibilitie to gett our armie maintained, and most of all, the constancie of the most of them to doe the Queen better service at London than they had been able either at Oxford or York, made them peremptorie resolve to send no Commissioners to us at all. However our improvidence was great, for I can assure that all that fourteen dayes we had no intelligence at all what wes doing in England ; neither did think of any certain way how better informatione might be gotten thereafter. It had been a pitie matters had been so carried, for I saw in all our nation, at that tyme, a verie great good will to the Parliament's cause. The plott of Antrim had wakened in all a great fear of our own safetie, and distrust of all the fair words that were or could be given us ; bot this unexpected neglect of the Parliament hes made other thoughts begin to arise in the hearts of manie ; yet what the event shall be, I know not. Our States are waiting on, and beguileing the tyme with Traquair, Carnwath, and the fyve Lords proceffe ; with the matter of the taxation. The King's declareing the nullitie of the Parliament at London, and summondng the members of their Parliament to meet at Oxford against July 2d, hes made some better intelligence they say betuixt the Houses. However, a Lower-House man, one Mr. Corbett, is come at last with some word to us ; what it is, and what it works, yow shall hear hereafter.

A POSTSCRIPT.

I HEAR now that Mr. Corbett hes been at our Convention, also in the Commission of our Church : He shewed to both, his message was to excuse the delay of their Commissioners coming, because of their busines in discovering plotts ; also to shew their calling of ane Assemblie at our desyre, to which they craved some of our Divines to be sent, for whom he had a strong ship in readyness ; also to require Antrim to be delyvered to them, who should be sent from the Parliament to receave him ; lykewayes to desyre us to look to our South Border, and to give them assistance according to the treatie as they should have need. The matter of the sending of our Divines is referred to the approaching Assemblie ; for our Border, or rather to hold our In-countrie quiet, there is appoynted a levie of fix hundred foot and two hundred horse ;

for their maintainance there is added to the former loane 120 thousand pound. Mr. Corbett wes quicklie dispatched, and with him Squire Meldrum, with expresse instructions to stay no longer at London than ten dayes. Till his returne, our States, it is lyke, will make no conclusion. The jealousie the English have of our nation, much beside all reason, is not weell taken. Alwayes the report of Fairfax's defeat hes been a spurr at last to that Parliament, much as is thought against the stomakes of manie, to send message on message to us of their Commissioners dispatch, my Lord Gray of Wark from the Lords, and two from the Commons. They are expected dailie; they speak of two Ministers also: Mr. Marshall will be most welcome, bot if Mr. Nye, the head of the independants, be his fellow, we cannot take it weell. It is thought, that one of Meldrum's instructions is to know what wee may expect from them anent uniformitie of Church Government; if in this he bring no satisfaction to us quicklie, it will be a great impediment to their affaires here. Their slowness in all their affaires is marvellous. What can be the cause that Essex hes so long looked to the Cavalleers, all wonders. Some stand not to say that it can be neither want of monies nor men, which so oft hes been so plentifully supplied, bot something else, that same which hindered him at Brainfoord to rout the King's armie when clearlie it was in his power so to doe. The Parliament hes ever been abused by verie manie of chieftest trust. The Queen's comeing to the King what it will work, we will hear. They speak of a victorie of Waller's in the West, equivalent to Fairfax's overthrow in the North. I long now to hear from yow. Shortlie, God willing, yow shall have ane accompt of our Assemblie, which the next week wee must all attend.

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG, September 22d [1643.]

REVEREND AND DEAR COUSING,

I hope before this yow have receaved my two short ones from the Assemblie; now, as I promised, yow shall have ane account of our Assemblie, and so much of our affaires as I know and comes to my mind. We are verie glad of what your letters and Gazets inform from abroad, that the Austrian and Bavarian partie are like to be dealt with at their own doors. If God give Torstensoun a prosperous day of Galas, I hope the pride and wealth of the Papists

of Austria may be spoiled; and which most I wish, if God would, strengthen the Weimarian and French army against Devert, the Jesuited and cruell Bavarians might this year vomite up that blood and spoill of the Bohemians and Palatines, which too long hes lyen on their stomachs. It seems there is some strange worke on hand, that God, by the hand of these headless Sueds, should so batter the great pillars of Poperie in Germanie, and, that other great support of Antichrist, the Spainard should be so plucked as to lose near all his East Indies, and much of his West; that Portugall and Catalonia should yet keep out; that Millan should be so long plundered with the Savoyane and French; that Naples should be threatened with the Turkish Navie; that so great battles should be lost in Flanders; that all the Princes of Italie should be in blood with the Pope, and he have none of all his sones either willing or able to help him:—What God will doe in the end we know not. We fear the great revolutions of the French court ere long, give a new life to the dyeingemie; since Monsieur and Guise, and Pirnon and Vandom, and Elbeuf, are come again to be employed, and the Cardinall's familie in so much disgrace, both with the Queen and countrey; since so great soveraigntie is put in a Spanish ladie's hand over all the power of France. Yet, so long as Cardinall Mazarini hes so great a place in Councell, and d'Anguien in the army, and his father Conde in Court, Richeleue's counsell cannot all be forsaken: neither seems Monsieur's authoritie to be eminent, since Bouillon is not able to recover Sedan, which for his cause he lost. That Court is so strangelie composed of contrare elements, that concord long there seems not very like. I am glad the Protestant partie is in no worse terms. Chattillion, Force, Turenne, and Gassion, four marshalls, I hope may do good, if there be any thing to doe.

It is marvelled, that your Prince is pleased so long to doe nothing, bot once in the year to take a look of the enemies countrey, and returne without any attempt. Bot that which touches our heart to the quick is the lamentable case of England. The great weakening of Essex his army by sickness and runaways, left brave Waller to be overmastered and routed by the Cavaliers, so amasit Bristoll, that, either through treacherie or cowardise, that great and most considerable city was delivered. This was so terrible a stroke to the Parliament, that Essex, with the reliëts of his army, remains in and about the city. The countrey seems for the most to be abandoned. We know not what can hinder the

King to come near. It seems that Manchester and Waller, with their new army of citizens, will fight, if the Cavaliers come to assault or besiege the city. Their mistrusts and slowness has undone them, if God work not wonders. The few lords that made their Upper House have been their wreck: when Northumberland and Sey have given them cause of jealousy, in whom could they confide. For the present the Parliament fyde is running down the brae. They would never, in earnest, call for help, till they were irrecoverable; now when all is desperate, they cry aloud for our help; and how willing we are to redeem them with our lives, yow shall hear.

August 1st. Being advertised by my Lord Waristoun to be in town some tyme before the Synod, for advifements, Mr. David Dick and I came in on Tuesday August 1; where some few of us meeting in Waristoun's chamber, advysed whom to have on committee for bills, reports, and other things. Our greatest consultation was for the Moderator. We foresaw great business were in hand: strangers were to be present: myndes of many brethren were exasperate. Mr. Alexander⁽¹⁾ was the only man meet for the tyme; yet it wes small credit to us, who so oft were necessitate to imploy one man; besydes, the Moderation would divert him from penning such writes as seemed he behooved to pen before the Assemblie rose. We were inclined, therefore, that Mr. R. Blaire should moderate; bot by God's good providence both to him and to us, he being visite with a fluxe and gravell, was not able for some dayes to come from St. Andrewes; therefore necessitie drave us to resolve on Mr. Alexander; so much the more, as we found that very day his Majestie's commission was unexpectedlie thrust on the Advocate.⁽²⁾ It seems the commission from Oxford hath come to the secretar Lanerick, blank, to be filled with whose name he and some other thought expedient. Sometime Lindsay, sometime Glencairne, were spoken of; bot both finding the impossibilitie to execute the instructions to the King and countrey's good lyking, refused the charge; and put in, by his knowledge, and contrare to his mind, the Advocate's name; of whom they had small care, whether he lost himself or not. The instructions were thought to be very hard; yet the Advocate did not execute, nor name any of them to count of; for he was so wise, and so well dealt with

(¹) Mr. Alexander Henderson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh.

(²) Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Lord Advocate: See next page.

by his two fones, that he resolved to say nothing to the Church or countrey's prejudice.

2. On Wednesday the second of August, was a solemn fast for the members of the Assemblie: Master Dowglas preached before noone, and Mr. Henderfone after, both verie satisfactorlie: that same day we had our first session, in a little roome of the East Church, which is verie handsomlie dressed for our Assemblies in all time coming, when we shall have them there. The commissions were given in; some small burghs had none: farre Presbyteries had bot one. His Majestie's commission was read in the ordinaire tenor. Our Clerk made the ordinaire exception against the clause of the Assemblie's translation with the Commissioner's advyce. His Grace offered to get that clause so qualified as hereafter the commission might passe without exception. This at diverse times he offered; bot want of leasure, or something else, hindered the performance. As the custome is, the Moderator gave the leet of one whom he intended, and other three, Mr. Robert Morray, Mr. William Jamesone, and me, whom he knew would not come in balance with Mr. Henderfone. When we were removed, much dinn was made for addition to the leet; for diverse who knew not the secreit, and considered not the necessitie of the times, intended to have had Mr. James Bonar, or Mr. David Lindefay, Moderator; neither whereof had been meit. To prevent their designe the leet was framed as yow hear; and when they pressed addition, it was voiced, and carried, that notwithstanding of the Assemblie's libertie to adde, yet at this time it was not expedient to make any addition; so unanimooslie Mr. Henderfone was declared Moderator. The King's letter to the Assemblie was read. The matter was verie fair; remembering us of our obligations to him, in conscience, and for the great benefits we had receaved; and exhorting us to the studie of peace; bot the inscription was most strange and base. "To our trustie and well-beloved Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, and the rest convened with him in the Generall Assemblie;" or such words. Notwithstanding, his Grace shew us, he had warrand to declare, in his Majestie's name, that beside all the benefits alreadie granted, he was willing to doe all further what the Assemblie conceived necessar for the benefite of religion. Argyle desired this might be put in write: bot presentlie his Grace began to eat it in; yet promised to give it in to-morrow, under his hand; bot when it came, it was clogged with prejudiciall limitations, that we requested it might be taken back, and no more memorie to be

of any such offer. There was a great number of Noblemen, members of the Assemblie, the Chancellour for Irwine; yet being debated in Counsell, that the Chancellour behooved to carrie the purse with the Commiffion, wherever he appeared with the Great Commiffioner, he thought it expedient not to accept the commiffion; wherefore Eglintoun was put in the commiffion of Irvine, by the commiffioners of the Presbyterie there present. None of the Noblemen attended the Commiffioner; at once the great Commiffion will become vile. They fate at our table constantlie before noon; for afternoon they behooved to keep with the states, Argyle, Sutherland, Merihall, Eglintoun, Caffills, Lauderdaile, Dunfermline, Dalhousie, Buckleugh, Queensberrie, Didup, Angus, Balmerino, Maitland, Cowper, Lindsay, Balcarras, Sinklair, Elcho, and others.

3. Auguft. Thursday, a commiffioner was receaved from the Presbyterie of the Irish Armie. A committee was appointed to cognofce and report, anent the manifold and moft weightie proceedings of the commiffioners from the laft Assemblie; another for bills; a third for reports and appealls; a fourth for examination of the Provinciall Synod books; all which were produced, and esteemed one of the chiefeft and moft proper tasks of the Generall Assemblie. All the active fpirits, and moft confiderable men, were distribute among these committees. I had ftill the favour to be in the privie committee of the Moderator's affeffors, with Mr. Robert Dowglas, Mr. D. Dickfone, Mr. S. Rutherford, Mr. G. Gillespie, who albeit not a Commiffioner, yet I found allwayes much refpected by Mr. Henderfone; bot Mr. A. Ramfay, and the rest, Mr. J. Adamfone, Mr. William Coline, Mr. J. Sharp, mifkent: for my felf, I did keep, in this Assemblie, and the former, filence, fo far as I might, both in private and publick; for the longer I live, bold and pert loquacitie I love it the worfe. The vifitation of the Univerfitie of St. Andrewes was reported; bot the work not being perfyted, it was continued. Much time fpend in difputation, if the Parliament's commiffion fhould not be enervat by any addition to their commiffioners. Alwayes Argyle undertook, the convention of States and Parliament would well allow of any the Assemblie fhould adde, to gett a readie quorum: of purpofe time was fpend, for we did greatlie long for the English Commiffioners, of whose comeing we were well near out of hope, manie thinking their ftay to be from the Lords denying them a commiffion, and fome from their policie, to make us doe, of our own felfe, without their defyre, what they

would be at. All Bills were ordained to be given in against Wednesday next. A regrave from the north, that there was no execution of laws against excommunicate Papists, was referred to the convention of States. There was foure appointed to nominate preachers during the Assemblie. It wes their good luck to employ few of the best, the most able not being the most readie.

4. Fryday the fourth, much was spoken for the apprehension of excommunicate Papists. The Act of Parliament provides it to be on the King's charges. A committee was appointed to try the disobedience of Auchtererdoch Presbytrie: upon Mr. John Hume's refusall to be one, as being pairtie, because one of the Commiffion which was wronged, it was debated and resolved, that since the Commiffion might have themselves censured all the disobedients, none of them might be counted parties. We had an idle and needles question that day resolved. In the time of my absence, Mr. D. Dickfone and I were chosen commiffioners from the Presbytrie of Glasgow to the Generall Assemblie; so it was like to fall on the Principall to be sent from the Univerfitie. Diverse bygone years he had avowed, and half protested, that the Presbytrie should not have power to choise anie member of the Univerfitie. By this means he was assured never to go commiffioner bot from the Univerfitie, and so never on his own charges. This we envied not; bot we saw the consequent was, that Mr. D. Dickfon and I, while we lived, should never more be members of the Generall Assemblie bot by his good pleasure; which we took for ane intollerable incroaching on our ministeriall liberties. Of this designe we were so much the more confirmed, as, in the next Colledge meeting, he caused elect me commiffioner for the Univerfitie, miskenning the prior election of the Presbytrie as null. While I did peremptorilie refuse the Univerfitie's commiffion, and did in private deale he might be pleased either to take it himself, or permit it to fall on our Vice-Chancellour Mr. Zacharie [Boyd,] both he refused, and resolved upon a course which was the greatest despite he was able to doe us in a matter of that kinde. Mr. David being long greived, that, by the backwardness of the Principall, and others, he could not get his office of Deane of Facultie execute as he desired, did peremptorilie, once or twyse, lay doune that charge: yet all requested him to keep it, and would choise no other; Mr. R. Ramfay and I, foreseeing the appearance of Mr. Edward's putting in that place, if he continued in his willfullnesse, had moved him to be content to continue for one yeare; this much in effect we made him signifie

in the Univerſitie meeting. For all this, ſuch was the Principall's pleaſure, that he will have a new Deane of Facultie choſen; and, paſſing by Mr. R. R. and me, gets Mr. E. W. elected, firſt Dean of Facultie, and then Commiſſioner. This I took for a deſpitefull affront; and ſo avowed, that by a new viſitation, we would eſſay to have our Univerſitie otherwiſe ruled; for we thought ſtrange, that the Principall, at thir times, ſhould aſſay to have places filled with men who notoriouſlie were not onlie at his own devotion, ſuch as Vice-Chancellor and Dean of Facultie, bot alſo otherwiſe minded in the publiſt affairs than we did wiſh; ſuch as, the Marqueſſe of Hamiltone, Chancellor, the Commiſſar, Rector; and his three aſſeſſors, Mr. John Hay, Mr. W. Wilkie, Mr. G. Forſythe; three of the Regents, Mr. D. Monro, Mr. D. Forſythe, Mr. W. Semple maſter of the grammar; all of his own creation, to be employed for anie thing he pleaſed. We did ſtorme at this, and I moſt. Eaſilie we might help all theſe; bot I dare not eſſay it; for it would be fundrie of their undoing, from which my minde in cold blood does abhorre in anie, bot eſpeciallie in theſe men, my dear friends, and otherwiſe ſome of them well deſerving of their places. So, as before I did truelie, by myſelf and others, at the Aſſembly of Glaſgow, ſee to Dr. Strang's ſafetie, when his place was in great hazard, by his great provocations, the ſubſcryving of the petition againſt ruleing Elders, ending in a reall proteſtation; the ſubſcryving of the Covenant, with verie dangerous limitations; the deſerting of the Aſſembly itſelf, after ſome dayes fitting as commiſſioner: All theſe three being imputed to him as the onlie author, did create much wrath in our Nobles againſt him, which yet is not forgote. My fears, that the leaſt complaint againſt him would bring on a cenſure which I would not be able to moderate, force me to be quiet; onlie I made the Moderator propone in generall, whether Univerſitie men might be choſen commiſſioners by Preſbyteries? This being affirmed by all, put his needleſs quarrell out of queſtion. Alſo I got the commiſſion for Viſitation renewed with ſuch men as I thought fitteſt. This I intend for a wand to threat, bot to ſtrike no man, if they will be pleaſed to live in anie peaceable quyetneſs, as it fears me, their diſaffection to the countrey's cauſe will not permit ſome of them to doe.

5. Saturnday, your buſſines came in. I confeſſe we needed not, neither Mr. G. Gilleſpie nor I, ſolicit anie in it; the Moderator was of himſelf ſo carefull of it, both for his regard to yow, and the matter itſelfe; as alſo to take that occaſion by the tope to baniſh

altogether church-buriall from among us, as well of noble as ignoble perſones. This day your letter and informations were read, bot delayed to be confidered for diuerſe dayes thereafter ; allwayes at laſt unanimouſlie yow had all yow deſired clearlie determined.

Upon the regrate of the extraordinar multiplying of witches, above thirtie being burnt in Fyfe in a few moneths, a committee was appointed to thinke on that finne, the way to ſearch and cure it. The Scots of Ireland did petition for ſupplie of miniſters, and were well heard. Sir John Scot's bill, for preſſing Preſbytries to deſcribe their own bounds, was not ſo much regarded.

6. Sunday the fixth, Mr. David Dick preached well, as allwayes, in the New Church, before noone, bot little of the preſent affaires ; for as yet men knew not what to ſay, the Engliſh Commiſſioners not yet being come.

7. Bot on Munday, the ſeventh, after we were aſhamed with waiting, at laſt they landed at Leith. The Lords went, and conveyed them up in coach. We were exhorted to be more grave than ordinare ; and ſo indeed all was carried to the end with much more awe and gravitie than uſual. Mr. Henderſone did moderate with ſome little auſtere ſeveritie, as it was neceſſare, and became his perſone well. That day, one Abercrummie being delate of clear murther, was ordained to be excommunicate ſummarlie. He had been in proceſſe for adulterie. The Preſbytrie of Garioch, for fear of the man, had been too ſlack in it ; ſo the man did kill, in a drunken plie, his wife's ſone, who had married his own daughter. The Synode of Aberdeen was directed to cenſure the Preſbytrie of Garioch for their unhappie ſlackneſs, and the Moderator of the Preſbytrie was ordained, immediatelie on his departure from the Aſſembly, to goe to the murtherer's pariſh-church, and without any citation, or any delay, the fact being notour, and the perſon fugitive, to excommunicate him ; and to cauſe intimate the cenſure the Sabbath following, in all the churches of the Preſbytrie, not to be relaxed till he gave ſatiſfaction alſo for the ſlander of adulterie.

8. 9. 10. Tueſday the eight, the Moderator ſhew, that two of the Engliſh miniſters had been at him, requiring to know the moſt convenient way of their Commiſſioners addreſſe to the Synod. It was thought meet to ſend ſome of our number, miniſters and elders, to ſalute and welcome them. Mr. R. Dowglas, Mr. G. Gilleſpie, my Lord Maitland, and I, were named ; thereafter we reſolved, their own order of addreſſe whereby they admitted our Commiſ-

fioners to their Parliament, should be fittest; that their acceſſe to the Aſſembly, as private ſpectators, ſhould be when they would; for which end a place commodious above in a loft, was appointed for them; but as Commiſſioners, their acceſſe ſhould not be immediat to the Aſſembly, but to ſome deputed to wait on them, who ſhould report from them to the Aſſembly, and from it to them, what was needfull. So to us four were joyned other four, with the Moderator, Mr. D. Dickſone, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, my Lord Angus, and Wariftonne, a committee of nyne. The Convention of States uſed the ſame way of communication with them, naming for a committee, Lindeſay, Balmerino, Wariftonne, Humbie, Sir John Smith, Mr. Robert Barclay. When we mett, there appeared four gentlemen, Sir William Armine, Sir Hary Vaine younger, one of the graveſt and ableſt of that nation, Mr. Hatcher, and Mr. Darley, with two miniſters, Mr. Marſhall, and Mr. Nye. They preſented to us a paper introductorie, drawn by Maſter Marſhall, a notable man, and Sir Hary, the drawers of all their writes; alſo their commiſſion from both Houſes of Parliament, giving verie ample power to the Earl of Rutland, Lord Gray, and theſe four, to treat with us, and to the two miniſters, to aſſiſt in all eccleſiaſtick affaires, according to their inſtructions given or to be given, or to any four of them. Alſo they preſented a declaration of both Houſes to our Generall Aſſembly, ſhewing their care of reforming religion, their deſyre of ſome from our Aſſembly to joine with their Divines for that end, and withall our Aſſembly's dealing, according to their place, for help from our State to them; likewise a letter from their Aſſembly, ſubſcribed by their proloquutor Dr. Twiſſe, and his two aſſeſſors Mr. Whyt and Dr. Burges, ſhewing their permiſſion from the Parliament to write to us, and their invitation of ſome of us to come for their aſſiſtance; further, a letter, ſubſcryved by above ſeventie of their Divines, ſupplicating, in a moſt deplorable ſtyle, help from us in their preſent moſt deſperate condition. All theſe pieces, I think, yow ſhall have in print. Few words did paſſe among us. All theſe were preſented by us to the Aſſembly, and read openlie. The letter of the private Divines was ſo lamentable, that it drew tears from manie. It was appointed that the forenamed Committee ſhould make readie the anſuers for all, to be preſented to the Aſſembly with all convenient ſpeed. Above all, diligence was urged; for the report was going alreadie of the loſſe of Briſtoll, from which they feared his Maſteſtie might march to London, and carrie it. For all this, we were not willing to pre-

cipitat a buffineffe of fuch confequence. Our State had fent up Mr. Meldrum ; we expected him dailie, with certain information, as indeed he came within a few dayes ; and then we made all the hafte we might.

There was in the Moderator's chamber a meeting fundrie times of the prime Nobles, and fome others, where I oft times was prefent. I found, however, all thought it moft neceffare to affift the Englifh ; yet of the way there was much difference of opinion. One night all were bent to go as Redders, and friends to both, without fyding altogether with the Parliament. This was made fo plaufible, that my mind was with the reft for it ; bot Wariftowne his alone did fhew the vanitie of that motion, and the impoffibilitie of it. In our committees alfo we had hard enough debates. The Englifh were for a civill League, we for a religious Covenant. When they were brought to us in this, and Mr. Henderfone had given them a draught of a Covenant, we were not like to agree on the frame ; they were, more nor we could affent to, for keeping of a doore open in England to Independencie. Againft this we were peremptor. At laft fome two or three in private accorded to that draught, which all our three committees, from our States, our Affembly, and the Parliament of England, did unanimoufly affent to. From that meeting it came immediatelie to our Affembly ; in the which, at the firft reading, being well prefaced with Mr. Henderfone's moft grave oration, it was receaved with the greateft applaufe that ever I faw any thing, with fo heartie affections, expreffed in the tears of pitie and joy by verie manie grave, wife, and old men. It wes read diftinctlie the fecond time by the Moderator. The mind of the moft part wes fpeared, both of minifters and elders ; where in a long houres fpace, everie man, as he was by the Moderator named, did exprefse his fenfe as he was able. After all confiderable men were heard, the catalogue was read, and all unanimoufly did affent. In the afternoon, with the fame cordiall unanimitie, it did paffe the Convention of Eftates. This feems to be a new period and crife of the moft great affaire, which thefe hundred yeares hes exercifed thir dominions. What fhall follow from this new principle, yow fhall hear as tyme fhall difcover.

The committee for revifeing the acts of the commiffioners of the laft Affembly, took up the moft of Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday with their report. All wes approvin ; Maitland for his happie diligence thanked ; fo likewise Argyle, and

Birkenbog, for their apprehending of two priests. Everie Presbytrie, Univerfitie, and Parifhe, were ordained to get a Covenant, to be fubfcrived by all their members. We were fashed with two questions. My Lord Balvaird ⁽⁵⁾ had deferted his miniftrie, and came to the Convention of State to voice as a Lord: a minifter in the South had conquifhed a lairdfhip, and, as a laird, had come to the meeting of the fhyre, and voiced for choofing a commiffioner to the convention: both of them were furtherers of the Bavard way. After much reasoning, we determined, that both did wrong; that my Lord Balvaird fhould keep his miniftrie, and give over voicing in Parliament, under paine of depofition, and further cenfure; that the other fhould no more fit nor voice in any courts.

A thornie buffineffe came in, which the Moderator, by great wifdome, got cannilie convoyed. The brethren of Stirling and Perth had made great outcryes, that the commiffion had authorized the clerk, in printing the Affembly-acts, to omitt two acts of Aberdeen, one anent the Sabbath, another about novations. In both thefe fatiffaction was given: That our bounding the Sabbath from midnight to midnight might offend fome neighbouring kirks: As for the other act, about novations, it was expreffed alfe clearlie in the printed acts of the pofteriour Affembly, to be made ufe of by all who had occafion. Thefe things were fo well delivered, that all were quyeted. Mr. Harie Guthrie made no dinne. His letter was a wand above his head to difcipline him, if he fhould mute. The Presbytrie of Achtererdoch was under the rod, to be made an example to all who would be turbulent. After long examination of their buffinefs, at laft they were laureat. Some two or three of that Presbytrie (when manie of the gentry who were not elders were permitted to fitt among them, and reason againft the Warning and Declaration, and when Ardoch prefented reafons in write againft thefe pieces, yet they were proven to have been forward for the prefent reading) were commended. Others who, notwithstanding of the Presbytrie's conclufion, of not reading, yet did read, were for voicing the con-

(⁵) In the MS. Baverd. The person alluded to was Andrew Murray, who was fettled Minifter of the Parifh of Abdie in the year 1618; and on the death of the firft Viscount Stormont, he fucceeded to certain baronies. He was knighted at the Coronation of Charles the Firft in 1633; and was raifed to the dignity of the Peerage, by the title of Lord Balvaird, 17th of November 1641. It appears from the above paffage he ftill retained his parochial charge, and died 24th of September 1644.

tinuation gentlie rebuked. Others who at last caused read parts of them, and Mr. James Rowe, who caused read them before himself came in, were sharplie rebuked, and their names delete from among the members of this Affemblie. Mr. John Grahame, who now the second time had spoken scandalous speeches of the commission, was made to confesse his fault in face of the Affemblie on his knees, and was suspended till the next Provinciall. Ardoch, ane old reverend gentleman, for his former known zeale, was spared; onlie was urged, upon oath, to reveale the persons from whom he had the reasons contrarie to the Warning. Mr. Harrie Futhie of Anguse, a suspect person, for not by name expressing of the malignants in a sermon at the Provinciall, was made on his knees to crave pardon, and promise amendment. Mr. Andrew Logie, who latelie had been reposed to his ministrie, being cited to answer many slanderous speeches in pulpit, not compeiring, bot by an idle letter to the Moderator, was deposed, without returne to that Church for ever. Dr. Forbes, whose sentence of deposition at Aberdeen I had gotten to be suspended, till the Presbytrie of Edinburgh had assayed to gaine him to our Covenant; they, when they found no hope, pronounced the sentence. This he thought unjust, and moved in the Provinciall of Aberdeen, that they would try in this Affemblie if he might be permitted to brooke his place, though he could not subscribe our Covenant. It was determined, his deposition was valid from the beginning, and that he, and all other, should either subscribe, or be farther proceffed. It was complained, that Huntlie did receive fundrie excommunicate Papists in his service; that he had no worship in his familie; that these seventeen years he had not communicate, bot once with the excommunicate Bishop of Aberdeen. Of these he wes ordained to be admonished by his Presbytrie: heirof he was quicklie advertised; so that, ere we arose, he did send to us, under the hand of some neighbour ministers, a testification of his good carriage; bot the former information being verified, the attesting ministers were ordained to be rebuked. Sir John Seaton of Barnes, after a fair excuse of his Irish oath, was ordained to be conferred with for subscribing our Covenant within a certain time; and upon his disobedience, to be proceffed, and have his daughter removed. Mr. R. Dalgleish was elected Church-Thesaurer, for the debursing of the five hundred lib. sterling as the Commissioners of the Church should appoint. The Commissioners who went to Ireland were thanked; Mr. John M'Lellane, for not going, called to answer; his health excused him.

The same reason excused the visitors of Orkney for their omission. Others were appointed to go this year to both places.

11 & 12. Fryday was the first day of the English appearing in our Assembly. Your affaire spent the most of that day. For the generall, fundrie noblemen, especiallie Eglintoun, were not content to be excluded from the burials of their fathers in the Church; yet their respect to the presence of strangers, and Argyle shewing his burying of his father in the Churchyard, and offering himself to be laid any where, when he were dead, rather than to trouble the Church when he was living, made them in silence let the Act go against them. Much dinn was for the erecting a new Presbytrie at Biggar. The convenience, to ease some twelve or thirteen churches at Lanerick and Peebles, with the leaving of more than thirteen to every one of the old Presbytrie's seats, did cary it; but because of my Lord Fleeming's small affection to the common cause, the execution of this decree was appointed to be suspended during the Assembly's pleasure.

13. Sunday, I was forced to preach before noon in the New Church. I had prevailed with the Committee to put me in another place, for I much disliked to be heard there; but the Moderator with his own hand did place me there, so there was no remeid; for who spoke against conclusions, got usuallie so ficker on the fingers, that they had better been silent. God helped me graciously on Psalm fifty-first. "Doe good in thy good pleasure to Zion, build up the walls of Jerusalem." Many were better pleased than I wished, for I am like to be troubled with the Towne of Edinburgh's too good likeing, as yow will hear.

14th. Execution of the acts against excommunicate Papists, and others, with whose estate no man would or durst medle, was recommended to the Estates. Ministers deposed by Generall Assemblies not to be restored by Provinciall Synods or Presbyteries. Rodger Lindsay, cited for blasphemie, and other faults, not compeiring, ordained to be summarlie excommunicate, and the States to be dealt with for further punishment against him. Mr. James Fairlie's long plea decided. His scholler, my Lord Register, had presented him to Largo, at the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly's desyre: the people would not hear of him; the Presbytrie of St. Andrewes joined with the people: they were not cited; so the Assembly could not judge, but behooved to remitt it to the Presbytrie. The man hath long been in extreame miserie:

he was fure his remitting to the Presbytrie was the losse of the cause, and his assured losse of all churches in the land, for no appearance that any people would ever accept of him. Many teares shed he before us; vehement was Durie for him: bot there was no remead; Presbyteries and Parishes might not be wronged. In all this Assemblie great care was had, not only that nothing should come *per saltum*, bot all particulars decidable in Presbyteries and Provincials, should be remitted, with a reproof of them, for sending to the Assemblie these things which they themselves could more easilie, and often better determine. We are like to be troubled with the question of Patronage. William Rigg had procured a sharpe petition to us from the whole Commissioners of shires and burghes against the intrusion of ministers on parishes against their minde; diverse noblemen, patrons, took this evill. We knew not how to guide it; at last, because of the time, as all other things of great difficultie, we got it suppressed. Only when something about presentations came in publick, good Argyle desired us, in all our Presbyteries, to advyse on the best way of admitting of intrants, which the next Generall Assemblie might cognosce on, and conclude. He promised manie, and trusted all, patrons should acquiesce to the order. This pleased all.

15. In our privie meetings we had much debait anent the troublesome evill of novations. All the noblemen, especiallie Lauderdale, were much displeased with the favorers of it; yet they were countenanced more by some than was pleasing to all; Mr. John Livingstone and Mr. John M'Lellane put on the chief committees, and other employments. From the Presbyteries of the Synod of Glasgow, none of them were sent Commissioners, by the providence of some there; yet most of them came to the toune. Being called to the Moderator's chamber, Mr. John M'Lellane and Mr. John Nevay, most did propone their reasons for their judgement. Mr. Samuell Rutherford and Mr. D. [Dickson] did answer. All heard with disdain Mr. John Nevay's reasons were against the Lord's Prayer: after one hour's jangling, we left it nothing better; I found manie enclined, especiallie Mr. Samuell, though he professed it duetie to answer satisfactorlie all their arguments, for peace cause, to passe from the use of the conclusion, and bowing in the pulpit, especiallie if we agree with England; however, we agreed to draw up some act for satisfieing in some measure all. Mr. Harie Guthrie, and the brethren in the north, were so overawed, that

they were verie quyet; and being sent for, professed their contentment, for the necessitie of the tyme, to be content of any thing: Bot Mr. George Young, Mr. John Bell, and others of the west, were not so soon satisfied; bot threatned, on all hazards, to make much dinn, if something were not reallie done for marring the progresse of that ill. Mr. Henderfone communicat to me the act he had drawn. I told him my mislike of some parts of it, as putting in too great an equalitie the novators and their opposits; also my opinion that the Directorie might serve for manie good ends, bot no wayes for suppressing, bot much encreasing, the ill of novations. However, I assured I would make no dinne, bot submit to him, who was much wyser than I. These my thoughts I would not communicate to others; so the brethren opposing most the novations being sent for, when they heard the act, were well pleased with it, wherof I was glad. This act did pass unanimooslie with all. Mr. Henderfone, Mr. Calderwood, and Mr. Dickfone, were voyced to draw with diligence that Directorie, wherein I wish them much better successe than I expect; yet in this I am comforted, that in none of our brethren who are taken with those conceits, appears as yet the least inclination to Independencie; and in these their different practises they become lesse violent, and more modest. Mr. James Bonar had not gotten such satisfaction as need were. For his full contentment, he got a committee nominat to sit at Aire for the further tryall and censure of all who had interest in that ryot.

16. Wednesday, a report was made by the clerk of the committee for visiting the books of the Provinciall Synods. It was found, that the books of Argyle and Orknay were most accurate and formall. Sundrie questions were resolved. The order of visitation of Churches, Presbyteries, and Provinciall Synods, drawn up by Mr. David Calderwood, were read. They were tediouslie long, bot manie of them verie usefull; so they were referred, to be revised against the nixt Assemblie, to these brethren who were appointed for the Directorie.

17. Thursday was our joyful day of passing the English Covenant. The King's Commissioner made some opposition; and when it was so past, as I wrote before, gave in a wryte, wherein he, as the King's Commissioner, (having prefaced his personall heartie consent), did assent to it, so far as concerned the religion and liberties of our Church; bot so far as it concerned the Parliament of England, with whom his Majesty was for the present at odds, he did not

assent to it. The Moderator and Argyle did so alwayes overawe his Grace, that he made us not great trouble.

18. Fryday, a committee of eight were appointed for London, wherof any three were a quorum. Mr. Henderfone, Douglas, Gillespie, Rutherford, I, Maitland, Caffills, Waristoun. The Magistrates of Edinburgh obtained a warrand to the Commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, to plant their Churches with three, dispensing with the overture of the last Assemblie anent the order of transportation, that they should not need to appeare before Presbyteries and Synods, bot at this time the Commission should have power quicklie to plant them. This dispensation with the act onlie of order, they intend to make a Catholick dispensation with all acts of all Assemblies, as if a free patent were given to take any they will in all the land. So they have elected Mr. James Hamilton in Dumfreis, of whom they have gotten two *nolumus* already from the Generall Assemblie; Mr. John Oswald of Aberdeen, who with so great difficultie was gotten North; and me. By my pithie and affectionate letters to Argyle, Waristoun, and their Baillies, I have gotten a supersedere from their present summonds, and hopes to be made free of their cumber; else I will appeall to the Assemblie, for in truth my greatest end in coming to Glasgou was to flee their hands.

19. Our last Session was on Saturday. A number of particulars that day passed. Mr. James Houstoun, a pious and verie zealous young man, minister at Glafford, in the time of his tryells, and after his admision, had fallen in fornication, for which he was deposed by the Presbytrie of Hamiltone; bot being called to serve one of the Irish regiments, was permitted to preach by the Presbytrie of Pasley. Whereupon his old parishioners verie instantlie did suite his return to them; while the Presbytrie of Hamiltone refuses, the parishe supplicats the Synod; where manie being his friends, especiallie Mr. R. Ramfay, and Mr. D. D. he is ordained to be reposed in his old place. The Presbytrie did appeale. The Generall Assemblie found it *bene appellatum*, and reprov'd the Synod. The great affront fell on Mr. David; for in the Synod I had voyced with the Presbytrie. However, I did my best to keep it from further hearing; but could not prevail. This day our answers to the King's letter, to the Parliament of England's declaration, by Mr. Henderfone; to the Assemblie of Divines, by Mr. Blair; to the private letter of corresponding Divines, by Mr. David Dickfone, were publickly read, and

approven, albeit in our privie meeting revifed. An ample Commiffion was drawn to a number of the ableft in the whole land, whereof fourteen minifters and three elders made a quorum. The Parliament meeting in Edinburgh the firft Tuefday of June, the next Affembly was appointed to hold in that fame place the laft Wednefday of May. The Moderator ended with a gracious fpeech, and fweet prayer. In no Affembly wes the grace of God more evident from the beginning to the end than here; all departed fullie fatiffied.

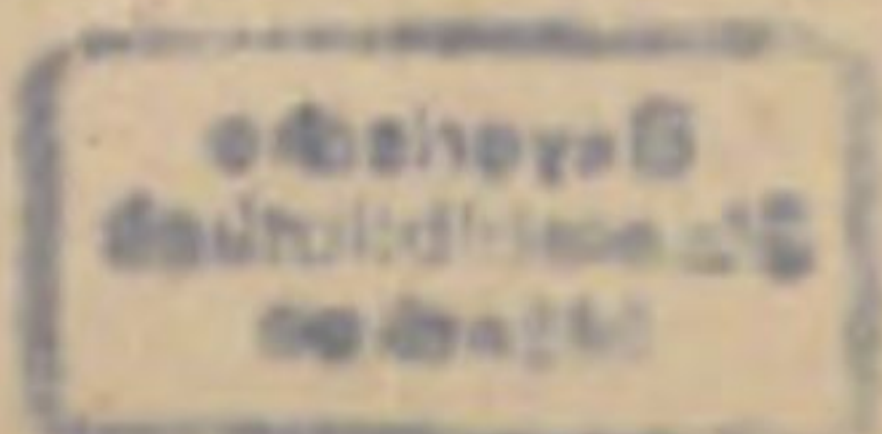
20. The Sabbath, before noon, in the New Church, we heard Mr. Marfhall preach with great contentment. Bot in the afternoon, in the Grayfriars, Mr. Nye did not please. His voice was clamorous: he touched neither in prayer nor preaching the common buffineffe: he read much out of his paper book. All his fermon was on the common head of a fpiritual life, wherein he ran out, above all our underftandings, upon a knowledge of God as God, without the fcripture, without grace, without Chrift. They fay he amended it fomewhat the next Sabbath.

21. On Monday the Commiffion did fit on fundrie particulars; bot on Tuefday the onlie eirand it had was to appoint me to goe prefentlie to London. Of this I underftood nothing at all; for our quorum being three, Mr. Alexander [Henderfon] and my Lord Maitland were undoubtedlie two, and the dyet of going being on Saturday following, no man could dreame they could be fo unreafonable as to command me, without vifiting my familie, and putting my fmall affaires to fome order, fo fuddenlie to goe fo farr a voyage, having Mr. G. Gillespie, who from his own doore might put his foot in the fhip when he pleased. Notwithftanding, in a meeting of the noblemen and others, on the Monday, fra which I had foolifhly abfented my felfe, it was concluded I fhould goe, and that a commiffion fhould fit to-morrow for that end. Of this I got a little inkling on Tuefday morning; bot not believing it, I was not fo earneft, as otherwife I might have been, in folifting, till near nyne a'clock, when I found the conclufion was reall: fo I did what I could, with fo manie of the Commiffion I got betuixt and ten, to deprecate my fo fudden departure; bot being desperat of prevailing, my beft friends fhewing me the neceffitie, I committed the matter to God, with a humble fubmiffion. Never to my fenfe, did I finde fo clear a providence about me. My wife was great with child; had I in fo dangerous a tyme fo fuddenlie departed, likelie fhe had dyed for grieve. I offered, within a ten dayes, to



follow in the next ship; but this would have broken the quorum, and made the other two's journey unprofitable till I came. When it came to voyceing, Mr. Alexander and Maitland being unanimously chosen, the voyces ran just equall, some twentie for me, and alse manie for Mr. George. I then desired a delay till afternoone, when the commiffion might be more full; this was refused: I requyred it might goe to lots; this wes refused: so it was voyced over againe, and again we were equall. Then it wes referred to the Moderator his choise; who, on his knowledge of my vehement desire and state of my familie, named Mr. George, for which I bleffed God in my heart; but he had not well spoken till Libertoune came in, who, if he had come before the word, would have cast the balance for me. Bot being freed of that great trouble, incontinent I was like to fall in another. Edinburgh put in, that in time of our colledge-vacance, I should be ordained to stay and supply them. Argyle, who was chief for my goeing to London, having burnt me before, would then blow me. He reasoned stoutlie for my going to Glasgowe; yet it was determined that in the time of the vacance, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, Mr. David Dickson, and I, by turns, should be there; but finding it their aime to entangle me, I have not been there, nor myndes not to know them.

After my departure, with joy for my liberation unexpected from a troublesome if not a dangerous voyage; for besyde the sea, it was feared the King should get London before they could be there; things, praise to God, went better. The Convention of our Estates emitted a proclamation, containing the heads of the Covenant, and commanding all within fixtie and sixteen, to be in readines in full arms, with fourtie dayes provision, to march to the randevouze that the Convention or their committees should appoint. This was the first allarum. The English commissioners made promise to secure our coast with their shipping, and provyding for our levie, and three moneths pay, one hundred thousand pounds sterling, also fix thousand pounds to the Irish armie. The year, through their default, was farr spent, and little possibilitie there was for us to arme so late. The corns behooved to be first cutted: and in this God hes been verie gracious; never a better crop, nor more airie with us: the beginning of October is like to end our harveft. Also we could not sturre till England did accept and enter in the Covenant, and send down moneys. For the hastening of these, the great ship, with our three commissioners, and Mr. Meldrum, and two of the English, Mr. Hat-



cher and Nye, made faill on the Wednesday, the 30th day; the wind made no sooner: bot some eight dayes before, the English had dispatched a catch, with a double of our Covenant; which, when it came, was so well lyked at London, that Fryday the first of September, being sent to the Assemblie of Divines, it was there allowed by all, onlie Dr. Burges did doubt for one night. On Saturday it past the House of Commons, on Monday the House of Peers. It seems to have been much facilitat by the flight of these Lords, who all this time was opposeing to their power their junction with us, and all what might further their cause. After the taking of Bristoll, they grew more bold; and however they could not get the sending of commissioners to us hindered, yet when they were gone, they put on foot a new treatie of peace with the King. This proposition past the House of Peers and Commons both; bot the leading men made such a noise in the citie, that the Mayor, on the Monday, with the best of the Citie-Councill, did offer a verie sharp petition to the contrare, which made, albeit with great difficultie, that conclusion be ranversed till they heard some ansuer from us. To remeed this, the malignants sturred a multitude of women of the meaner and more infamous ranke, to come to the doore of both Houses, and cry tumultuousslie for peace on any terms. This tumult could not be suppressed bot by violence, and killing some three or foure women, and hurting more of them, and imprisoning manie. Heirupon the under-dealing of some being palpable, before it brake out fullie, they stole away; Holland, Bedford, Clare, Conway, Portland, Lovelace, and, as they say, Salisburrie, and Northumberland: some denyes these two. Good had it been for the Parliament these had been gone long before. However, they were verie well away at this tyme; for their absence was a great further[ance] to the passing of our Covenant in a legall way. There was, for a tyme, horrible feares and confusions in the Citie; the King everie where victorious. In the Parliament and Citie a strong and insolent partie for him. Essex much suspect, at least of non-fiance and misfortune; his armie, through sickness and runaways, brought to four or five thousand men, and these much malecontented that their Generall and they should be misprised, and Waller immoderatelie prised. He had lost his whole armie, and occasioned the losse of Bristoll. Surelie it was a great act of faith in God, and hudge courage and unheard of compassion, that moved our nation to hazard their own peace, and venture their lives and all, for to save a people of

irrecoverable ruined both in their owne and all the world's eyes. Yet we trust the Lord of Heaven will give successe to our honest intentions : as yet all goes right. The Citie hath taken good order within itselfe. Beside the prisons on land, the most tumultuous they have sent out in two ships, to lie for a while at Gravesend. The King, thinking at the first summons, to get Gloucester, and being refused, in a divine providence was engaged to lye down before it ; where the unexpected courage, conduct, and successe of the besieged, has much weakened the King's armie, and hath so encouraged the Parliament, that Essex, well refreshed and recruited, is marched with twelve thousand foot, and two or four thousand horse, towards Gloucester. It seems unavoidable, but they must fight ere he returne. From our Commissioners yet we have heard nothing : We expect (this 22d) for Meldrum from them. Upon the certaintie of that Covenant's subscription by any considerable partie there, and the provision of some moneys, we mind to turne us to God, by fasting and prayer, and to levie thirty-two thousand foot and four thousand horse. Generall Leslie is chosen, and accepted his old charge. It is true, he past manie promises to the King, that he would no more fight in his contrare ; but, as he declares, it was with the expresse and necessar condition, that Religion and Countrey's rights were not in hazard ; as all indifferent men thinks now they are in a verie evident one. As yet Almond is come no further than to serve for putting the countrey in armes for defence at home ; so the Lievtennant-generall's place is not as yet filled. Baylie also is much dependent on Hamilton, who is yet somewhat ambiguous, suspected of all, loved of none : but it is like he will be quyet. Dear Sandie⁽⁴⁾ hath accepted the generall of Artillerie's place. Humble is generall Commissar. Manie of our nobles are crowners for shires. Mr. Walden hath seized on Berwick for the Parliament ; whereupon Crowner Gray makes prey of the town's cattell ; and Newcastle is sending doune men and cannoun to besiege it. Therefore our Committee of States dispatched Sinclair, and his three troupes of new levied horse, and six hundred foot, to assist the securing of it. So the play is begun : the good Lord give it a happie end.

Your mother I visited the other day. She and all hers are well, as I heard. Your sister's sone hath been with me. Sundrie times I have examined him, and given him theams and verse. He

(4) General Alexander Hamilton, youngest brother of Thomas first Earl of Haddington.

feemes to me a verie fyne boy, and is like to be a good schollar, and everie way a good boy. By all meanes encourage him; for yow may have credite by him, if I mistake him not. I desyre no more of the French Gazets; I wish I had the bygone counted for. My love and service to your wife. We had much need of your prayers. The Lord be with yow.

Your Coofine,

September 22d, [1643.]

R. B.

FOR THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL HIS ASSURIT FRIEND, SIR WILLIAM
MUIR OF ROUALLAN.⁽⁵⁾

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

If it be God's will that our intendit voyage towards London hold, it is liklie that on of the points of our conference will be anent a new Pfalter.⁽⁶⁾ Your's I did lyk better than any other I have fein. If you think meet to fend to me a perfyte copie therof, I shall affur to mak that use of it which you shall direct, or the best I am able. Expecting your mind heeranent, I rest,

Your loving friend to serve you,

Kilwinnin, Oct. 9, [1643.]

R. BAILLIE.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

REVEREND AND BELOVED COUSINE,

I HOPE long or now yow receaved my long one, September 22d. What since hes past yow shall here have accompt. Our Commiffioners came safe to London, were welcomed in the Affemblie by

⁽⁵⁾ From the original, in the possession of the Rev. William Muir, Assistant Minister of Temple. It is not included in the MS. Collection of Baillie's Letters.

⁽⁶⁾ This metrical version of the Psalms, which Baillie mentions elsewhere with much commendation, (*vide infra*, p. 120,) was never published; but one or more copies in MS. are still preserved, and some specimens of it are given in the Appendix (p. 133,) to Sir William Mure's "Historie and Descent of the House of Rowallane." Glasgow, 1825, 12mo.

three harangues from Dr. Twisse, Mr. Caise, and Dr. Hoyle ⁽⁷⁾ Before their coming, the Covenant had past, with some little alteration. This they took in evill part, that any letter should be changed without our advyce; but haveing a Committee from both Houses and the Assemblie, of the most able and best-affected men, appointed to deale with them in that and all other affaires, we shortlie were satisfied, finding all the alterations to be for the better. Being all agreed, as the Assemblie and House of Commons did sweare and subscribe that Covenant, the little House of Lords did delay, for sake of honor, as they said, till they fand our Nation willing to swear it as then it was formed. In this we gave great satisfaction; for so soon as Mr. Alexander's letters came to Mr. Robert Dowglafs, he convened the Commissioners of the Church, and the Chancelor, the Commissioners of the Estate, who, after a dayes deliberation, did heartilie approve the alterations, as not materiallie differing from the forme read in the Assemblie. So on Fryday, in the New Church, after a pertinent sermon of Mr. Robert Dowglafs, the Commissioners of Estate at one table, the Commissioners of the Church at ane other, the Commissioners from the Parliament and Assemblie of England at a third, did solemnlie swear and subscribe, with great joy, and manie teares. Some eighteen of our Lords were present that day; and copies were dispatched to the Moderators of all our presbyteries, to cause read and expone that Covenant, the first Sunday after their receipt, and the Sunday following to cause swear it by men and women, and all of understanding, in everie church of our land, and subscribe by the hand of all men who could wryte, and by the Clerk of Session in name of these that could not wryte, with certification of the Church censures, and confiscatione of goods, presentlie to be inflicted on all refusers. With a marvelous unanimtie was this everie where received. A great manie averse among us from this course, who bitterlie spoke against our way everie where, and none more than some of our friends; yet in God's great mercy all that yet I have heard of have taken this oath. Sundrie things did much contribute to the running of it. It was drawn with such circumspection, that little scruple from any rock could be to any equitable. For the matter, the authoritie of a Generall Assemblie and Convention of Estate was great; the penalties sett down in

(7) Here, and in the subsequent account of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, the incorrect orthography of the names of persons, as written by Baillie's amanuensis, has not been retained, (such as Caise, Hoill, Nay, &c.)

print before the Covenant, and read with it, were great; the chief aime of it was for the propagation of our Church discipline to England and Ireland; the great good and honour of our nation; also the Parliament's advantage at Gloucester and Newbury, bot most of all the Irish cessation, made the mindes of our people embrace that meane of safetie; for when it was seen in print from Dublin, that in July his Majestie had sent a Commission to the Marques of Ormond, the Judges, and Committee there, to treat with these miscreants; that the dissenting Commissioners were cast in prision; that the agreement was proclaimed, accepting the soume of 300,000 lib. sterling from these idolatrous butchers, and giving them, over the name of Roman Catholick subjects now in armes, a sure peace for a yeare, with full libertie to bring in what men, armes, money they could from all the world, and to exterminate all who should not agree to that Proclamation;—we thought it cleare that the Popish partie was so far countenanced, as it was necessare for all Protestants to joyn more strictlie for their own safetie; and that so much the more, as Embassadours from France were come both to England and us, with open threats of hostilitie from that Croune. Our land now, I hope, in a happie tyme, hath entered, with fastings and prayer, in a league with England, without any opposition. His Majestie letts us alone; partlie his distractions elswhere, and most, as we think, his experience how bitter Proclamations did more than calm us; onlie a letter came from him to the Counsell, marvelling that in his name they had proclaimed ane injunction for all to arme, and had entered in a Covenant with his enemies, without his advice. An answer wes returned in justification of both these actions. Hamiltone, Roxburgh, Traquair, and others, have been advysing what to doe; as yet hitherto they have had no dinne, and we trust they shall not be able to make any partie. However, we have laid in Stirling for all accidents, some three troope of horse. All the shyres are put under their crouners, captains, and commanders of warre; but no men as yet are levied. The English are more unhappie oft in their delayes. Meldrum was sent up with some articles to their Parliament, agreed upon with their Commissioners here; but is not yet returned. Wee know the best of the English have verie ill will to employ our aid, and the smallest hopes they got of subsisting by themselves, [makes them less fond] of us. The march of Essex to Gloucester; his raising of that siege; his returne to London, with some vantage at Newbury; Manchester's taking of Linn;

his clearing of Lincolnshire, with some prosperous skirmishes there; Newcastle's repulse from Hull, puts them in new thoughts; also their bygone great expenses of money, and the great charge which Effex, Waller, Manchester, Warwick, Fairfax, puts them to dailie, makes it hard for them to get such sommes of money as are needfull for raising of our armie; and most of all, as is surmised, the underhand dealing of some yet in their Parliament, who hes no will, that by our coming in, that business should be ended, lest their reigne should too soon end. Whouever, by lets open and secret, that helpe which we were very willing to have given, is not like in haste to be made need of; only Meldrum wrytes, that from twenty-eight parishes of London, there is gotten now some thirty thousand pounds, with which he is presentlie to come down. Mr. Hatcher will follow with the rest that can be gotten. It is like, that when any competent somme comes, that ane armie shall rise, and go towards Newcastle. There is lying some a 100,000 lbs. sterling worth of coale. It is hoped, albeit it be winter and the toune fortified, yet there cannot be great opposition; for Manchester and Fairfax, and the people of Lancashire, coming on the one syde, we hope that our armie, on the other, may come the better speed. The Irish cessation perplexes us. Our armie there is verie considerable, some 8,000 of hunger and cold-beaten souldiers, if ever were any; no duty at all hes been done to them. The Parliaments wants and negligence, and evill dealing of some, foolishlie and most unjustlie jealous of us, hes weell neer starved these souldiers. If they runn away, Ireland is lost; if they stay, they have all the English and Irish for enemies; yet if they had money, they would, with God's helpe, keep Ulster against all. For to advyse on this, Sir Henrie Vaine and Mr. Marshall are gone to London; so onlie Sir William Ermyne stays here. If the Scots were away, it is feared that all Ireland should be readie to go upon England at a call.

At last the Affemblie of Divines have permission to fall on the question of Church Government. What here they will doe, we cannot say. Mr. Henderfone's hopes are not great of their conformitie to us, before our armie be in England. However, they have called earnestlie once and againe for Mr. Rutherford and me. The Commission hes convenit, and sent for us. We are thus far in our way to goe aboard, God willing, one of these dayes. The weather is uncertaine, the way dangerous, pirates and shoals not scant; yet trusting on God, we must not stand on any hazard to

serve God and our countrey. Write none to me till yow hear from me where I am. The case of affaires is lamentable. Not the leist appearance of peace. The anger of God burns like a fire, without relenting. Above 200,000 persons lost by this warre already. The hearts of both parties alike this day in courage. Beside bygone mischiefs, it is like the nixt spring, or before, ane flood of strangers will rush in on England; Scots, Irish, French, Danes, and who not? There appears not any possible remeed, till God send the overture. How things go abroad, yow will write to me more fullie. Our negociation at the Court of France, it seems, is miscaryed: Louthian, with nothing done, is returned. He would not be dissuaded from going to Oxford; where we hear he is laid up, to our grief and irritation. A little Monsieur, some agent with letters from the Queen, hes offered to our Counsell the renovation of that league, whereof Louthian was treating; but requires us not to covenant with the Parliament of England, and to annull the Acts of our Generall Assemblie against the papists in the Scottish regiments in France, to cause set the Earl of Antrim free. He stomacks that he has not a quick answer. The man seems to be of a small accompt. He is delayed till Louthian come. The friendship of the French was never much worth to us, and now we regard it as little as ever. We shall doe them no wrong; but if they will joyn against the Protestant cause, we must oppose them. A pitie bot your Estates should regard more the safetie of England, and of themselves, than hitherto they have done. We had a moneth agoe a false alarme. It was probablie informed, and certainlie believed, that Prince Rupert was on our Borders, with twentie ⁽⁸⁾ horse and foot; that his cannon was at Morpeth; that our Banders, then mett at Kelfoe for the Ladie Roxburgh's buriall, were to join with him; that without impediment, they were to seize Edinburgh. Our Counsell were on the poynt of putting up fyrebeacons to call all the countrey to the Border; yet some little time made us finde it was but a mistake of some horse and foot of Collonell Gray's, to bewarr of our eruptions from Berwick. As yet no acts of hostilitie to count of, are past.

[November 17th, 1643.]

(⁸) This number in the later MSS. is corrected to 20,000.

FOR MY LORD WARISTOUN.⁽⁹⁾

MY LORD,

FOR news I can say no more than yow have in the publick letter, and from other private hands. I cannot but second the earnest desyre of all here for the upcoming of a Committee from our Estates. It is thought by all our friends, that if a well-chosen Committee were here, they would get the guiding of all the affairs both of this State and Church; and without it, the distractions and languishing and fainting of this diseased people will not be gotten cured. I doubt not bot the high importance of the affair will make yow quicklie send up that Committee; for the danger of the delay increaseth daylie. Onlie by all means see, that yow and others debaite seriouſlie upon the perſones: yow may send us up men that hes designs for themselves, who may marr whollie the action. If yow send bot three, I think the case is cleare: yow love not your ſelfe ſo well but I am confident yow will venture your life through ſeas and pirates, as I did, if yow be ſent; and in truth, when the State and Church of England is to receive a new frame, and yow called to put your hand to that huge, great, and honourable work, I ſee not, while yow live, how yow are like to doe ſo much good as in this matter, if once yow had put our armie the length of Newcastle. None but Barclay for a burgeſs. But as yow love the affair itſelf, ſee well to the choiſe of the nobleman. Yow know what woe and danger ſelfie men in the top of a commiſſion may doe. If here yow make not a good choiſe, yow ſhall have my malifon. I put yow in minde alſo, if it ſhall not be expedient, that with that Committee Mr. Blair ſhall not come up from our Church. If yow pleaſe, yow can eaſilie procure it. Yow may have need of him to pour whyles your grieved minde in his boſom. I conceive he hes a great dexteritie in giving wholeſome counſell in the multitude of the great affaires here in hand. There cannot be three more gracious and able men than Mr. H[enderſon], Mr. G[illeſpie], Mr. R[utherford], and I profeſs the very great ſufficiencie and happineſs of good Maitland; yet

⁽⁹⁾ The original letter, ſomewhat mutilated at the end, is contained in Folio Vol. LXVII, No. 47 of Wodrow's MSS. in the Advocates Library. It is addreſſed thus: "For the richt worſhipfull his aſſurit freind my Lord Waristoun —With ſom ſuir hand."

I thinke we would be much the better of Mr. Blair's companie. Yow must not look to expences, when presentlie we are either to winn the horse or tyne the faddle. I think it reasorable and necessarie, that come who will, Maitland⁽¹⁾ should be adjoynd to them. Forget not this ; for if this be neglected, it would be an injurie and a disgrace to a youth, that brings, by his noble carriage, credit to our nation, and help to our cause. The best here makes very much of him, and are oft in our house visiting him ; such as, Northumberland, Sey, Waller, Salisberry, and such like. Burn this my free letter, except yow will keep it and say it is burnt, as yow know whom we think did so. I pray God guide and blese yow all. My service to my Cumer and all friends.

Your Master,

December 5th 1643.

R. BAYLIE.

[FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

SINCE my last, November 17th, there are few news here. From that day to Monday, I think the 20th, we kepted in, provyding for caussey-clothes. On Monday morning we sent to both Houses of Parliament for a warrant for our sitting in the Affemblie. This was readilie granted, and by Mr. Henderfone presented to the Proloqutor ; who sent out three of their number to convoy us to the Affemblie. Here no mortal man may enter to see or hear, let be to sitt, without ane order in wryte from both Houses of Parliament. When we were brought in, Dr. Twisse had ane long harangue for our welcome, after so long and hazardous a voyage by sea and land, in so unseasonable a tyme of the year : When he had ended, we ~~satt~~ down in these places which since we have kepted. The like of that Affemblie I did never see, and, as we hear say, the like was never in England, nor any where is shortlie lyke to be. They did sit in Henry the 7th's Chappell, in the place of the Convocation ; but since the weather grew cold, they did go to Jerusaleme chamber, a fair roome in the Abbey of Westminster, about the bounds of the Colledge fore-hall, but wyder. At the one end nearest the doore, and both fydes are stages of seats as in the new Affemblie-House at Edinburgh, but not so high ; for there will

(¹) John Lord Maitland, afterwards Duke of Lauderdale.

be roome but for five or fix score. At the upmoſt end there is a chair ſet on ane frame, a foot from the earth, for the Mr. Proloqutor Dr. Twiſſe. Before it on the ground ſtands two chairs for the two Mr. Aſſeſſors, Dr. Burgeſs and Mr. Whyte. Before theſe two chairs, through the length of the roome, ſtands a table, at which fits the two ſcribes, Mr. Byfield and Mr. Roborough. The houſe is all well hung, and heſ a good fyre, which is ſome dainties at London. Foranent the table, upon the Proloqutor's right hand, there are three or four rankes of formes. On the loweſt we five doe fit. Upon the other, at our backs, the members of Parliament deputed to the Aſſembly. On the formes foranent us, on the Proloqutor's left hand, going from the upper end of the houſe to the chimney, and at the other end of the houſe, and backfyde of the table, till it come about to our ſeats, are four or five ſtages of formes, whereupon their divines fits as they pleaſe; albeit commonlie they keep the ſame place. From the chimney to the door there is no ſeats, but a voyd for paſſage. The Lords of Parliament uſes to fit on chaires, in that voyd, about the fire. We meet every day of the week, but Saturday. We ſitt commonlie from nine to one or two afternoon. The Proloqutor at the beginning and end heſ a ſhort prayer. The man, as the world knows, is very learned in the queſtions he heſ ſtudied, and very good, beloved of all, and highlie eſteemed; but merelie bookiſh, and not much, as it ſeems, acquaint with conceived prayer, [and] among the unfitteſt of all the company for any action; ſo after the prayer he fits mute. It was the canny convoyance of theſe who guides moſt matters for their own intereſt to plant ſuch a man of purpoſe in the chaire. The one aſſeſſour, our good friend Mr. Whyte, heſ kepted in of the gout ſince our coming; the other, Dr. Burgeſs, a very active and ſharpe man, ſupplies, ſo farr as is decent, the Proloqutor's place. Ordinarlie there will be preſent above threeſcore of their divines. Theſe are divided in three Committees; in one whereof every man is a member. No man is excluded who pleaſes to come to any of the three. Every Committee, as the Parliament gives order in wryte to take any purpoſe to conſideration, takes a portion, and in their afternoon meeting prepares matters for the Aſſembly, ſetts doune their minde in diſtinct propoſitions, backs their propoſitions with texts of Scripture. After the prayer, Mr. Byfield the ſcribe, reads the propoſition and Scriptures, whereupon the Aſſembly debates in a moſt grave and orderlie way. No man is called up to ſpeak; bot who ſtands up of his own accord, he ſpeaks ſo

long as he will without interruption. If two or three stand up at once, then the divines confusedlie calls on his name whom they desire to hear first : On whom the loudest and maniest voices calls, he speaks. No man speaks to any but to the Proloqutor. They harangue long and very learnedlie. They studie the questions well before hand, and prepares their speeches ; but withall the men are exceeding prompt, and well spoken. I doe marvell at the very accurate and extemporall replies that many of them usuallie doe make. When, upon every proposition by itself, and on everie text of Scripture that is brought to confirme it, every man who will hes said his whole minde, and the replies, and duplies, and triplies, are heard ; then the most part calls, To the question. Byfield the scribe rises from the table, and comes to the Proloqutor's chair, who, from the scribe's book, reads the proposition, and says, as many as are in opinion that the question is well stated in the proposition, let them say I ; when I is heard, he says, as many as think otherwise, say No. If the difference of I's and No's be cleare, as usuallie it is, then the question is ordered by the scribes, and they go on to debate the first Scripture alleadged for proof of the proposition. If the sound of I and No be near equall, then sayes the Proloqutor, as many as say I, stand up ; while they stand, the scribe and others number them in their minde ; when they sitt down, the No's are bidden stand, and they likewise are numbered. This way is clear enough, and saves a great deal of time, which we spend in reading our catalogue. When a question is once ordered, there is no more debate of that matter ; but if a man will vaige, he is quicklie taken up by Mr. Affessor, or many others, confusedlie crying, Speak to order, to order. No man contradicts another expressly by name, but most discreetlie speaks to the Proloqutor, and at most holds on the generall, The Reverend brother, who latelie or last spoke, on this hand, on that syde, above, or below. I thought meet once for all to give yow a taste of the outward form of their Assemblie. They follow the way of their Parliament. Much of their way is good, and worthie of our imitation : only their longfomenesse is wofull at this time, when their Church and Kingdome lyes under a most lamentable anarchy and confusion. They see the hurt of their length, but cannot get it helped ; for being to establish a new Plattforme of worship and discipline to their Nation for all time to come, they think they cannot be answerable, if solidlie, and at leifure, they doe not examine every point thereof.

When our Commissioners came up, they were desyred to fitt as members of the Assemblie; but they wiselie declyned to doe so: but since they came up as Commissioners for our National Church to treat for Uniformitie, they required to be dealt with in that capacitie. They were willing, as private men, to fitt in the Assemblie, and upon occasion to give their advyce in poynts debated; but for the Uniformitie, they required a committee might be appointed from the Parliament and Assemblie to treat with them thereanent. All these, after some harsh enough debates, was granted: so once a week, and whyles after, there is a committee of some Lords, and Commons, and Divines, which meets with us anent our commission. To this committee a paper was given in by our brether before we came, as an introduction to further treatie: The double of it yow may see heirwith. According to it the Assemblie did debate, and agree anent the deutie of Pastors. At our first comeing, we found them in a verie sharp debate, anent the office of Doctors. The Independent men, whereof there are some ten or eleven in the synod, manie of them very able men, as Thomas Goodwin, Nye, Burroughs, Bridge, Carter, Caryll, Philips, Sterry, were for the divine institution of a Doctor in everie congregation as well as a Pastor. To these the others were extreamlie opposite, and somewhat bitterlie, pressing much the simple identitie of Pastors and Doctors. Mr. Henderfone travelled betwixt them, and drew on a committee for accommodation; in the whilk we agreed unanimousslie upon some fix propositions, wherein the absolute necessitie of a Doctor in everie congregation, and his divine institution, in formall termes, was eschewed; yet where two Ministers can be had in one congregation, the one is allowed according to his gift, to applie himself most to teacheing, and the other to exhortation, according to Scripture. The next poynt, whereon yet we stick, is reuling Elders. Many a verie brave dispute have we had upon them these ten dayes. I professe my marvelling at the great learning, quickness, and eloquence, together with the great courtesie and discretion in speaking, of these men. Sundrie of the ablest were flat against the institution of any such officer by divine right, such as Dr. Smith, Dr. Temple, Mr. Gataker, Mr. Vines, Mr. Price, Mr. Hall, and manie moe, beside the Independents, who trulie spake much and exceedinglie well. The most of the synod was in our opinion, and reasoned bravelie for it; such as Mr. Seaman, Mr. Walker, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Newcomen, Mr. Young, Mr. Calamy. Sundrie times Mr. Hender-

fone, Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Gillespie, all three, spoke exceeding well. When all were tired, it came to the question. There was no doubt but we would have carried it by far most voices; yet because the opposites were men verie considerable, above all gracious and learned little Palmer, we agreed upon a committee to satisfie, if it were possible, the dissenters. For this end we meet to-day; and I hope, ere all be done, we shall agree. All of them were ever willing to admitt Elders in a prudentiall way; but this to us seemed a most dangerous and unhappie way, and therefore was peremptorie rejected. We trust to carie at last, with the contentment of fundrie once opposite, and silence of all, their divyne and scripturall institution. This is a poynt of high consequence; and upon no other we expect so great difficultie, except alone on Independencie; wherewith we purpose not to medle in haste, till it please God to advance our armie, which we expect will much assist our arguments. However, we are not desperate of some accomodation; for Goodwin, Burroughs, and Bridge, are men full, as it seems yet, of grace and modestie: if they should prove otherwise, the bodie of the Assemblie and Parliament, citie and countrie, will disclaime them. The other day a number of the citie and countrie ministers gave in an earnest and well penned supplication to the Assemblie, regraiting the lamentable confusion of their church under the present anarchy; the increase of Anabaptists, Antinomians, and other sectaries; the boldnesse of some in the citie, and about it, in gathering separate congregations; requesting the Assemblies intercession with the Parliament for the redress of these evils; and withall for the erection at London, dureing the time of these troubles, of a colledge for the youth, whose studies are interrupted at Oxford. This was well taken by the Assemblie. The Parliament promised their best endeavours for all. John Goodwin, accused by Mr. Walker and Dr. Homes of Socinianisme, and others, are appointed to be admonished for their assaying to gather congregations. The Parliament became the other day sensible of their too long neglect of wryting to the Churches abroad of their condition; so it was the matter of our great committee to draw up letters in the name of the Assemblie for the Protestant churches. The drawing of them was committed to Mr. Palmer, who yet is upon them. There is a little committee also, which meets in the Assemblie-house almost everie morning, for the tryall of expectants; when they have heard them preach, and posed them with questions, they give in to the Assemblie a certificate of

their qualification : upon the which they are sent to supply vacant churches, but without ordination, till some government be erected in their desolate churches. Plundered ministers are appointed, by order of Parliament, to be put in all vacant places in the citie and countrie, in their obedience, till they be all provided. Concerning the affaires of the Church, I need say no more at this tyme.

For the Estate, I know not much of it ; but thus it is said, by the mouth of the people, to stand. The forces of both sides are yet near equall. Newcastle and King came somewhat fouth towards Darby and Notingham. It was thought they intended for Oxford, that the King had called all his forces together to master London before we could stirr. Yet we hear since, that after some plundering in these parts, and the surprise of some four hundred horse in Melton near Leicester, they are retired northward. Manchester and his great forces are on their back, but not willing to follow till we from Scotland advance. Brewerton and Middleton had entered Wales, and taken fundrie towns, and were fair for the getting of West-Chester ; for my Lord Capell, who had led the forces of Wales for the King, and had lent of his own estate, they say, a hundred thousand pounds sterling, was disgraced at Court, and discouraged ; but there landed some thousands of Irishes, some call them three, some four, some six thousand, near the towne. King, they say, marched thitherward ; also Archbishop Williams, and other four Bishops, did gather men and arms ; which made Brewerton and his Lancashyre auxiliaries leave the fiedge of Chester, and go toward the Irish, before their conjunction with others ; with what success we yet do not hear. The Generall, when the King had fortified Reading, went toward Newport-Pagnell, got the place from the enemy, hes fortified it for a winter-quarter, some thirty miles from London, a good sconce for the associat committees [counties]. His souldiers, if the city regiments were returned, are not, it is thought, three thousand. His officers are said to be above one thousand four hundred ; this makes him urge above three hundred thousand pounds sterling of monethlie pay, to the great indignation of many. But the main chance is about good and valiant Sir William Waller. The grandees would see, they say, that poor man perish : With much adoe did he gather some two thousand horse and three thousand foot : with these he was sent somewhat rashlie toward the west to Bazeing house, some thirtie miles from London, a place stronglie fortified. When he

had stormed it once or twice, his Westminster regiment refused to go on, and the most of his foot stole away. He was forced to retire to Farnham castle, where at once Hopton, with double his number, is on his back. Sundrie dayes skirmishing among them for Sir William's advantage. At last Hopton retires towards Winchester; but leaves Craufoord to fortifie Alton, some seven miles from Farnham. The King came on Sunday last to Bazeing-house, with purpose to break up Waller's quarters, and then to enter Kent; but, as we hear, Waller is recruited, from Kent, with horse and foot, and minds to stand to it. They may tig tag on this way this twelve moneth. Yet if God send not in our armie quicklie, and give it not some notable success, this people are likelie to faint; but it is the hope of all the godlie, it is the confidence and publick prayers of all the good ministers here, that God will honour the Scotts to be their saviours. If it be the Lord's pleasure, to humble the soules of our people, in sense of our nationall sin, and make them trust to his power only, it is very like we shall doe the business. It were all the pities in the world that we should not make haste. If the godlie here be overthrown, it is clear a party shall be set up, of the most wicked men that breathes, who are likelie to endanger the safetie of the King and his familie, of the whole Protestant churches, and the true welfare of all these dominions for ever. If God may be pleased to strengthen our weak arme, we may be instruments of the greatest glory and most profite to our nation, both for the whole and many mens particular; of a gracious reformation, both in Church and State, not only to these dominions, but also to others abroad, whose eyes and hearts are much towards our motions. If there be any malcontent mad fooles among us, who would assay to marr that glorious assistance, it cannot be but God will make them smart for that unhappie and untymous malignancie.

Prince de Harcourt, the extraordinar Embassadour of France, is tinkling here upon a mediation; but for little purpose. It is thought some of the Lords, who have ever been studying to gett the King his will, hes procured from France the Embassadour who is here, to come over, upon hopes that under his skugg they should draw the Parliament to treaty, wherein the King should make his conditions: But herein, as in many things else, they have miscounted themselves; for a letter of Secretar Nicolas to Goring, at the Hague, being intercepted, reveals somewhat of this designe, and advyses to further the three Ambassadors from Holland, but so

[that] their instructions might be advantageous to the King : Also, the French Ambassadour, having staid so long at Oxford without anie addresse to the Parliament, and when he came, however in private he spoke so to his friends as if he did mislike alluterlie what he had seen at Oxford, and would advyse the discourting of the most there, also extolling the valour of our nation to the skyes, yet finding that he would not addresse himself to them as to a Parliament, bot onlie wryte an unsubscryved memorandum to my Lord Northumberland, that he would propone to the Messier⁽²⁾ of the Parliament, in the name of the Prince de Harcourt, that if they would shew to him the ground of their taking of armes, he would labour to finde the best expedients he could for a peace ; they gave such answers as such a proposition deserved, That whensoever Prince de Harcourt did addresse himselfe to them as to the two Houses of Parliament, and shew his commission from the French King to propone middses of peace to them, they should gladlie hear and consider whatever proposition, subscryved with his hand, he was pleased to make to them : upon such termes as these doe they yet stand. There is no doubt of the French assistance to the King, if they were free ; but it is thought that the Duke of Bavaria's victorie over their armie in Alfatia, wherein Marishall Guebriant is killed, and the Spainard vaunting in Catalonia against Hodancourt, will cooll a little the heat of the French blood while near summer. There is also little good expected from the Holland ambassage, come when it will : so it seems his Majestie intends to try it shortly by armes. Prince Maurice lyes about Plymouth. It is long since some outwarks were taken ; but our countreyman Whartlaw, governour of the towne, is so recruited from London, that he fears not the siege. The Excyse is lyke to be a great busines : with ease, in London, it will afford one thousand pounds sterling a day : if emulation betwixt Essex and Waller were away, it would maintaine a good armie the alone. Alwayes for the present they intend to be upon the defensive alone, till our armie appear in England ; at which tyme they expect certainlie at London a committee from the Convention of our Estates, to which they will joyn a committee from the Parliament and Citie, into whose hands they mynd to devolve the regulating of all these things which now are out of order. Till then, little hope of helping their languishing and distracted proceedings : All things are expected from God

(²) The *Messieurs*, or Speakers of the two Houses of Parliament, (*vide* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 80.)

and the Scotts. Northumberland is thought most cordiall for us: Say, and all, fayer as much; but none so panting for us as brave Waller.

This much I had written when your letter December 11th came to me. I pray yow continue to give me so ample information of matters abroad. All my colleagues take your remembrance kindlie. I have been thinking yow may doe good service in this particular. There is shortly to come from the Assemblie here, and us Commissioners from Scotland, letters in Latine to all the Reformed churches, and among the rest, to yow of Zeland and Holland. It is my earnest desyre, if by some of the eminent brether there, yow can obtain, in their answers, which I hope will come, some clauses to be insert, of the churches of Holland and Zeland [their] grave counsell, and earnest desyre, that, according to our profession in our late Covenant, taken now be both the Assemblies of Scotland and England, we would be carefull in our reformation, after the word, to have an eye to that Discipline wherein all the Reformed churches doe agree; and that we be verie diligent to eschew that democrattick anarchy and independence of particular congregations, which they know to be opposite to the word of God, and destructive whollie of that Discipline, wherby they, and the whole Reformed churches do stand. If by your dealing, such clauses could be gotten put into your letters unto us, and in the letters of the churches of France, Switze, Geneva, and others, by the means of your good friends Dr. Rivett and Spanheim, or some others, it might doe us much good: for however we stick here on manie things, yet the great and dangerous difference will be from the Independent faction, to whom it would be a great dashe, if not onlie we in Scotland, but they also of Holland, France, and Switze, who are alyke interested, would give a tymeous warning upon the occasion, from this, against the great and common enemies of that Discipline which is common to us all. Think what yow can gett done here. We have been in a pitifull labyrinth these twelve dayes, about Ruleing Elders; we yet stick into it. Voetius *de Episcopis et Presbyteris* send it over; also if ye can get Mordehus and Sadaell against him: I understand French. There is much searching of letters: I dare scarce wryte by the post unto yow. I have heard yet nought from Scotland: albeit it be confidentlie avowed here, that the Scotts armie is alreadie in England, yet we know of no such thing. My Lord Louthian, against the law of nations, and without anie cause we can yet hear of, after some weeks restraint at Oxford, is now sent

prisoner to the Castle of Bristoll. However, by Act of Parliament, Montrose, Traquair, and the rest of the pardoned incendiaries, were discharged Court; yett Montrose long agoe, and latelie Traquair, fugitive from our State censure, lives with the King at Oxford. Excommunicate Maxwell is an ordinar preacher, as they say, to the King. Niddefdaill, Aboyne, and Antrim again escaped from Carrickfergus, are all at Oxford, notwithstanding of our Kingdom's challenge against them of high treason. If God give a good issue to all these busineses, readilie I may with chearfulness come over and visit your wife, to whom for the tyme I send my most heartie commendations. I shall have a care to give to Mr. Cunynghame what yow require. My pamphletts doe not sell. I have brought up some of my "Laudensium" and "Parallels" hither, but for no purpose: if yow can make any thing of them there, send me word with the next. I must end at last. The Lord be with yow, Dear Coosen.

R. BAYLIE.

London, December 7th [1643.]

[FOR SCOTLAND.⁽³⁾]

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

NOTWITHSTANDING of all I have written, yet, since I came from Scotland, I have receaved no letter out of it. Notwithstanding I resolve to remember yow at all occasions, use yow me, all of yow, as yow will. However, things here stand in a verie dangerous and doubtful posture, yet truelie the goodnes of God is continuallie so sensible, that those of the weakest faith may have good grounds of hope, that all shall have a happie conclusion. In our Assemblie, thanks to God, there is great love and union hitherto, and great appearance of more before long. We have, after verie manie dayes debate, agreed, *nemine contradicente*, that beside Ministers of the word, there is other Ecclesiastick governours to joyn with the ministers of the word in the government of the Church; that such are agreeable unto, and warranted by the word of God, especiallie the 12th Rom. 8; 1st Cor. 12, 28; that in the Jewish church, the

(³) These letters "For Scotland," have no name in the MS. but were probably addressed either to David Dickson, or his colleague, Robert Ramsay, at Glasgow.

Elders of the people did joyn in Ecclesiastick government with the Priests and Levites, according to 2d Chron. 19, 8. How manie and how learned debates we had on these things, in twelve or thirteen sessions from nine to halfe two, it were long to relate. None in all the companie did reason more, and more pertinentlie, than Mr. Gillespie. That is ane excellent youth; my heart bleffes God in his behalfe: for Mr. Henderfon and Mr. Rutherford, all the world knowes their graces. This day the office of Deacon is concluded from the 6th of the Acts. There will be some debate of the perpetuities of his office, and the necessitie of it in some cases, as where there is no poor, and where the Magistrate provides for them; but that will not much trouble us. In the great Committee, this afternoon, we have finally agreed on the draught of a letter for the Churches abroad, to inform them of our condition, which shortly you will see in print. Also we have begun ane business (very handsomely I trust) of great consequence. In the time of this anarchie, the divisions of people weekly does much encrease: the Independent partie growes; but the Anabaptists more; and the Antinomians most. The Independents being most able men, and of great credit, fearing no less than banishment from their native countrey if Presbyteries were erected, are watchfull that no conclusion be taken for their prejudice. It was my advice, which Mr. Henderfons presentlie applauded, and gave me thanks for it, to eschew a publick rupture with the Independents, till we were more able for them. As yet a Presbytrie to this people is conceived to be a strange monster. It was our good therefore to go on hand in hand, so far as we did agree, against the common enemy; hoping that in our differences, when we behooved to come to them, God would give us light; in the meantime, we would assay to agree upon the Directorie of Worship, wherein we expect no small help from these men to abolish the great Idol of England, the Service-Book, and to erect in all the parts of worship a full conformitie to Scotland in all things worthy to be spoken of. Having proponed their motions in the ears of some of the cheiffe of the Assemblie and Parliament, (but [except] in a tacit way all had been spoyled) they were well taken; and this day, as we resolved, were proponed by Mr. Solicitor, seconded by Sir Harie Vane, my Lord Say, and my Lord Wharton, at our Committee, and assented to by all, that a sub-committee of five, without exclusion of any of the committee, shall meet with us of Scotland, for preparing a Directorie of Worship, to be communicate to the great committee, and by them to the

→ Affemblie. The men also were as we had forethought, Mr. Marshall chairman of the committee, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Young, Mr. Herle, any two whereof, with two of us, make a quorum : for this good beginning we are very glad. Also, there is a paper drawn up by Mr. Marshall, in the name of the cheefe men of the Affemblie, and the chief of the Independents, to be communicat on Monday to the Affemblie, and by their advyce to be published, declaring the Affemblies mind to settle, with what speed is possible, all the questions needfull about religion ; to reform, according to the word of God, all abuses ; and to give to everie congregation a person, as their due : whereupon loveing and pithie exhortations are framed to the people, in the name of the men who are of the greatest credit, to wait patientlie for the Affemblies mind, and to give over that most unseasonable purpose of their own reformations, and gathering of congregations ; but good is expected from this mean. Farder, wayes are in hand, which, if God blefs, the Independents will either come to us, or have very few to follow them. As for the other sects, wise men are in opinion, that God's favour in this Affemblie will make them evanish. We had great need of your prayers. On Wednesday Mr. Pym was carryed from his house to Westminster, on the shoulders, as the fashion is, of the chieffe men in the Lower House, all the House going in proceffion before him, and before them the Affemblie of Divines. Marshall had a most eloquent and pertinent funerall sermon ; which we would not hear ; for funerall sermons we must have away, with the rest. The Parliament hes ordered to pay his debt, and to build him, in the Chappell of Henry the VII. a statelie monument.

The coming over of the Irish to Wales hes made Brewertoun and Midletoun leave Chester and all these fields : Newcastle hes spoyled all Derbyshire. Manchester is about Cambridge, and the Generall's small forces about Saint Albanes. The most of the King's forces, with Hopton and Craufoord, fell down on Suffex to break through to Kent. Waller lay in their way at Farnham. The word went of a great victorie he had got ; bot this was a fable. By the contrarie, the enemye broke into Suffex, and took Arundell Castle ; which put this City in some sadnes ; especiallie, when they hear the certaintie, that the Scots armie was not come in, and had not their randivouze before the 29th December, they were much dejected ; and a strong partie in the Parliament and City, which ever would have been at peace in any termes, did

make great use of this dejection, preffing to have the Generall's armie made strong, but Waller's, and Manchester's, and all others, so weake as they might, that if they could not perswade, yet by the power of the Generall's armie, when it had all the strength conveyed to it, they might command a peace, to be taken in what tearms they fand it most convenient for their own particular. This verie dangerous and much-suspected designe, I hope God hes disappointed; for however the Houses have ordered thirtie thousand pounds a moneth for the Generall's armie, the most of all the money which they will be able to gett, yett we hear not of the increafe of his forces: also God in mercie, to encourage this fainting people, hes given Sir William Waller a sensible advantage, which will for one fortnight uphold their heart, till they hear of our march. Sir William having gotten his recruites from Kent, marched as it were toward Arundell Castle; but behold, after a march all night, in the morning he appears before Altoune, the enemies chieffe quarter, at unawares. The Earle of Craufoord taking the alarume, getts out with his troupes; but being overmastered, he gott away with a few; the rest were all taken, as is here now for two days believed, to the number of nine hundred souldiers and twelve hundred arms; which causes here great joy, coming in so sad and fearfull a tyme. Also we heare of Hamilton's coming to Oxford, and of the King's sadnes, after his assurance of our Nation's moveing truelie, the contrare whereof he was made ever to believe. If God bring in that armie quicklie, and be pleased to be with it, all here at once will be weel; if otherwise, all here will quicklie ruine. But God is so good that we expect he will work by us for his own glory, and the comfort of the godlie, and the great honour of our poor countrey. All our friends heir cryes for a Committee to come up from our States. If it were come, I doubt not of moneys both for our armie and these in Ireland; for the extreamities they are here oft put to for want of money, comes not so much from want as from misgovernment, which our Committee, as is conceived, will gett helped if it were here.

All our company, praise to God, are in good health and chearfull. I must break off; for I must preach to-morrow, as also my other Colleagues.

[FOR SCOTLAND.]

THE affaires of Church and State here since my last, so farr as that we of the vulgar fort doe hear, have thus proceeded. After with great and long debaites we had gotten well near unanimouf-
lie concluded all we desyred about Pastors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons, we spent two or three sessions upon Widows; not that we needed to stay so long on that subject, but partlie because everie thing that comes to the Assemblie must be debated, and none of their debates are short; and partlie because the Committee had prepared no other matter to compt of for the Assemblie to treat on. Sundrie things were in hands, but nothing in readyness to come in publick; for this reason, among others, manie were the more willing to have the Assemblie adjourned for the holy dayes of Zuile, much against our mind. On the Fryday I moved Mr. Henderfone to goe to the Assemblie; for else he purposed to have stayed at home that day; that as all of us stoutlie had preached against their Christmases, so we might in private solist our acquaintance of the Assemblie, and speak something of it in publick; that for the discountenancing of that superstition, it were good the Assemblie should not adjourne, but sitt on Monday, their Christmas day. We found fundrie willing to follow our adyvce, but the most resolved to preach that day, till the Parliament should reforme it in an orderlie way; so, to our small contentment, the Assemblie was adjourned from Fryday till Thursday next: yet we prevailed with our friends of the Lower House to carie it so in Parliament, that both Houses did profane that holy day, by sitting on it, to our joy, and some of the Assemblie's shame. On Wednesday we kept the solemn fast. Mr. Henderfone did preach to the House of Commons a most gracious, wise, and learned sermon, which yow will see in print. Mr. Rutherford is desyred by them to preach the next fast day. One of the Committee matters is the Psalter. Ane old most honest member of the House of Commons, Mr. Rous, hes helped the old Psalter, in the most places faultie. His friends are verie preffing in the Assemblie that his book ⁽¹⁾ may be examined, and helped by the Author in what places it shall be found meet, and

(1) The metrical version of the Psalms by Francis Rous, here alluded to, appears to have been first printed in the year 1641. (Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* by Bliss, vol. iii. p. 468.) It will afterwards be seen that his version, with considerable alterations, was finally adopted.

then be commended to the Parliament, that they may injoyne the publick use of it. One of their confiderations is, the great private advantage which would by this book come to their friend: but manie do oppose the motion; the most because the work is not so well done as they think it might. Mr. Nye did speak much against a tie to anie Pfalter, and something against the singeing of paraphrases, as of preaching of homilies. We underhand will mightilie oppose it; for the Pfalter is a great part of our uniformitie, which we cannot let pass till our Church be well advysed with it. I wish I had Rowallen's Pfalter ⁽⁵⁾ here; for I like it much better than anie yet I have seen.

We had a great and sharp debate about the paper I wrote of before. Mr. Marshall, with a smooth speech, made way for it, and got it read once and againe; but fundrie did speak much against fundrie expressions of it, as giving too much countenance to these who had gathered congregations, and favour more than needed to the Independents; but they did avow, that they were much thereby prejudged, and were most willing to suppress the paper, and by no means would consent to the alteration of any one word of it. I truelie wish it had never been moved; for I expect more evill to our cause from it than good; yet since it was moved so much in publick, if it had been rejected, it would have certainlie made a greater heart-burning among the dissenting brethren than yet had appeared: so at last it past with the Assemblie's allowance; but without voyceing. Yow may see it now in print. What fruits it shall produce we know not; onlie, a day or two thereafter, some of the Anabaptists came to the Assemblie's scribe with a letter, enveighing against our Covenant, and carying with them a printed sheet of admonitions to the Assemblie from an old English Anabaptist at Amsterdame, to give a full libertie of conscience to all sects, and to beware of keeping anie Sabbath, and such lyke. The Scribe offered to read all in the Assemblie. Here rose a quick enough debate. Goodwin, Nye, and their partie, by all means pressing the neglect, contempt, and suppressing all such fantastick papers; others were as vehement for taking notice of them, that the Parliament might be acquaint therewith, to see to the remedie of these dangerous sects. The matter was left to be considered as the Committees should think fitt; but manie marvelled at Goodwin and Nye's vehemencie in that matter. Yet the day following, their passion gave greater offence. We were called out before twelve to

(5) Sir William Mure of Rowallan: Vide *supra*, p. 101.

dyne with old Sir Henry Vane. Doctor Twisse was absent that day. Doctor Burgesse fell to be in the Chaire. The question came, What should follow the Widows? There were left some branches of the Apostles and Evangelists duties yet undiscussed. We thought these questions needless, and wished they had been passed; but fundrie by all means would have them inn, of designe to have the dependence of particular congregations from the Apostles, in matters of ordination and jurisdiction, determined. The Independents, foreseeing the prejudice such a determination might bring to their cause, by all means strove to decline that dispuitt; as indeed it's marked by all, that to the uttermost of their power hitherto they have studied procrastination of all things, finding that by tyme they gained. We indeed did not much care for delayes, till the breath of our armie might blow upon us some more favour and strength. However, that day, we being gone, the one partie pressing the debaite of the Apostles power over congregations, the other sharplie declining, there fell in betwixt Goodwin and Burgeses hotter words than were expected from Goodwin. Mr. Marshall composed all so well as he could. Men's humores, opinions, ingagements, are so farr different, that I am afraid for the issue. We doubt not to carrie all in the Assemblie and Parliament clearlie according to our mind; but if we carie not the Independents with us, there will be ground laid for a verie troublesome schisme. Alwayes it's our care to use our outmost endeavour to prevent that dangerous [evil]; and in this our purpose, above anie other, we had need of the help of your prayers.

We had, as I wryte, obtained a Sub-committee of five to joyn with us for preparing to the great Committee some materialls for a Directorie. At our first meeting, for the first hour, we made prettie progress, to see what should be the work of ane ordinarie Sabbath, separate from fasts, communions, baptismes, marriage. Here came the first question, about Readers: the Assemblie has past a vote before we came, that it is a part of the Pastor's office to read the Scriptures; what help he may have herein by these who are not pastors, it is not yet agitat. Alwayes these of best note about London are now in use, in the desk, to pray, and read in the Sunday morning four chapters, and expone some of them, and cause sing two Psalms, and then to goe to the pulpit to preach. We are not against the ministers reading and exponing when he does not preach; bot if all this work be laid on the minister before he preach, we fear it put preaching in a more narrow and dif-

creditable rounge than we would wish. My overture was, to pass over that block in the beginning, and all other matter of great debate, till we have gone over these things, wherein we did agree. This was followed. So beginning with the Pastor in the pulpit, and leaving till afterward how families should be prepared in private for the work of the Sabbath, and what should be their exercise before the pastor came to the pulpit, our first question was about the preface before prayer. As for the minister's bowing in the pulpit, we did misken it; for, beside the Independents vehemencie against it, there is no such custom here used by any; so we thought it not seasonable to move it in the verie entrie, but mynds in due tyme to doe the best for it we may. A long debate we had about the conveniencie of prefaceing, yet at last we agreed on the expediencie of it. We were next settling on the manner of the prayer, If it were good to have two prayers, as we use, before sermon, or bot one, as they use: If in that first prayer it were meet to take in the King, Church, and Sick, as they doe, or leave these to the last prayer, as we. While we are sweetlie debaiting on these things, in came Mr. Goodwin, who incontinent assayed to turn all upside downe, to reason against all directories, and our verie first grounds, also that all prefaceing was unlawfull; that according to 1 Tim. ii. 1, it was necessarie to begin with prayer, and that in the first prayer we behooved to pray for the King. All these our debates, private and publick, I have in wryte: at meeting yow shall have any of them yow will. The most of all the Assemblie wrytes, as almost all the people, men, women, and children, wryte at preaching. That day God opened my mouth, somewhat to my own contentment, to Goodwin's new motions; I thought I gott good new extemporall answers: however, he troubled us so, that after long debates we could conclude nothing. For the help of this evill, we thought it best to speak with him in private; so we invited him to dinner, and spent an afternoon with him verie sweetlie. It were a thousand pities of that man; he is of manie excellent parts: I hope God will not permitt him to goe on to lead a faction for renting of the kirk. We and he seemed to agree prettie well in the most things of the Directorie. Alwayes how all will be, I cannot yet say; but with the next yow will hear more; for we now resolve to use all meanes to be at some poynt. Our letter to forraigne churches, formed by Mr. Marshall, except some claufes belonging to us put in by Mr. Henderfone, is now turned in Latine by Mr. Arrowsmith, (a man with a glasse eye, in place of that which

was put out be ane arrow,) ane learned divyne, on whom the Affembly putt the wryting against the Antinomians. Mr. Rutherford's other large book against the Independents is on the press, and will doe good. I am glad my peece is yet in; for if need be to put it out, I can make it much better than it was. This much for our Church affaires which most concern us.

As for the State, we were moved, with the injurie done to Louthian at Oxford, that when all calumnies were clearlie discussed, to his Majestie's full contentment, and he expected certainlie to be dispatched to-morrow for Scotland, coming, according to appointment, to kifs the King's hands, he is pressed to ane oath not to bear armes, without exprefs direction from his Majestie. When herein he alleadged conscience, he is defyred to advyse while night; bot before noon he getts a warrand to goe prisoner to Bristoll castle, upon the King's meer pleasure. When he came hither, he had bot one narrow rounge allotted to him, and that of bare walls, to be plenished at his cost, with furniture, all to be left to his jaylor. At nine o'clock he was locked in his alone, without his page, till the morning: being ficklie before, melancholie encreased his disease; so he took physick at night. When it began most to work, no man was permitted to be with him. This barbarous usage was lyke to cost him his life; and the word went that he was dead. When his man came to Oxford, to informe the King of his danger, the Earle of Forth, Traquaire, and William Murray, were his good friends. The King disavowed any such warrant from himselfe to keep him so straitlie; and gave order that he should have the libertie of the whole towne. After the direction, Secretarie Nicolas would have jugled; but by the men named, he was forced to send the warrand clearlie: what obedience it hes gotten, we have not yet heard. But these things we are made to neglect by the greater mischance of our new Duke.⁽⁶⁾ Before ever he came near Oxford, the pye was made for him. It was resolved to take him prisoner at the port before he came to his lodging, to increase the disgrace; bot coming some houres sooner than they expected, he eschewed that affront: yet he was no sooner known to be come, but presentlie he was commanded to keep his house, and a guard of musqueteers put to his yett. Lanerk also was discharged Court, a day or two thereafter. The good quaternion, Montrose, Niddesdale, Aboyne, Ogilbie, had sub-

(⁶) James Marquis of Hamilton was created Duke of Hamilton, &c. by patent, dated at Oxford, 12th April 1643.

scribed his accusation : he was made close prisoner, and no man permitted to come near him, but by the King's special warrant. Onlie three of his servants were inclosed with him, Doctor Baylie, Mr. John Hamiltone, and his Welsh page. Sir Robert Spottfwood is thought to be a speciall stickler. Bishop Maxwell, ane ordinarie preacher to the King, does no good. Traquair, Ruthven, and William Murray, would seem to be much his friends. Manie here thinks him a gone man, not so much for the furie of his accusers, as the desperat malice of the Queen against him, and her feares, if he were freed, of his power with the King. The matters laid to his charge will never be proven ; and he is in no hazard if he might have justice ; but he has been foolish in his wisdom. Meekle Jo :⁽⁷⁾ would have been in to visit him, as he said, to give him his coat, as the greater fool than he, for coming hither. However he hes in my minde done our nation and cause great wrong ; yet, since all his suffering is for the Court's hatred of our cause and nation, I think all Scotts hearts most pitie him, and pray for him, and make for either a speedie reskew of him, if living, or a severe revenge of him, if dead. At Court Jermyn⁽⁸⁾ is all : he is now Lord Jermyn, and Earl of Berry, and is expected shortlie to be Duke of Norfolk. Before, a junto of seven ruled all, Rupert, Richmond, Bristoll, Digby, Jermyn, Percy, Cottington ; and now Windibanks is come back to his old place of principall secretarie : but the divisions even among these is great, and among all the rest of note in Oxford ; there malcontent and great povertie increases. Jermyn hes procured, with the small good-will of the rest, a proclamation, for all the members of parliament to come to Oxford the 22d of January, to receive an absolute pardon, without any exception of person ; to advyse his Majestie the means of ane solid peace, and how to oppose the invasion of strangers, the Scotts, who now are on their way for the conquest of England. This the Houses hes referred to a committee, to be comunicat with us, that a speedie declaration may be sett out upon it. Matters here are, praise to God, in a reasonable good posture. The powerfull faction who intended to break this people, is more quiet. They gave way to the imploreing of our help, being assured we would not come, or

(7) " Muckle John," was the successor of Archie Armstrong, as the fool of Charles the First, and is supposed to have been the last regular personage of the kind. (Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. 2, p. 308.)

(8) In Baillie's MS. Henry Jermyn, created at this time Baron Jermyn of St. Edmundsbury, is called " Germane," and Lord Digby, " Dickby."

at least could not come before the Spring, long before which they were sure to end their game. But now, seeing we are ready, they are at a non-plus; so much the more, as their fyde thryves in God's mercie better than they could wish. Waller from Alton, went to Arundell, took quicklie the toun, and straitlie besiedged the castle. Of his captives at Alton, some five hundred took the covenant, and joyned with him; four hundred he sent hither prisoners. The Generall-Major Skippon, going from Newport to Toxeter, fell on Grafton castle, and took it with manie prisoners. Also Meldrum hes regained Gainfburrie with great honour and advantage. These are three accidents of consequence, but yet the danger remains. Waller expected, in three days, to have starved them in Arundell castle; but they hold out yet above eight days. They expect Hopton to relieve them; and long it hes been said, that all the forces the King can make in these bounds, would come to swallow up Waller, that so the King might get Kent, and from it come upon London. For the preventing of this, the close committee writt to the Generall, a fortnight ago, to retyre to Windfore for the safetie of Waller's armie. He excused himselfe by letter to the Houses; whereupon both the Houses wrytt to him peremptorlie, ten dayes agoe, to march to Windfore, shewing that they had appointed Manchester to see to Newport and Saint Albanes, the places he pretended to be feared for. For all this, he sturrs not; so that yesterday both the Houses wrytt to him againe for that end. The forces of Kent will not joyn with Waller; but sayes, they will defend their own countie. The citie-bands hes no will to goe to the fields. There is among this people but little courage, less providence, and no discipline at all. If God help not us to save them, they are desperate. Newcastle is marching northward towards yow. A counsell of Warr at St. Albanes hes condemned Nathaniel Fynes [Fiennes] to die, for his cowardice in delyvering Bristoll. Bedford hes left the King, and fundrie more are following.

A strange change we hear abroad: The Swedds are suddenie fallen on the King of Denmark, having found his letters to the Emperour against them; they are lyke to plague him, so that he shall not harme us in haste. Also all France is beginning to reell, the Court clearlie to divide, the Duke of Orleans and the Queen to joyn with the Guyfes against Condie. Poitou and other provinces, are in armes, for to be free of some taxes: the regiments of the guards are gone to suppress them. The loss of their Dutch

armie, and their great difadvantages in Catalonia, diminifhes their ftrengh and reputation abroad ; but the poor Proteftants are lyke to pay for all. The Queen, they fay, is lyke to prove a weak-witted and wicked woman ; that ſhe hes entered herfelfe in the Society of the Holie Sacrament for extirpation of hereſies ; that over all France there is publick collections for the Catholick caufe in Brittain. Manie things of this kinde are written hither from Paris and Hamburgh this week. Truelie we had need to draw nearer to God. That lyon is roaring more nor ever againſt poor Proteftants ; yet wee muſt truſt in God, who will tread that wicked beaſt, and all her followers, under foot.

Though matters yet be full of difficultie and danger, yet we have great arguments of hope, in all the particulars in hand, and of faith, that the generall ſhall goe well enough in deſpite of the devill. Difficulties are lett fall in, for the greater glory of Him who will make out this great work, and I think, by his providence, is making way for it in the kingdoms over ſea. The poor Scotts are lyke to be his chiefe ſtandard bearers, not onlie here, but further off, ere long.

London, January firſt, 1644.

We have been perplexed theſe three dayes, with flagrant reports over all the city, of the Duke Hamilton's diſpatch at Oxford, in three or four diverſe baſe wayes ; bot, thanks be to God, we are now affured of his good health. The report at Oxford is, they minde to put him to the tryall of his peers. They fay Hurrie is once dead in his bed at Oxford, of ane old wound. Henderſon hes gotten his paſs from the King, and is ſeeking it alſo from the Parliament, for Holland. The moſt of the Scotts officers on both ſides here are malcontent.

[To MR. WILLIAM SPANG : JANUARY 1ST 1644.]

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I HAD no will to wryte more to yow till I fand yow had received my former ; but now I ſend yow all I know ſince, which I ſent alſo to Scotland. The Engliſh treatie with Meldrum came not to Leith before the 21ſt of November : judge ye if it were not all the ſpeed could poſſible be made, to raiſe, and bring to the

randivouze at the border of England, the 29th of December, a potent armie. They resolve to be in Berwick the 1st of January. Argyle minds to attend the committee of the army. Mr. Robert Dowglas waits on the generall. Balmerino stays at Edinburgh, to look to the affaires of the kingdome. Major Lumfden commands the forces in the countrey. Lieutenant-Generall Bayllie goes to England. The Chancellor and Warristone comes up hither. The great God be in this high and mightie interprise. The fooles at Oxford are now beginning to fear us, and yet hes no grace to do any thing right. I hope God will take order with that wicked faction, as insolentlie wicked as ever. The not answering of your Zeland letter, I pray yow excuse as yow can. The truth was, Mr. Henderfon, who onlie can well, and uses to penn these things, went presentlie to England; and the rest was so taken up with the hurlie-burlie of the English expedition, that Mr. Robert Dowglas, I think, did forgett it. At another time we shall make a large mends. Faill not when our letters come, as quicklie they will, to obtain from your folks, and, if ye can, from these of Switze, France, and Geneva, ane grave and weightie admonition to this Affemblie to be carefull to suppreffe all schismaticks, and the mother and foster of all, the independencie of congregations. This counsell will be verie seasonable, and will be well taken I assure yow, both by Parliament and Affemblie, and all except some few who are guiltie of the fault.

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG: FEBRUARY 18TH 1644.

SINCE my last, January 1st, affaires here had this progreß, so far as I understand. The Affemblie haveing past, albeit with long debaite, yet with reasonable good accord in the end, fundrie conclusions, according to our mind, anent all the Officers of the Church severallie; before they entered on their duties, as conjoyned in Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods, for ordination and jurisdiction, they thought meet to consider some things further in the officers, both extraordinar and ordinar, some moe characters of the Apostles, their power to ordaine officers in all congregations, their power to send out Evangelists to ordaine any where, their power to decide all questions either of doctrine or fact by word or wryte. After much debaite ariseing from mere jea-

lousies, that these things were brought in for prejudice and farr ends, at last there was agreeance. While the fourteenth of Acts, twentieth-third verse, was brought for a proof of the Apostles power of ordination, and was going to be voyced, verie learned and acute Mr. Gillespie, a singular ornament of our Church, than whom not one in the whole Assemblie speaks to better purpose, and with better acceptance by all the hearers, advertised, that the word χειροτονησαντες, of purpose by the Episcopall translators turned *ordaining*, was truelie *choyfeing*, importing the peoples suffrages in electing their officers. Hence arose a tough debate, that took up two whole sessions. Mr. Henderson's overture ended the plea; for granting, that in the latter part of the verse, the Apostles praying and fasting might import their imposition of hands, and ordaining, he advysed to put the proof on the whole verse, and not on any part, with an expresse declaration of the Assemblie's sense, and intention, not to prejudge any argument which in due time might be alleadged out of this place, either for popular election or against it. In the debateing of a proposition, anent the Pastor's power to judge who was meet to be admitted to the table, and who to be excluded, and who to be excommunicate, there were fundrie weightie questions stated, especiallie that of excommunication, by Mr. Selden; avowing, with Eraustus, that there was no such censure in Scripture, and what it was, was meerlie civill: also that of suspension from the Sacrament, the Independents denying the lawfulness of all such censures: these were remitted to their own place. And at last the Committee gave in their propositions anent Ordination: the first, That it was a solemn designation of persons for Church-offices; the nixt, That it was alwayes to be continued in the Church; the third, who were to ordaine; the fourth, who to be ordained; the fifth, what rites and actions to be used in ordination. Upon the first two, and their Scripture probations, after two, or three, or four sessions debates, there was a reasonable good accord; but in the last three will be our great controversie: The good God grant us to agree to the truth in them. To day the debate will begin. The Independents, holding of with long weapons, and debaiting all things too prolixlie which come within twentieth myles to their quarters, were taken up fundrie times, somewhat sharplie, both by Divines and Parliament-men; to whom their replies ever was quick and high, at will. At last, foreseeing they behooved, ere long, to come to the point, they put out in print, on a sudden,

ane Apologeticall Narration of their way, which long had lyen readie beside them, wherein they petition the Parliament, in a most flie and cunning way, for a tolleration, and withall lends too bold wypes to all the Reformed churches, as imperfyte yet in their reformation while their new modell be embraced, which they sett out in generall so well farded as they are able. This piece abruptlie they presented to the Assemblie, giving to every member a copy: also they gave books to some of either House. That same day they invited us, and some principall men of the Assemblie, to a verie great feast, when we had not read their book, so no word of that matter was betwixt us; but so soon as we looked on it, we were mightilie displeased therewith, and so was the most of the Assemblie, and we found a necessitie to answer it, for the vindication of our Church from their aspersions. What both we and others shall replie, ye will hear ere long in print. The thing in itselke coming out at this time, was very apt to have kindled a fyre, and it seemes both the devill and some men intended it, to contribute to the verie wicked plott, at that same instant a working, but shortlie after discovered almost miraculouſlie. Yet God, who overpowers devills and men, I hope shall turne that ingyne upon the face of its craftie contrivers, and make it advantagious for our cause. The other day, his Excellence, my Lord Effex, came to the Assemblie, with the warrand of both Houses to sitt as a member; where, after he had given his oath, as the forme is, to propone or consent to nothing bot what he was perswaded was according to the word of God, was welcomed by a harangue from the Proloquutor. We had so contrived it with my Lord Wharton, that the Lords that day did petition the Assemblie, they might have one of the Divines to attend their House for a week, as it came about, to pray to God with them. Some dayes thereafter the Lower House petitioned for the same. Both their desyres was gladlie granted; for by this means the relicks of the Service-Book, which till then were every day used in both Houses, are at last banished. Paul's and Westminster are purged of their images, and organs, and all which gave offence. My Lord Manchester made two fair bonfyres of such trinkets at Cambridge. We had two or three committees for settling orders to have our Covenant received universallie in all the countrey, also for sending it, with a large narration of our condition, in Latine, to the churches abroad; all which will come abroad in print. Being wearied with the length of their proceedings, and foreseeing ane appearance of a

breach with the Independents, we used all the means we could, while the weather was faire, to put them to the spurrs. After privie conference with the speciall men, we moved, in publick, to have ane answere to our paper, anent the officers of the Church, and Assemblies thereof, that we might give account to our Church of our diligence. We were referred, as we had contrived it, to the grand committee, to give in to it what further papers we thought meet, which the Assemblie should take to their consideration. They were very earnest to have us present at their committees, where all their propositions, which the Assemblie debated, were framed. This we shifted, as too burdensome, and unfitting our place; but we thought it better to give in our papers to the great committee appointed to treat with us: so we are preparing for them the grounds of our Assemblies and Presbyteries. Also we wrote a common letter⁽⁹⁾ to the Commission of our Church, desyring a letter from them to us for putting us to more speed, in such tearms as we might shew it to the Assemblie. Likewise we pressed the sub-committee to go on in the Directorie. At that meeting, Mr. Goodwin brought Mr. Nye with him; which we thought an impudent intrusion; but miskeant it. After that all we had done had been ranversed, we had so contrived it, that it was laid, by all, upon us to present, at the next meeting, the matter of all the prayers of the Sabbath-day. This, with much labour, we drew up, and gave in at the third meeting; whereupon as yet they are considering. By this, ye may perceive, that though our progress be small, yet our endeavours are [to] the uttermost of our strength. These things must be more advanced by your prayers, than by our paines; else they will stick, and letts will be insuperable.

The affaires of the Kingdome are as before. Sir William Waller hath gotten Arundell house, with eight hundred prisoners and eighty officers, many horse and armes; and a day after, a Dunkirker shipp, chased by the Hollanders, landing there, was surprized. The London bands are up to him; and he is going after Hopton. It is thought, if the King had been able he would have relieved Arundell. That all things here may be ballanced, and joyes mixed with griefe, we hear of the cutting off by the Irish in Wales the Lancashire regiment, which came to Brewerton's supply, and of fundrie troops surprized in Lincolnshire, by the garrison

⁽⁹⁾ The letter is dated 2d of January 1644, and will be inserted in the Appendix to the present volume.

of Newark. Hamilton is sent away to Pendennis castle in Cornwall, where Burton was, to be most closely kept: They speak of Lanerk's commitment, and sending to Worcester: the most here thinks both shall be made away. The King's proclamation for a meeting at Oxford, 22d of Januarie, for the evacuating of the Parliament, puts sundrie to strange and high expressions. The wayes of the Court are desperately irritative; and if they continue a little, may have more dangerous effects for the contrivers than ever. The plottings are unceasing. They thought to have given us a New-year's gift, which God, in his great goodness, at the very nick did prevent. Ye will see much of it in print; but what I heard from the principall discoverers themselves was this: Sir Basil Brook, one of the chiefe heads of the Popish faction, who was treasurer of the Popish contribution to the King for levying of the first armes against Scotland, a prime stickler in the Irish rebellion, in free prison here this half-year for debt, renews, with sundrie other, the designe of dividing the English from us, notwithstanding of the Covenant; of dividing the City from the Parliament; the City in itselfe, the Parliament in itselfe. He draws to him Colonell Read, nephew to Colonell Bruce, a most subtil and active knave, a maine contriver of the Irish rebellion, a head of a convent of priests in this citie, fullie trusted with all the Jesuites plots these many years, but lately taken prisoner; also one Ryley, generall scout-master, a man above all suspicion, esteemed singularly religious, of so great reputation, that he was a prime leader of the city-counsell; also one Violet, a subtil goldsmith, who, for known malignancie, was in prison. Ryley by his means gets both Read and Violet exchanged with other prisoners, and sent to Oxford, with the copie of such letters and propositions to be sent from the King to the Mayor and common counsell, as Brook and his fellows had devised. The King, Queen, Digby, and Dutchess of Buckinghame, were acquaint with all. The King signed the letters; Digby wrote with them his own to Brook; Read sent his instructions to Ryley. Sundrie in the common counsell and city was to be dealt with, that so soon as the King's letter should be delivered to the Mayor, he should be necessitate to convene the counsell, or else a tumult to be made for his refuse. The letters were so full of good words, that they were persuaded would move the most part to petition the Parliament to treat; whereupon they concluded, the Parliament would either conclude, and take fair conditions without the Scotts; or, if they refused, a partie in both

Houfes would appeare with the city, and so either carrie all to the King, or put all in a confusion. In the meane tyme, Hopton, with all the King's force, should overwhelm Waller, and with Kentish friends draw near the citie. The Generall, not to suspect willingnesse, should be unable to doe any good, not having above three or four thousand malcontent sojourns, and these thirtie myles off, at Newport. Manchester's associate counties being also far off, and so well advised as not to move a foot on any occasion out of their own bounds. There was much speech also of the Independents treating at Oxford at the same tyme. I know they have offers from the Court of all they require. Whileas this is hatched, and on the poynt of breaking out in execution, some favour of it coming to the nose of young Sir Henrie Vane, he calls the Solicitor⁽¹⁾ and my Lord Wharton to meet in Goldsmith hall on Thursday at eight a'clock at night; sends in a friendlie way for Ryley, no ways suspecting him; yet finding him confused in his answers, and more reserved than they expected, after long conference for little purpose, the Solicitor, walking up and down the roome pensive and musing, kicks with his foot a bitt of paper on the floor, as a foul clout. In his turns, he kicks it now and then till it came to the side of the fyre on the hearth; and when it was readie to burn, the sweet man, Mr. Pym's successor, began to think possible there was somewhat in that paper might doe good: taking it up, he finds it Read's letter, which had fallen from Ryley. Upon this they made Ryley void his pockets of all; wherein they found so much as led them to Sir Basill Brook and Violet; who were presentlie sent for, and after[wards] their papers also; whereupon all that night was spent; and before the autographes of the King's letters, of Digby's, of Read's, and other letters, was found, as made all plaine. On Saturday an accompt of all was made to the Houfes; and at night, first my Lord Wharton, and thereafter Sir Henry Vane and the Solicitor, made to us a full accompt of all. On Monday in Guildhall, Northumberland, Essex, Warwick, Kent, Rutland, Manchester, from the Lords, and fourteen from the Commons, made, by Sir Henry Vane and the Solicitor, a large demonstration of all, to a hudge number of citizens, to their manifold exclamations, and cryes for justice. The sherriffs, and manie aldermen, in their chains and gowns, did us the honour to come to our house, and make us an accompt of the matter, and to invite us against Thursday to a great

(¹) Sir Thomas Gardner was appointed Solicitor-General, on the 30th October 1643.

feast, with the whole members of both Houses, at Taylors hall; also to hear a sermon of thanksgiving from Marshall that morning. This accident, invented for division, has made a firmer union of the whole party than ever. Great longing is for news of the Scots. We have gotten no letters since the twelfth of December; so great a care have you of our information. It is reported here, that on Wednesday last the Scots army entered Newcastle without blood. If that be, it is a great mercy of God, and of huge consequence; but now of a long time we have been beaten with so many diverse reports, that we believe nothing, and marvels, that for so long a time we have no certainty at all of the condition either of that army or of our nation. Thursday's ceremony was performed verie solemnly. After Marshall's sermon, now in print, the procession went a verie long way, from Christ's Church to Taylors hall. The trained band in armes on each side of the whole streets; the Common Councell in their gowns marching first; the Mayor and aldermen in their scarlet gowns on horse-back thereafter; then the Generall, Admirall, and the rest of the Lords, and Officers of the armies, on foot; next to them the House of Commons, with their Speaker, and his mace before him; after the Assemblie of Divines. It was appointed, that we should goe betwixt the Assemblie and House of Commons; but my Lord Maitland being drawn away with the Lords, and we not loving to take place before all the Divines of England, stole away to our coach; and when there was no way for coaches, for throng of people, we went on foot, with great difficultie, through hudge croudings of people. While all past throw Cheapside, there was a great bonfire kindled, where the rich Crosses went to stand, of many fyne pictures of Christ and the saints, of relicks, beads, and such trinketts. The feast was great, valued at four thousand pounds sterling; yet had no desert, nor musick, but drums and trumpets. In the great laigh-hall were four tables for the Lords and Commons. The Mayor at the head of the chiefe in an upper roome. Two long tables for the Divines; at the head of the which we were sett, with their Proloquutor. All was concluded with a psalme, whereof Dr. Burges read the line. There was no excess in any we heard of. The Speaker of the Commons House, drank to the Lords in name of all the Commons of England. The Lords stood all up, every one with his glass, for they represent none but themselves, and drank to the Commons. The Mayor drank to both, in name of the Citie. The sword-bearer, with his strong cap of

maintainance still fixed on his head, came to us with the Mayor's drink. This ceremonie was a fair demonstration of the great unanimitie of all these whom Oxford plott would have divided. Yet we with the union in realitie had been as great as it was in shew. Within a few dayes we found, that all plotts were not at an end; but the jealousies betwixt the Houses were lyke to break out more than ever; which God, I hope, now hes also composed.

The matter was this: Holland, since his return from Oxford, was suspected to be no good instrument, bot thought to be going on in his old way, in corrupting a partie for the King. However, when he returned to his old place in the Upper House, without anie acknowledgement of his fault in going to Oxford, it intraged the Commons, seeing his case to be leading, to sett doune all the malignant Lords and Commons in their old places who pleased to come from Oxford, upon whatever designe; wherefore they resolved to give in a charge of high treason against him, for deserting the Parliament, and going to Oxford. This necessare peremptorness did stir up humours in the Admirall, his brother, also in the Generall,⁽²⁾ and fundrie more in both Houses; in so farr that the Generall proponed in the House of Lords to charge Sir Harie Vane younger and the Solicitor with high treason, for holding intelligence with Oxford. Here all was lyke to goe to all. Friends were sent from the Lords to both the gentlemen, offering fair quarters to them, if they would accomodat Holland; but this would not doe it. They avowed, that they had no personal grudge at Holland; that they were glad he should live in peace; but, for the preparative, desired he might abstain from the House in so suspect a tyme; withall declared, they required no favour, if themselves were guiltie in the least measure. When they were in the midst of the tryall of the Citie-plott, a servant of my Lord Lovelace comes to Sir Harie Vane with letters, shewing ane earnest desyre to conferre with Sir Harie for the publick good, or with anie whom he would intrust, at what tyme and place he would appoint. Sir Harie hoping, by this means, to discover more of the counsells of Oxford, communicates the letter to other three of the Committee for the Citie-plott; also with the Speaker for their House, and with us five. We all advised him to pursue that business; whereupon he writes to

(²) Robert Earl of Warwick, (the brother of Henry Rich Earl of Holland,) was Lord High Admiral; and the General of the English army was Robert Earl of Essex.

my Lord Lovelace to meet at Reading such a day, and to propone what he pleased to Mr. Wale, who was intrusted by him. To this Wale my Lord Lovelace offered, in the King's name, all Sir Harie could require to his person and partie; withall affureing, that manie was making their peace at Oxford, especiallie one for himselfe, and all tender consciences; that is, my Lord Say, for himselfe, and the Independents. Some letters went to and fro to this purpose, which Sir Harie ever shew to the forenamed persons. The Generall, and his partie, finding some footsteps of this intelligence, bot not knowing the convoy of it, thought they had circumscribed the men who stood most in their wayes: for a yeare agoe, it was Sir Harie's and the Solicitor's own inventions, from their love to the publick, to draw an ordinance, that it should be treason for anie to hold intelligence with Oxford, except both Houses, or their Speakers, or my Lord Generall, were acquainted with it. With this intelligence, neither the Higher House, nor the Generall, were acquaint; therefore it was high treason: but Sir Harie was clearlie innocent. He pleaded, it was no holding of intelligence against the ordinance; it was onlie to discover the rest of the plott of Oxford; it was to communicat to the Committee for the plott, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, to the Scotts Commiffioners; and, which was better, the Ordinance, however conceived, to be past both Houses, yet, by the cunning of some Lords, it was not booked by the Clerk of the House of Lords, and so not binding: but, which was best of all, Sir Harie prevented the Generall, and before he moved in the higher House, he reported in the lower all the matter; who were so well pleased with all his proceedings, that they ordained thanks to be given him for that service. Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr. Hollis, and others, of the Generall's partie, would then gladlie have been at an end of that busines: but the others were not so simple; for by the Generall's direction, the Advocat of the armie had judicallie called before him fundrie witneses, and interrogat them; whereof Sir Harie and the Solicitor complained, as of a course destructive of the priviledge of Parliament. For this end, the House appointed a Committee to inquire what had been done in that matter. Heirot the Generall made a heavie complaint in the House of Lords, but had little answer. Alwayes I hope, that the coming of our Commiffioners, who to our hearts great joy are at last arrived, shall compose all these differences, and set affaires quicklie in a better posture.

Upon Saturday the House of Lords sent to us in the Assembly an account of another plot from Oxford, to this purpose. Captaine Ogle, some six weeks agoe prisoner, propones to his keeper, Devonish, a purpose he had to draw the Independents, and all these who were like to be grieved with the Scotts Presbytrie, to compound with the King. For this effect, the keeper, a subtile knave, colluded with him. By the Generall's permission, Ogle got leave to speak with Mr. Nye and Mr. John Goodwin, who were desired to hear his propositions, and seeme to consent to them. The designe is communicate to Bristoll; who heartilie embraced it, and, according to Ogle's desire, sends him a hundred pounds, and a warrant to his keeper under the King's hand for his freedom. Being dismissed, and come to Oxford, he is made one of the gentlemen pensioners; and fills all Oxford with hopes, that the Independents, Brownists, and the like, would all compone. Bristoll, under his hand, gives them a full assurance of so full a libertie of their conscience as they could wish, enveighing withall against the perfidie of the Scotts cruel invasion, and the tyrannie of our Presbytrie, equall to the Spanish Inquisition. It were long some to wryte all the storie, wherewith we were acquainted in great secrecie, foot by foot, as it proceeded. One part of the plot was, the deliverie of Aylesbury; Lieutenant Moysey was permitted to receive one hundred pounds, and manie promises from the King, for that end. Also Devonish had promised to seize on Windsor castle. The Generall thought to have been readie at the appointed hour to have cast his forces betwixt these that came to receive Aylesbury and Oxford; but the extremitie of the storme permitted him not to move, and the burneing desire of the Court suffered them not to delay their attempt on Aylesbury longer than Sunday, 21st January, the day before the new Parliament, thinking to make that success and encouragement to their languishing partie. That night, all the King could make of the neighbouring garrisons, did march; but being mastered with the deepness of the snow, and extremitie of the cold, and suspecting the vanitie of their interprize, when they had come within two miles of Aylesbury, returned malecontent, with the loss (by the storme) of many horse and men. The plot of that new Parliament is like to succeed no better. The first day they mett, the King had a long speech to them, very invective against us; but many being readie to give in papers for the removing of Digby, Cottington, and others, from Court, the meeting was adjourned for some days.

We hear, that Montrose, and Aboyne, M'Kay, Niddesdale, and others, are to come to Scotland to raise tumults. I hope they shall be so watched, as they shall not be able to performe their mischievous undertakings. Hamilton petitioned, first, for a hearing; second, for a tryall; third, to remaine at Oxford, or near it, to be in some hope of a tryall; fourth, to stay one day for his accommodation to so long a journey as Pendinnis: all was refused. It was granted him to speak with his Brother in hearing of Ashton the governour. He petitioned the benefite of the King's proclamation, of absolute pardon to all who came to Oxford before the 20th of January: this was neglected. The King has written for Ochiltree to further his destruction. Lanerik, the night before he was to be sent to Ludlow castle in Wales, came away to Windfore as James Cunninghame, Robertland's brother's groom. When he comes to Scotland, he will tell many tales. Since he came here, he has my chamber and bed. So soon as Monday last, Mr. Cheifely made his report to the House of Commons, what he had seen in our armie, which he left the Wednesday before. All his relation was put in print, and ane hundred pounds sterling appointed him for his good newes. The joynt Declaration of both kingdomes, which he brought, past presentlie both Houses. These things were brought in at a very important nick of time, by God's gracious providence: Never a more quick passage, from Holy Island to Yarmouth in thirtie houres; they had not cast anchor halfe an houre till the wind turned contrare. Mr. Cheifely had no sooner made his report, when, I think, within few houres, a trumpet from Oxford brought to the Generall a large parchment, directed onlie to The Earle of Essex, subscribed by "Charles, P." and "York," and "Cumberland," (Prince Rupert is now that Duke,) with the hands of some forty Lords more, and a number of Commons, now at Oxford, who have deserted or been expelled the House of Westminster; speaking much to the praise of the King, and danger of our invasion; conjuring Essex to draw these who intrusted him (no word of the Houses of Parliament) to begin a Treatie of peace. This is the upshot of their long plotts; and truly if it had come a little before Mr. Cheifely, when none here had great hopes of the Scotts Armie, it might have brangled this weak people, and the strong lurking party might have been able to have begun a treatie without us, which would have undone all. The certaintie of our Armies coming did make the Oxford parchment unseasonable. For answer, Essex returned the joynt declaration of both King-

domes, which will be a very comfortless morfell at Oxford, being backed with yesternight's news, whereof the Generall assured us of the totall rout of the Irish armie, at Nauntwitch, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, the killing of many, the taking of one thousand seven hundred prisoners, five colonells, and Generall-Major Gibson, with a great number of officers, all their cannon and baggage. This victorie is of great consequence many wayes. We hope it will encourage a party at Oxford, in their designe of purging the Court of Cottington, Bristoll, Digby, Jermyn, and the like. Manchester in our synod, in the name of the Lords, did move to expedite the point of Ordinatione, that so gracious youths which so long hes expected, may be admitted. A committee did draw up two propositions for that end: 1st. That in extraordinarie causes something extraordinarie might be done, keeping allwayes so near to the rule as may be; 2d. That for the present necessitie, the ministers of London may be appointed by the Houses of Parliament to ordaine ministers for London. The Independents, doe what we are all able, hes keeped us debaitting these fourteen dayes on these two easie propositions; but little to their advantage; for I hope this day shall conclude the propositions: and now all the world proclaimes, in their faces, that they, and they only, have been the retarders of the Affemblie, to the evident hazard of the Church's safetie, which will not be much longer suffered. Canterbury every week is before the Lords for his tryall; but we have so much to doe, and he is a person now so contemptible, that we take no notice of his proces.

3d. January [February.] The bearer's much longer stay for a ship than I expected, will make these letters come very late. Since, there hes been but a small progress in affaires. After our fourteen dayes debate for a present way of Ordination, upon the Lords desire, in this extraordinarie necessitie, when we were readie to conclude it, upon my Lord Say's long harangue and vehement desire, it was laid aside; and upon hope made by him and his followers of the quick dispatch of the ordinarie way, we fell on the long-wished-for subject of the Presbytrie; whereupon we have been skirmishing ever since. The proposition we stick on is, That no particular congregations may be under the government of one Classicall Presbytrie. We heard all the last week, the Independents agree for the negative; but finding, that all yet they brought was but velitations on quiddities, the most was impatient of their wayes; so much the more, as this day being pressed to answer to the scrip-

tures, which the committee had given in for the affirmatiōe, they were obstinate to end first their negative. They promised at last to come to their scripturall objections; but would not name their scriptures before-hand. By this the most took them rather to seek vantage and victorie, than the truth in so ingenuous a way as they professed. However, the matter cannot take long debate. The heat and clamorous confusion of the Assemblie is oft-tymes greater than with us. The reason, I think, is their way both in Assemblie and Parliament, to divest the Speaker and Proloquutor of all authoritie, and turne them to a very and mere Chair, as they call them. We mind yet againe to assay the Independents in a privie conference, if we can draw them to a reasonable accomodation; for that toleration they aime at we cannot consent. In the committee for the Directorie, we gave in the matter of publick prayer: it was taken well by all the committee, and I hope shall pass. It was laid on us ⁽³⁾ to draw up a Directorie for both Sacraments; on Mr. Marshall for preaching; on Mr. Palmer for catechizing; on Mr. Young for reading of scriptures, and singing of psalms; on Mr. Goodwin and Mr. Herle for fasting and thanksgiving. Had not the debate upon the main point of differing (the Presbytrie) withdrawne all our mind, before this these taskes had been ended. However, we expect, by God's grace, shortly to end these: What is behind in the Directorie, will all be committed the next time to the forenamed hands; and if it had past these, we apprehend no great difficultie in its passing both the great Committee, and the Assemblie, and Parliament. We gett good help in our Assemblie debates of my Lord Warriston; but of none more than that noble youth Mr. Gillespie: I trulie admire his facultie, and blessing God, as for all my colleagues, so for him in that facultie with the first of the whole Assemblie. The Anabaptists and Antinomians increase, which yet cannot be helped.

The State affaires goe on wonderfullie slowlie. The Generall, the Admirall, Waller, and Manchester, have been here much of this moneth, triffling the time in mere discourse. The extraordinarie diligence at Oxford is lyke to waken us. The Parliament there hes promised to give to the King, in a short time, ane hundred thousand pounds sterling. Some two thousand more native Irish are come to Bristoll, and have publicke masse in

(3) The word "us" which is omitted in the MS., has been supplied, as there is no doubt the Scottish Commissioners were the persons appointed for this task. *Vide infra*, p. 148.

five or fix places. Prince Rupert, with Innes, and Hurrie, (recovered of his deadlie wound,) with the most of the forces about Oxford, is gone northward ; whether to sett on Fairfax and Brereton to stay the course of their victorious arms, or to fall down on Lancashire, and so [to] our Scotts border, when Montrose, Niddesdaile, Aboyne, Ogleby, M'Kay, hes prepared a partie among you beforehand : these designes, I trust, will be carefullie seen to by our rulers there. Montrose hes contrived a wicked Band and Oath, against all who hes taken the Covenant, for the assistance of England, as traitours ; which, we hear, Kinnoule, Traquair, and others, hes refused, with disdaine. However, ye would look to yourselfe, and know well whom you trust. Yet we hope in our God that our armie in England shall break the neck of all these wicked designs. The good partie here were neither very able nor willing to move much till our State commiffioners came. At their first coming, they drew the forme of ane ordinance, whereby seven Lords and fourteen Commons should joyn with our four Commiffioners, whereof five should make a quorum ; viz. one Lord, two Commons, two Scotts, for giving of counsell, for ordering and directing the armies in the three Kingdomes for the ends expressed in the Covenant. When we had agreed with Sir Harie Vane and the Solicitor, upon the draught, it was gotten through the House of Lords with little difficultie, where most was expected ; my Lord Say, upon new occurrences, being somewhat of the generall ; my Lord Northumberland joyning effectually with all our desyres, our armie now being masters of his lands ; also Stapleton being put on the committee, and desirous to be sent to salute our armie, Hollis, Clotworthie, and others, were put off it ; so a great buffines was made on it ; yet it was carried over the belly of the opposers. But they turned themselves about ane other way, and did work on the facilitie of the Generall, deaving him with demonstrations of his limitation and degradation by this Committee ; that it made voyd the close committee of safetie ; it took the power to manage the warr, to doe all ; which was to infringe his commission, subjecting him onlie to the two Houses and not [to a] committee from them. Hereupon the House of Lords alters, and puts other fix Lords, and twelve Commons to the former, limits the committee's power to advysing and consulting, makes the English quorum to consist of three Lords and fix Commons. Upon this demurr we gave ane short and sharp enough paper to both Houses, to be at a point, if they thought meet to make any use of

our committee, which so oft and so earnestlie they had fought for. It was so guided, that the Commons unanimouſlie agreed to the former ordinance, and required the Lords to stand to their own feid. This day the Lords hes well near agreed to the former ordinance. If this were paſt, we look for a new lyfe and vigoure in all affaires, eſpeciallie if it pleaſe God to ſend a ſweet north-wind, carrying the certain news of the taking of Newcastle, which we dailie expect. By all this you ſee what great need we had of all your effectuall prayers: How great things are preſentlie in hand; the higheſt affaires both of Church and State being now in agitation, the diligence and power both of devills, and all kind of humane enemies, being in their extreme bent-faile of oppoſition, either now or never to overthrow us, ſo much the more ſhould your courage be to pray; as I perſuade yow the former ſupplications are all returned in ſenſible bleſſings on us all here; every one in bodie and mind, praiſe to his name, being ſupported to this day, as yow doe wiſh; which we truelie aſcribe in a good part to your interceſſion, which we intreat may continue and increaſe, eſpeciallie for aſſiſtance to me in preaching the laſt Wedneſday of this moneth before the Houſe of Commons in the faſt day. This is all (but yet a great recompence,) which I require of yow for my long letters in a tyme, not of much leaſure. The Lord give ane happy and quick end to all theſe confuſions, and ſettle again theſe poor churches and kingdoms in truth and juſtice.

Since the cloſing of my laſt, the hard and great buſineſs of the joynt committee is happilie concluded, fullie according to our mind, praiſed be God; for once we were in great fear of its miſcarriage, and of the dividing of the one Houſe from the other upon it. They began to ſitt yeſterday; and hes appointed to ſitt everie day at three o'clock, and oftner on occaſion: henceforth we expect expedition. Mancheſter goes doune, to-morrow, to Cambridge; and is expected ſhortlie ſhall have good ten thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe on the fields; alſo Sir William Waller, out of his aſſociation, is to have, in a few dayes, ten thouſand horſe and foot; and the Generall's armie is in recruiting to ten or twelve thouſand men. It's hoped there will be more actions at once than before, to put matters quicklie, if God pleaſe, to ſome point. The Earle of Forth, the other day, writt to Effex for a paſs to two gentlemen from his Maſtie, to and from Weſtminſter, for a Treatie. The Houſes not being mentioned in the letter, did miſken the meſſage, but were content their Generall ſhould give

a civill anfuer. It seems their weaknes and fears at Oxford doe increafe dailie. We did much doubt Prince Rupert's march northward, what it might produce; but it was for a poor designe, which is miscarried, and he returned to Oxford. The hopes from France are almost evanished. Nothing now expected from Denmark. The French ambaffador is gone home. The Holland ambaffadors are at Oxford for little purpose; for they are taken here for the Prince of Orange's creatures. It is said, these of Oxford are so farr fallen, as to acknowledge the Parliament at Westminster, and to put down Episcopacie, and to disclaime the cessation of Ireland: If our march to Newcastle hes produced this much, I hope our taking of it shall obtaine the rest. I hope our Synod-affaires shall have a more speedie dispatch. A course will be shortlie taken with all sectaries, and is begun already. The misorders which are at this time in New England, will make the Independents more willing to accomodat and comply with us. Praise to God! we all are well and cheerfull, and hopefull, by your prayers, to see the advancement of a glorious work here.

London, February 18th 1644.

FOR MR. SPANG: MARCH 10TH 1644.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

Yow have a large report from me, how all went here to the 18th of February. My leisure since hath been but small; and as yet I have no tyme. Onlie know, that your letters to us were exceeding welcome; and for your good service to God, and us, in due time, yow shall receive thanks. My nephew is gone home, with his most loving remembrance of your great kindness. The other day some of the Dutch church came to the Assemblée-doore, and delivered a letter to us, from the claffis of Walcheren. It was publickly read, and taken with a great deall of respect: It came wonderfull opportunely, and will doe a great deall of good. The long and sharpe censure of the Apologetick Narration was very well received by all but the parties, who yet were altogether silent, and durst not oppose one word. A committee was presently appointed for translating it into English, and transmitting it, to be read, to both Houses of Parliament, both in Latine and

Englilh. What there it may work, yow fhall hear in time. It fpake fo near to the mind and words of the Scotts, that fome faid it favoured of them; but when fome fuch muttering was brought to the face of the Affembly, all did deny they knew any author of fuch a fpeech; fo, no man avowing it, the Scotts let fuch a calumnie pafs, without an apologie. I believe they wifhed, and thought it juft, that all the Reformed Churches fhould doe all which the Divines of Walcheren hath, in the defence of the caufe of God, and of all the Reformed Churches, againft common and very dangerous adverfaries. But I heard them fay, in private, that they had no correſpondence at all with any forraigne Churches; it might be, that fome of them had fometimes letters from the Miniſter of the Scotts Staple at Campveere, but that none of them had ſent him either the Apologeticall Naratione, or fo much as our Anfuer to it; that they had never motioned any cenſure of that book by the forraigne Divines. However, in the good providence of God, that letter came. It is expected that the Synod of Zeland will not onlie avow what their brethren hes written, but will give their brotherlie advyce to this Synod, anent all the things in hand; which, I affure you, will be very well taken, and doe much good; eſpecially, if with their ſerious diffuaſive from Independencie, and cordiall exhortation to erect Preſbyteries and Synods, they joyne their counſells for abolifhing the relicks of Romiſh ſuperſtition, in their feſtivall dayes, and Liturgie, etc. and above all, to beware of any tolleration of ſects, wherein yow are ane evill and dangerous example. If yow aſſiſt us at this time, God may make us helpfull to yow another day. Farewell.

March 10th [1644.]

Receave Mr. Rathband's peice: ſend me word what pamphlets yow want, and moſt gladlie I ſhall ſend yow all; I hear yow have the moſt part: for the time I have no leiſure.

PUBLICK LETTER, APRILE 2D [1644.]

SINCE the 18th of February, till now, I have ſo little leiſure, eſpecially by my preparing and preaching my Parliament-ſermon, wherein, praifed be God, I was graciouſlie aſſiſted, that I could not attend the writing of any long letter; but now, that taſk

being off my hand, I may better wait on my friends. I shew, in my last, how we were brought, in our Assemblie, to our chief question, That many particular congregations were under the government of one Presbytrie. The Independents pressed they might first be heard in the negative: Here they spent to us many of twentie long sessions. Goodwin took most of the speech upon him; yet they divided their arguments among them, and gave the managing of them by turnes, to Bridges, Burroughs, Nye, Simpson, and Caryl. Truelie, if the cause were good, the men have plentie of learning, witt, eloquence, and above all, boldness and stiffness, to make it out; but when they had wearied themselves, and overwearied us all, we found the most they had to say against the Presbytrie, was but curious idle niceties; yea, that all they could bring was no wayes concluding. Everie one of their arguments, when it had been prest to the full, in one whole session, and sometimes in two or three, was voyced, and found to be light, unani-mouslie by all but themselves. By this meanes their credit did much fall in the city, who understood daylie all we did, and fand these men had gotten much more than fair play, a more free libertie than any innovators ever in any Assemblie, to reason their cause to the bottom; but further in the countrie, who know not the maner of our proceedings, their emissaries filled the eares of the people, that the Assemblie did cry down the truth with votes, and was but ane Antichristian meeting, which would erect a Presbytrie worse than Bishops.

For to remeid these evils, and satisfie the minds of all, we thought meet to assay how far we could draw them in a private friendlie way of accomodation; but Satan, the father of discord, had well near crushed that motion in the very beginning. After our first meeting, with some three of the Assemblie, Marshall, Palmer, Vines, and three of them, Goodwin, Burroughs, Bridges, with my Lord Wharton, Sir Harie Vane, and the Solicitor, in our house, and very fair appearances of prettie agreement, Mr. Nye was lyke to spoil all our play. When it came to his turne in the Assemblie to oppugne the Presbytrie, he had, from the 18th of Matthew, drawn in a crooked unformall way, which he could never gett in a fillogisme, the inconstitence of a Presbytrie with a civill State. In this he was cryed down as impertinent. The day following, when he saw the Assemblie full of the prime nobles and chiefe members of both Houses, he did fall on that argument againe, and very boldlie offered to demonstrate, that our way of

drawing a whole kingdome under one Nationall Affembly, as formidable, yea, pernicious and thrice over pernicious, to civill states and kingdoms. All cryed him doune, and some would have had him expelled the Affembly as seditious. Mr. Henderfone shew, he spoke against the government of ours and all the Reformed churches, as Lucian and the Pagans wont to stir up princes and estates against the Christian religion. We were all highlie offended with him. The Affembly voted him to have spoken against the order: this is the highest of their censures. Maitland was absent; but enraged when he heard of it. We had many consultations what to doe: at last, we resolved to pursue it no further, onlie we would not meet with him, except he acknowledged his fault. The Independents were resolute not to meet without him, and he resolute to recall nothing of the substance of that he had said. At last, we were entreated by our friends, to shuffle it over the best way might be, and to goe on in our businesse. God, that brings good out of evill, made that miscarriage of Nye, a meane to doe him some good; for, ever since, we find him, in all things, the most accomodating man in the company.

This, and fundrie other occurrences, hes made the faills of that partie fall lower. My Lord Say's credit and reputation is none at all, which wont to be all in all. Sir Harie Vane, whatever be his judgment, yet less nor more, does not owne them, and gives them no encouragement. No man I know, in either of the Houses, of any note, is for them. Sundrie officers and souldiers in the armie hes fallen from their way to Antinomianisme and Anabaptisme, which burdens them with envie. Not any one in the Affembly, when they have been heard to the full in any one thing, is perswaded by them; but all professes themselves more averse from their way than before. The brethren of New England inclynes more to Synods and Presbyteries, driven thereto by the manifold late heresies, schisms, and factions, broken out among them; also the many pens that has fallen more sharplie than we on their Apologetick Narration. These, and diverse other accidents, have cooled somewhat of these men's fervor; above all, the letter from Holland hes given them a great wound. Our good friend in Zeland gave to his neighbours so good information of all he heard from us here, that so soon as the classis of Walcheren did meet to consult about the letter which this Synod sent to them, as to all the Reformed churches, they were very bent presentlie to write an answer, in the which they fell flatt and expresse upon the Independents, and

their Apologetick Narratione, shewing how farr their way was contrare to the Word of God, to the Reformed churches, and to all found reason. This was read openlie in the face of the Assemblie, and in the eares of the Independents, who durst not mute against it. It was appointed to be translated in English, and sent to be read in both Houses of Parliament, which was done accordingly. This hes much vexed the minds of these men, and yet we expect from the Synod of Zeland, now sitting, more water to be put in their wine. It seemes they are justlie crossed by God; for beside all the errour and great evill which is in their way, they have been the only men who hes kepted this poor church in an anarchie so long a time, who have preferred the advancement of their private new fancies to the kingdom of Christ, who hes losed many a thousand souls through the long confusion occasioned by their willfulness only, and to the settling of the land, which their way hitherto hes kepted loose and open, to the evident hazard of its ruine. Their ways, private and public, hes taken away from the most of beholders, the opinion which was of their more than ordinarie pietie and ingenuitie: that now is gone. All this contributes to the peace of this church. While we came to prove the affirmative of our tenet anent the Presbytrie, they jangled many dayes with us; bot at last it was carryed, and fundrie Scriptures were voted also for that proposition, to our great joy. In the debaite, they let fall so much of their mind, that it was hoped they might come up, if not fullie to our grounds, yet to most of our practicall conclusions. For this end the Assemblie appointed a committee of four of them, and four of the Assemblie, to meet with us four, to see how farr we could agree. We were glad that what we were doing in private should be thus authorized. We have mett some three or four times already, and have agreed on five or six propositions, hoping, by God's grace, to agree in more. They yield, that a Presbytrie, even as we take it, is an ordinance of God, which hath power and authoritie from Christ, to call the ministers and elders, or any in their bounds, before them, to account for any offence in life or doctrine, to try and examine the cause, to admonish and rebuke, and if they be obstinate, to declare them as Ethnicks and publicans, and give them over to the punishment of the Magistrates; also doctrinallie, to declare the mind of God in all questions of religion, with such authoritie as obliedges to receave their just sentences; that they will be members of such fixed Presbyteries, keep the meeting,

preach as it comes to their turne, joyne in the discipline after doctrine. Thus farr we have gone on without prejudice to the proceedings of the Affembly. When we were going to the rest of the propositions concerning the Presbytrie, my Lord Manchester wrote to us from Cambridge, what he had done in the Univerfitie, how he had ejected for gross scandalls, the heads of five colledges, Dr. Cofins, Beele, Sterne, Rainbow, ⁽¹⁾ and ane other; that he had made choise of five of our number, to be Masters in their places, Mr. Palmer, Vines, Seaman, Arrowsmith, and our countreyman Young, requireing the Affembly's approbation of his choise; which was unanimouſly given; for they are all very good and able divines. Also, because of the multitude of scandalous ministers he behooved to remove, he renewed to the Affembly his former motion, anent the expediting of Ordination. This has cast us on that head. We have voted fundrie propositions of it. The last four Sessions were spent upon an unexpected debate: good Mr. Calamie, and some of our best friends, fearing the Separatists objection anent the Ministrie of England, as if they had no calling, for this reason, among others, That they were ordained without the people's election, yea, without any flock; for the fellows of their colledges are ordained ministers *sine titulo*, long before they are presented to any people; when we came therefore to the proposition, That no man should be ordained a minister without a designation to a certaine church, they stiffly maintained their own practise: yet we carryed it this afternoon.

As for our Directorie, the matter of Prayer which we gave in, is agreed to in the Committee. Mr. Marshall's part, anent Preaching, and Mr. Palmer's, about Catechizing, though the one be the best preacher, and the other the best catechist, in England, yet we no wayes like it: so their papers are past in our hands to frame them according to our mind. Our paper anent the Sacraments we gave in. We agreed, so farr as we went, except in a table. Here all of them opposeth us, and we them. They will not, and faith the people will never yield to alter their practise. They are content of fitting, albeit not as of a ryte institute; but to come out of their pews to a table, they deny the necessitie of it: we affirme it necessary, and will stand to it. The Independents way of celebration, seems to be very irreverent: They have the

(1) In the MS. "Rambone." The other person alluded to was Dr. Lany, Master of Pembroke, in whose room Richard Vines was appointed.

communion every Sabbath, without any preparation before or thanksgiving after ; little examination of people ; their very prayers and doctrine before the sacrament uses not to be directed to the use of the sacrament. They have, after the blessing, a short discourse, and two short graces over the elements, which are distribute and participate in silence, without exhortation, reading, or singing, and all is ended with a psalme, without prayer. Mr. Nye told us his private judgement, that in preaching he thinks the minister should be covered, and the people discovered ; but in the sacrament, the minister should be discovered, as a servant, and the guests all covered. For hastning of the Assemblie, we gett many messages from the Houses ; bot all they can doe, is to sitt all the dayes of the week, but Saturday and Sunday, till one or two a'clock, and twyce a week also in the afternoon ; the other afternoons are for Committees. However their speed be small, yet their labour is exceeding great, whereof all doe expect a happie conclusion and blessed fruits.—For the Church yow have enough.

As for the State, I take little notice of it ; but the common reports are these. After the miscarriage of so many privie plotts, these at Oxford assayed openlie to divide the citie and parliament by the colour of a subdolous treatie ; for, so farr as yet appeares, there is no purpose there of any equitable peace ; but the designe for poperie and tyrannie is alse fresh as ever. The first hopes was by the French ambassadour, Prince d'Harcourt, to have drawn on a treatie, and so made a partie among us for the King ; but being peremptor not to give him permission to deall with the Parliament as a true parliament, he trifled some time here, and at Oxford, and went away not satisfied with the counsell of Oxford, as meerlie Spanish. This marred the English Ambassador at Paris ; that however, by private contributions of bigot papists, good sommes of money were gotten, and imployed on armes, yet no publick assistance could be obtained. Thus failing, the parchment subscribed by all the Lords and Commons at Oxford, came to my Lord Effex, but the Parliament being mislent, that ingine misgave also. To help this, ane other message came, for a passe to two obscure persons to come to Westminster for a treatie. The Parliament still being neglected, there could be no dealling. At last, when it was certaine that our armie was in England, it was the wisdom of the Spanish junto, that the King should wryte to the Lords and Commons at Westminster, for a treatie with the

Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament at Oxford; and that the Dutch ambassadors (sent over by the Prince of Orange, reallie, as here is thought, to serve the King's ends) should, upon the back of these letters, offer their mediation. Notwithstanding of all this, their craft was pellucid; for the Parliament was not yet acknowledged, and these of Oxford were made the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. Intercepted letters shew their extreame diligence to gett from France and Spaine, and the Irish rebels, what could be had of men, and money, and armes. The Scotts incendiaries at Oxford had drawn up and past a horrible oath for holding us all for traitors. Commissions were given and money to Montrose as Generall, Sir John Henderfone as Lieutenant, with the rest of that crew, to doe mischief in Scotland; yea, before the Dutch ambassadors had well been sett doune in London, there followed them five votes of both Houses at Oxford, March 12th declaring, *nemine contradicente*, That the Lords and Commons at Westminster, and all who adhered to them, were guiltie of high treason, and were to be pursued as traitors, for raising of armes, for counterfeiting the Great Seall, for calling in of the Scotts, for betraying the trust committed to them, and I know not what else. This put the Parliament and Citie to very high thoughts of summoning the King to joyn with his parliament against such a day, or else they would be necessitate to provide for the safetie of the kingdome. Whence this came, we doe not yet certainlie know; but it put us to great perplexitie. Neither we nor any of our friends, was fore-acquainted with any such motion. The Generall of himselfe proponed it in the morning, in the House of Lords, where all did assent; and without further delay, that same forenoon, to the House of Commons, where all did presentlie assent; and before night the Citie was filled with the applause of that resolution, hoping it might bring the King from Oxford, or else nothing. But our Commissioners had no such instructions; and though their commission had extended so farr, they conceived the summoning of the King to a day, with an alternative, was a point of the highest straine, which required longer deliberation. At the first we were looked upon, for our coldrifenes, with a strange eye by many; yet ere forty-eight houres past, we were cryed up for wise men, and the motion was thought to have its rise either from great simplicitie or deep malignancie. Our Commissioners, after some debate in their committee, obtained, that the ordinance of both Houses should be

altered, and their letter to the King put in that frame yow see in print. Notwithstanding, the Dutch ambassadors are tampering for ane accommodation, which, as things stand on all hands, can come to nothing; only the Parliament is on a Declaration, to shew their earnest desyres for ane solid and reasonable peace, but that these of Oxford have peace only in their mouth, and in all their actions and intentions cruell warr more than ever.

For the better opposing force to force, the Committee of both Kingdomes is everie day in consultation. The want of money is the only defect; many wayes are projected for supplie, which may bring in by time large sums; but for the present little can be had. However, our Commissioners, every day, from three a'clock to seven or eight, and oft also in the forenoon, doe attend, and hold them to their work. They have sent Sir William Balfour and Sir William Waller to the west towards Winchester. Hopton and Prince Maurice, Generall Forth also, with all they can make, are prepareing to meet them. As yet there is no considerable action betwixt them. My Lord Manchester is making to the fields, with their greatest armie, from his affociate counties. Sundrie little places his forces, under Generall Major Crauford and Cromwell, have taken latelie in, and gone near to the ports of Oxford for preys; which makes these so fear a siege, that the Queen is leaving the toune to ly at Exeter; and if she can be permitted by the French, which yet is denyed, to bear her child at Paris. The most of the Irish are quartered here and there about Gloucester; which is thought to be pinched with want both of ammunition and victuals. Sundrie small attempts have been [made] for its relief; but all in vaine. If its wants grow extreame, they will send to it a stronger convoy. The greatest partie they have together is under Meldrum at the siege of Newark. Long agoe they expected the taking of that toune, which is lyke to hold out longer than they may wait on. Prince Rupert hath been rambling up and down many shires; but all yet he hes gott together will not be able to raise the siege. It's written hither the other day from good hands, that some of his Irish troopes having taken a castle in Shropshire, and signed a capitulation; notwithstanding, all that did render, to the number of twenty-seven men, when they were miserablie beaten and wounded, were thrown in a dry pitt, and earth cast above them. This burying quick is one of the unheard-of barbarities of the Irish: God will see to all these cruelties. The eyes of all are towards our armie: the great God be with it, to

put a quick end to the great miseries and dangers of all these dominions. We were comforted by the fundrie clear passages of God's mercies towards them; that they gott so easilie over the Tyne and the Ware; that the enemies, who durst visit them in their quarters, was so infatuated by God as not to sett upon them in their passage; that when their wants of provision were almost extreme, there should come to them at Sunderland both from London and Scotland, so much as to put them out of hazard of starveing; that though the extremitie of the tempest had cast away the barques with their provision, yet God should have sent such weather as made the Tyne passable, and that no longer than they were over. Many such passages are in the letters which we see from the campe, that demonstrates the answering of our prayers in a part, and confirms our hope in the rest; though the difficulties yet be many, and farr greater than any did expect, yet we think the Lord is but walking in his ordinarie way, to let us fall in difficulties insuperable to us, to draw us near to him, out of all self-confidence, that we may cry to Heaven, and what deliverance comes it may be taken out of his hand. That very day, and these houres, when our Armie was passing the Tyne, the 28th of February, were we all here fasting and praying; and, among the rest, I was praying and preaching to the Parliament; blessed be His name that gave us at the same houre so gracious an answer. The next week, when that happie solemn fast does returne, we have much adoe with the help of God; for everie where the armies are near a-yocking. Waller and Balfour about Winchester are lyke to have a meeting with the greatest forces the King can make in these bounds. This night a post is gone to Cambridge, to cause Manchester goe quicklie to help Meldrum at Newark against Prince Rupert, who is hastening to relieve that siege. We expect to hear shortlie of the event of our armies march, the 12th of this instant, from Sunderland towards Hartlepole. The successe of these three expeditions now in hand may readilie draw this long-some disease of our kingdoms towards some crise. We have no hope bot in the favour of God, who gives victories as he pleases to dispense. Our cause is good: The fruit of our victorie would be the advancement of religion, the joy of all the godlie, the settling of peace; but if God for our sin should yet put our enemies for a time above us, his will be done: The calumnies would be unseasonable, albeit the end of these should be happie. Oh! if we could be humbled before a further stroke; if we could wrestle

by prayer; if we did believe; and, in whatever events, could patientlie wait on the saluation of the Lord, whose wayes are past finding out.

This much I had written long agoe: since, fundrie things are fallen out. The disafter at Newark was ascribed by some to my Lord Willoughby of [Parham's] treacherie, for his envie to Manchester, and desire to see his forces there broken; others to the malcontentment of the Independent souldiers, who did mutinie; others to the slacknesse of Colonel Cromwell, the great Independent, to send to Meldrum tymeous relief. But when all is well considered, and Sir John Meldrum's own letters looked upon, it seemes his own unprovidence alone hes procured that mischief. He could not rest till, by importunitie, he had extorted a commission to besiege that towne: He assured, in everie letter, after he lay doune, to carrie it in five or six dayes. When it was told him of Prince Rupert's comeing, he wrote of it hither, but as not believing it: when he was assured of his comeing, he would not ryse, but would fight him in the fields. When he was assured of his being within eight miles, with seven or eight thousand effective [men], he drew the counsell of warr to a foolish conclusion, to make good the Isle of Trent, for one day to keep the place where he lay, and a bridge on the other side of the Isle, whether they would retire at night, and cut the bridge, and so retire in safetie. But the first thing the enemy did was to enter Newark, and by it the Isle, and to lay themselves down betwixt Sir John and his bridge; which presentlie made a parlie to be founded, and a shamefull capitulation to be closed, to render cannon, munition, musket, pistoll, and all fyre weapons; but attour, all armes, and collours, and money, and cloathes, almost all pull'd off them; and so one of the most considerable parts of our forces clean dissipate. Sir John, with two thousand naked foot, came to Hull; whence he wrote the storie yesterday, not in so humble terms as his condition requires. They say, the rest went to Lincolne and Gainsburrie, but at once left both these places to the enemy, with thirty piece of good cannon, what there, and what in their campe, and three or four thousand armes. This fearefull stroke, I hope, it shall doe good. It hes much wakened the hearts of many to draw near to God, and bestirr themselves with more diligence. The Generall hes gotten money to recruite his armie to seven thousand foot and three thousand horse. So soon as he is readie, the Citie assures to joyn other ten thousand to him for the siege of Oxford. In the meantime, Balfour, ge-

nerall of the horſe, and Waller, lieutenant-generall of the Weſtern affociations, are near Wincheſter, with ſeven or eight thouſand men. Forth and Hopton are there with a greater number. If any diſaſter ſhould befall Waller, our danger here were preſent and great. Mancheſter heſ drawn all his forces towards Lincolne to oppoſe Prince Rupert's progreſs: but the maine chance is in the North, for which our hearts are trinckling. Our letter yeſternight from the leaguer at Sunderland ſhew, that on Sunday laſt, while our perplexitie was great for horſe-meat, and we were in great doubt what to doe; to ſtay there was to ſtarve our horſe; to ſend our horſe back over Tyne, without our foot with them, was to loſe Sunderland, our ſea-port, which brought us proviſion: while we are on theſe thoughts, our enemies draws near with all their forces, and ſetts themſelves down on a place of advantage. On Sunday at night, and Monday morning, we were ſkirmiſhing: The ground made it hard for us to ſett on; but our neceſſities put us on: the great God aſſiſt us. Lumſden was come over the water, with three thouſand more men. On Monday the 25th of this inſtant, theſe letters came away: We know no more, but with paſſion are expecting good news.

We wonder your Ambaſſadors ſhould be dreaming of any treatie; ſince everie other day, after their coming from Oxford, this Parliament there, with vote upon vote, with declaration after declaration, are made traitors, rebels, and all evill can be imagined. The Parliament here, to put off them that very groundleſs ſcandall which they at Oxford ſtrove to put upon them, have put out a declaration of their great deſire of peace, and of the invincible obſtacles laid in their way to it. However, your Ambaſſadors ſeems over-readie to have proven very unhappie inſtruments to have divided the two nations, and raiſed a new partie here for the King, and divided both Houſes; but I hope God heſ prevented them. The propoſitions for treatie were reallie answered by the declaration of both Houſes, That they, by the late votes of Oxford, being declared traitors, were made uncapable to treat; yet they reſolved, according to the overture made by us long agoe, to adviſe on propoſitions, without which they could not proceed. Theſe the lower Houſe did agree to referr to the higher, to the committee of both Kingdomes; but the higher Houſe reſolved to have a new committee of Lords and Commons to joyne with our Commiſſioners, alleadging, the former committee, which is carried over their bellies, was onlie for the managing of the warre; but

for the treatie of peace they [muſt] have another. Pembroke and Salifburie, who diſdained they were of the firſt, and below Hollis, Reynolds, Clotworthie, did much urge a ſecond committee; and all theſe who loved diviſion ſeconded this motion. Here it ſtood for ſome dayes; but after the diſaſter at Newark, your commiſſioners ſtruck the iron when it was hott, and preſſed a further and farr more unhappie point, to have a Treatie without us. On Saturday laſt they did ſo farr advance this deſperate motion, that the Houſe of Commons was divided about it, in two equall halſes; ſo that diviſion was referred to the honeſt Speaker; who carried it right, that they were obliedged, not only [not] to conclude, but not to begin, a Treatie without the Scotts. On this fearfull debate they ſatt till three a'clock in the afternoone; ſo farr did your unhappie agent from Oxford and the Hague prevaill. But, behold! before half an hour after three, there came news which made their eares to tingle. God anſwered our Wedneſday's prayers: Balfour and Waller had gotten a glorious victorie over Forth and Hopton, and routed them totallie, horſe and foot. All ſince are exerciſed to raiſe money to that victorious army, and men, to aſſiſt them to purſue that great and tymous victorie. We were ſinking; but God heſ taken us be the hand, and filled us with hope. On Sunday, 24th of March, and Monday, Leſley and Newcastle, with all their forces, were ſkirmiſhing: We think ere this they have had a battell; we are in hope of good news. We expect good from the Synod of Zeland. We wiſh they may conſider their giving of excommunication to every congregation. I pray yow borrow from Rivet to me Morelius⁽⁵⁾ and Sadell. Theſe in great haſte.

Your old friend,

London, Aprile 2d [1644].

JAMESON.

It's long now ſince I heard from yow.

FOR MR. DICKSON. ⁽⁶⁾

REVEREND AND DEAR [BROTHER,]

THE Lord is yet going on here after his wonted way : he gives

⁽⁵⁾ In a former paſſage, (p. 115,) this name is incorrectly written Mordehus.

⁽⁶⁾ In the MS. this letter is thus marked " For yourſelfe and Mr. Robert [Ramsay] only."

us no more outward ground of hope than is compaffed with juft reasons of feare, and tryes us with no more matter of fear than he fetts about with evident grounds of hope. My publick letter hes the beft of the outside of our affaires. This to yow, who can bear it, and make your own good ufe of it, fhall have the worft of the infide. However in all outward accommodations, and civill refpects, from all kinds of men, we are all here ferved as princes, and, which is fwetter, the very gracious and loving fellowfhip of all the company, continues to this houre of every one toward us, without the fmalleft eyelift in any thing, lefs or more, which was never fo here before in any commiffion ; yet the public affairs, both of Church and State, befide the daily weight of their care, gives to us all fundrie heavie and perplexed nights, for fear of their mifcarriage. After we had been ignorant altogether what had paff in the North from the 19th of March, we gott, on the 18th of this, letters from Sunderland, written the 11th, which did much discourage them here ; but we made the beft of all we could, That our armie, after two moneths abode in England, had done fo little ; that they had left the fiege of Newcastle ; that when the enemy came to their quarters, they let them go without fighting ; that their provifion of victuals is fo extreamlie fmall ; that their moneys and munition is fo inlacking ; that fo great ane inlack was in the minifters to come out with the regiments, and fo much miforder among the fojourns, as fome English hands writes to their friends. It is good that our worldlie hopes fhould be fnedd ; for all here thought all was done, if once the Scotts had paff Tweed. We are extreamlie longing, to fee if God may be pleafed to work by us when we are much lower in our owne and others eyes than we were. Our friends are fad ; our enemies fpeaks and writes contemptuouflic : our eyes are towards the Lord. Our countryman Sir John Meldrum very unhappilie hes lyen down before Newark, with fuch forces as might have overcome all Yorkfhire, and come on Newcastle's back, for our great comfort. Though his error be palpable, yet he is fo tender of his reputation, that he will not rife, though there be no hope of carrying it ; yea, it is like to draw Prince Rupert with a great ftrengh upon him ; and we are afraid, if his troopes break, that Prince Rupert, with a victorious armie, turne himfelf after to the ruining of the affociat Counties, or joyn with Newcastle againft us. Hopton is coming, on the other hand, with all the power of the Weft, and Forth hes joyned to him all that he can make. Balfour and Waller is gone to meet them at

the beginning with small forces, and small unanimities; but both now are greater. In all these three places, it is like, long ere this come to you, there will be a yocking of great consequence for the whole affaire. The great Lord arise, and help us; for every where the enemy is much stronger than was expected. Their wickedness is in nothing relented; their sermons and pamphlets breathe nothing but the old ways of error, superstition, episcopacy, absolute monarchy, to which in no case any resistance by any may be made; in none of them any appearance of remorse of any thing past. This people here, exhausted with exactions, can find no means for any considerable foumes; their navy cannot be put out; their Generall cannot be gotten recruited; we can get no money for the desperate extreames of Ireland; their publick faith is gone; no forraigne state, nor private merchant, will own them; a subdole crafty faction is still working here underhand. This makes them so full of confidence at Oxford, that they give us all for gone; only they send their agents of Holland to speak for a peace; thereby to amuse the people, and increase the malignant parties in number and courage. The ways of the Parliament are endless and confused, full of jealousy and other faults. The unhappy Independents keep all the matters of the Church so loose, that there is no appearance of any short settling. The preface of my Sermon ⁽⁷⁾ has put some edge on the Assembly for a quicker dispatch; but the nature itself of their way is so wofullie longsome, that its almost impossible to be shortened. The number and evill humor of the Antinomians and Anabaptists doth increase. In a word, things here are in a hard condition. I have acquainted you herewith, that we may remember hereafter, when God has appeared for us, from how great depths he has lifted us up. We truly doe expect, from the goodness and mercie of our God, though this stupid and secure people are no wayes fitted for a deliverance, if we look to justice; yet, that for his name's sake and the truth, and handfull of the godly, that he will arise. So much the more is it needfull that God should haste, as we heare of a storme that may arise among you in your North, and elsewhere, by the pestiferous malignants and malcontents; also from your Irish armie, if they be not satisfied, and the Irish rebels on their back. All these will be matters of God's praise, when he has let them appeare, and roar upon us, but incontinent, by the

(7) In the Epistle dedicatory to Mr. Rous, of the Sermon alluded to, Baillie enlarges on this head, that "Too long consultation is very dangerous."

chaine of his providence, hes drawn them backward for their confusion.

I hope to keep the Generall Affembly with yow at Edinburgh. We are all, for our privat, well, blessed be God. How all is with yow, I know not: but that broyle about Mr. Hew Blair I wish were some way composed; but being so farre from the place, I cannot tell how. The matter of our present debates in the Affembly, is the people's interest in their minister to be ordained: we hope to give light to these scabrous questions. For the commentars yow speak of, there is few new ones, except the Jesuits Sanctius, and Ribera, and some others. If the Colledge have a mind to these, or any other books, I shall be carefull to gett them; but as yet I have not a scrape for any such end; and now, if they wryte for any, when my moneys are spent, they must send me up from Robert English, or some other, a note, to be answered in their name, in so much money as they have a mind to spend.

After the wryting heirof, this Sunday March 24th, we are all afflicted with sad news from Newark. Sir John Meldrum by all means would besiege Newark, and gave assurance to all, day after day, to carry it; yet it is so fallen out, whether by base cowardice or treacherie, that his whole campe, near five or six thousand, after a little skirmish, hes rendered themselves to the enemy, being fewer in number: a grievous and disgracefull stroke. The certaintie of the particulars we have not yet; but such another stroke will make this people faint, except God bless the Scotts army. Yet this fore stroke puts many to their knees who were in a deep sleep, and we hope the next Wednesday there will be a wrestling with God. This is a fearfull allarume. Let God doe all his will: yet I must say his people and cause is on our syde; and on the other, the patrons of oppression, profanitie, and poperie, whom God cannot bless to the end. God send us better newes; for the tyme our anxiety is great.

The bearer is not yet gone. As all former disasters, so this, I hope, shall doe us good. Yesterday was a gracious day of prayer. Manchester hes used all dilligence to draw down his forces; and we trust is so strong, that Prince Rupert shall make small use of his great advantage at Newark. Though Hopton and Sir Jacob Ashley be strong at Winchester, yet Balfour and Waller is lying foreanent, with more resolute forces. The Parliament is much wakened. Essex at last is going to the field, with ten thousand good men: it was no wayes his fault but he had been recruited

long agoe ; have with Oxford. The Admirall is making out, with fortie good ships. I hope to-day or to-morrow we shall present (as on Monday it was appointed) in the Assemblie our modell of a Presbyteriall Ordination presentlie to be put in practice. After a thick darknes God will send light.

FOR MR. BLAIR : MARCH 26TH 1644.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

I have written nothing to yow all this time, partlie not knowing certainlie where yow were, and most because I know my sweet colleague Samuell informed yow of all I had to say. Thanks to God, never colleagues had a greater harmonie : for to this hour not the least difference, the smallest eyelift betwixt any of us, either State or Church commissioners, in any thing, either private or publick, which yow know is rare in such societies, makes our fellowship much the sweeter. We have written a publick letter to yow, to advyse, if ye think meet, to call any of us home to the Generall Assemblie. All of us will take it for the call of God, whatever yow resolve of our stays or goings. It is like, about that time, there shall be more to doe here than before ; for the delays by the Independents importunities has been wonderfull, which now, I hope, are drawing near an end ; and very likelie, about that very time of the Assemblie, if God cast not in unexpected impediments, we may be about the highest points both of Government and Worship, the erecting of our Presbytrie, and putting our votes in practice, and settling of a Directorie, wherein yet we have gotten little thing done, and much is here adoe. These things are so high, and of so great concernment, that no living man can think Mr. Henderson may be away ; and to putt him to goe and returne, it were very hard to venture such a jewell, that is so necessarie to the well-being both of Church and State of all these dominions. Mr. Samuell for the great parts God hes given him, and speciall acquaintance with the question in hand, is very necessarie to be here ; especiallie because of his booke, which he is dailie enlarging, and it will not come off the presse yet for some short time. It is very like, whenever it comes out, it shall have some affronting replie ; and judge now if it be not necessarie that he should be here to answer for himself. Mr. George [Gillespie] however I had a good opinion of his gifts, yet I professe

2
 he hes much deceived me : Of a truth there is no man whose parts in a publick dispute I doe so admire : He hes studied so accuratelie all the points ever yet came to our assemblée, he hes gotten so readie, so assured, so solid a way of publick debating, that however there be in the Assemblée diverse very excellent men, yet, in my poor judgement, there is not one who speaks more rationallie, and to the point, than that brave youth hes done ever ; so that his absence would be prejudiciall to our whole cause, and unpleasant to all here, that wishes it well. I know none of our companie who can be spared but myselfe ; for I find that my studies in these questions have been so small, and my parts so weake, that I have not taken the boldnesse to dispute publickly in the Assemblée ; but, after the example of a great many, farr in all things my betters, even the two or three parts, or more, of the Assemblée, I have been but ane hearer ; so my presence might well be dispensed with. I confesse the dangers I was in, in both my voyages by sea, makes me wish I might not be put againe to sea, but have a land-way opened ; and that I see not what I could report or doe in the Assemblée, which might not every way alse well, and in some regard better, be done by write ; yet I am very willing, if so it be thought meet, to come, at whatever time, through whatsoever dangers, to obey your directions. This much I thought meet to signifie to yow [of] the private estate of our affaires, that yow may be the better instructed for your publick advyce : whatever shall be resolved, all of us, and, by God's grace, none more than my selfe, shall be willing to give ready obedience. So praying God to be with your armie, wherupon the eyes of the godly are fixed, as the means which they hope God will blesse for their deliverance from great sufferings and greater fears, I rest your loving brother,

R. BAYLIE.

London, March 26th 1644.

FOR MR. GEORGE YOUNG.

GEORGE,

These be thanks for your last kind letter, February 2d. I pray you write more and offer to me, for your letters are refreshfull to me. Though my letters be not frequent, yet they are prolix, wherein I give you full information of all that passes here.

I give alwayes expresse direction, that whatever I write, either in publick or more privatelie to Mr. D[avid Dickson] or Mr. R[obert Ramsay] be alwayes communicate to yow. For my affaires there, how they goe, I have never considered since I came here. I must intreat yow, whom I fand alwayes alse carefull as myselfe of any thing concerned me, to conferr with my wife, at your first coming to Glasgou, anent my affaires of Kilwinning. I wish Mr. John Bell be at some point with Mr. James Fergusson⁽⁸⁾; also that my Lord Montgomery were putt to it so fairly⁽⁹⁾ and yet so truly as might be. For James Roffe, I see there is no building on him. But that which I wish yow chieflie to advyse on is, the confirmation of my place in the next ensuing Parliament. Supposing I come not home, and the Parliament fitt for any buisness, I wish Mr. David, yow, and Mr. Robert, would consider if it be expedient to pass a signator for me, according to the tenor of Mr. D[avid's].⁽¹⁾ The Commisfar, I think, will give yow his opinion. If yow resolve it is best, I must intreat yow to be at the pains of the manageing of it.

But the principall intent of my writing to yow at this time, is that which I committ to yow alone, and desires no other living to know any thing in it. We have written down a publick letter first, and thereafter, to the same purpose, to Mr. Robert Douglass in the armie, as yow have in the inclosed. The effect of these letters may be the calling of some of us down to the Generall Assemblie: None more willing to be at home than I, for fundrie reasons I could shew yow; yet I see not how I could convenientlie come to the Assemblie. I foresee, if any be called for, or if it be remitted to ourselfes to send any, it must fall on me: for Mr. Alexander [Henderfon] here can no wayes be spared; Mr. Samuel [Rutherford]'s great book against the Independents will be but then coming out, and it were very inexpedient he should be away at this time; Mr. George [Gillespie] is such an excellent disputer in our Assemblie, that our affaires would suffer if

⁽⁸⁾ James Fergusson, (the author of Commentaries on the Epistles to the Phillippians, Galatians, &c.) was Baillie's successor as minister of Kilwinning.

⁽⁹⁾ *Fairly*, gently, in a civil manner: in reference to the settlement of his dispute with Lord Montgomery respecting the arrears of his stipend, (*vide supra*, p. 6.)

⁽¹⁾ An "Act of ratificatioun of the Professioun of Theologie in the University of Glasgou," &c. in favour of Mr. David Dicksoune," was passed by Parliament, Sept. 11th 1641. (Acta Parl. vol. v, p. 938.) Baillie here expresses a desire that his appointment as Professor of Divinity at Glasgou, might obtain a similar confirmation.

he were absent but for one moneth : so I think trulie, if any must come, it can be no other than myselfe. Yow see we remitt it to the Commiffioners of the Church to call for us in time, if the Affembly shall fitt for any time, and if they think it neceffare. I must intreat yow to be in Edinburgh at the next meeting of the commiffioners of the Church, and to see well to this matter, which concerns me nearlie. If yow call for me, I will readilie obey ; otherwise I could wish to stay some longer ; for, if it might be, I defyre not to come alone to the Generall Affembly, and certainlie no man can be permitted to come with me. I can make no report which may not better be made by writt. Be all appearance, we will have nothing readie againft that time, and about that time the service here is like to be greateft ; for many things here will be mature, and about Lambes, I hope, readie to be clofed. I was in fo evident hazard of my life, in both my feavoyadges, that I wish to return by land, and no way is like to be fo soon opened : also, if now I should come doune, I see a neceffitie of returning ; for the service here in the familie twyce a-day, and preaching every Sabbath, let be the daylie attendance on the Affembly of twyce a day, is fo great, that I know my colleagues will, by their letters, urge a returne for their own relief ; and yow may confider if a voyage from London to Edinburgh, and from Edinburgh to London, be defyreable in fuch a time, when fundrie of our Scotts ships are taken by fea, and no land-way is open. I could tell yow more, why it were not fitt I were away, when the whole points of our Directorie are to be tranfacted. Thefe things I committ to yow alone, to be made use of as yow see fitt ; but without fhewing to any that yow had the leaft fignification of any of thefe things from me. What yow doe here, as from yourfelfe alone, must be done quicklie ; for the first meeting of the Commiffion will determine of my stay or coming : I remitt it to the Providence of God. It was much againft my mind I came here ; bot fince God fent me, he has been moft gracioufly prefent with me to this houre in every thing. However, my coming down alone at this time would seem very inconvenient, and full of hazard ; yet if yow call for me, I trust God will be ftill with me. The Lord be with yow.

Your Brother,

R. BAILLIE.

(The inclofed, which I had from Sir William Anstruther, will

shew yow how things goe abroad : shew this to whom yow will. The other is the double of my letter to Mr. Blair at the Armie : yow will burn it, or deliver it at meeting.)

Prince Rupert has made no use of his advantage at Newark. He is returned with all speed to Oxford ; for they are there in great fear of a siege. Waller, after his victorie, has gotten Winchester and Salisbury. Reading is left, and the work flighted. John Stewart, and more officers, are dead of their wounds. The King, in person, is expected to be on the fields, with all he can make, within two or three dayes, to stop Waller's progress ; as also to make the Queen's journey to Bristol safe. All diligence is used here to supply Waller with men and money, and to send the Generall to the field with a great armie of his own. The Admirall goes to sea one of these dayes, with fortie good shippes. We are in good hopes shortly to get twentie thousand pounds for our armie, and also good sommes for our Irish forces. We dare not believe, what yesterday came through all the citie, of our routing Newcastle's armie, and besiedging his person in Durham. We have great wrestling with the Independents, yet we hope all shall conclude well, for daylie we gaine ground. Lothian is exchanged with Goring, and now lies at our house, in the Chancellor's chamber, in good health. We can hear nought from Ham[ilton] at Pendinnise. We have, on Tuesday next, a solemn thanksgiving for Waller's victorie. Young Fairfax is at last come to Yorkshire with two thousand horse and dragoons.

[TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG :] APRIL 12TH 1644.

REVEREND AND DEAR COUSIN,

BEING informed that sundrie of your post-letters were broken up by the way, I wrote to yow under another name ; but finding that all myne have come safe to your hand, I need not, I think, use any more that disguise. I have gotten your's with the two last posts. All our companie thinks themselves obliged to yow. When Thomas Cunninghame went from this to our Army, I gave him, to yow, my sermon, and a large letter : He is to have a commission from our State to your State. It is the great justice of God, that Denmark is thus handled ; and we take it for a good providence, that Ragotski has at last fallen on the Emperour ; but a

pittie it was no sooner. We are glad that the warre of Italie is yet lyke to continue ; that Spain, on all hands, hes so much to doe, as we are free of his evill. Matters here, both of Church and State, are in a strange posture. We are oft put to our knees to cry to God. The unhappie, and unamendable prolixitie of this people, in all their affaires, except God work extraordinarie, is lyke to undoe them : they can put nothing to any point, either in Church or State : we are vexed and overwearièd with their wayes. God help them, and our poor land, who by their own unhappie sottish lazinesse is like to be in great hazard. Huntly, after he fand that Aberdeen had sitten still, when a few number of his emissaries had come in, and first taken away their magistrates, and then their moneys, he hes come and featted himself in that unhappie toun, as the King's Lieutenant in the north. It had been easy for them, with Marishall's help, to have crushed that feeble, effeminate, foolish Atheist ; but now it will cost blood to defeat him : some five regiments are making towards him. On our south border, Niddedale, Dumfreis, Aboyne, Montrose, Ogilby, are with some fix hundred horse ; against these openlie wicked men, some power is directed also. The three regiments that came of their own head from Ireland, are now very welcome. The Marquis of Antrim, (for honour now is the reward of misdeserving,) with a great army is marching towards Monroe, with the relicks of our army. God be there ; else, if they be defeat, it will be very ill for Scotland. To remeid these evils, a Convention of Estates fits at Edinburgh. Argyle is gone thither from our army, to see all go right. The excise was very unhappie : it's the pretext for malcontents to sturr. Though every one of these last eight dayes we have been deaffed with newes of a great and bloodie battell in the north, wherein Newcastle is totallie routed, yet, so farr as we can learne, there is no such matter. Our most earnest prayers are for God's help. There be great gatherings here, of all the King and the Parliament can make ; a great and bloodie battell is shortly expected : no possibilitie of peace. Your Ambassadors continue to be unhappie instruments of dangerous division.

I cannot tell yow what to say of the Assemblie. We are almost desperate to see any thing concluded for a long time : Their way is woefully tedious. Nothing, in any Assemblie that ever was in the world except Trent, like to them in prolixitie : particulars yow shall have with the nixt. This day was read the Anfuers of the divines of Hesse-Cassel's. We were very un-

fatified with their letter: it was but a poor short epistle, all spent upon lamenting their own miseries, and in the little they spoke to our point, giving us unseasonable and very unfavourie counsell, not to medle with the Bishops. We marvelled the less at this, reading the subscriptions only of cathedrall-men, a superintendant, some archdeacons and deacons of a cathedrall. Yow know Mr. Peters better than to marvell at any thing he writes; all here takes him for a very imprudent and temerarious man. I fear upon some of his passages this day, that his malapert rashness prove very dangerous to this Church and State. For to understand the fruits of Independencie, read this pamphlett. Mr. Gillespie and Mr. Rutherford's books, when I came here first, I sent them to yow; but by whom, I now remember not. In two or three of my letters, I intreated yow to borrow for me from Mr. Rivett, Morellius and Sadaell against him. The tenets of Independents, yow know: I wrote to yow the great harm of that clause of your Walcheren letter, of the entire power of government in the hands of congregational presbyteries, except in cases of alteration and difficultie, &c. Not only the Independents make use of it publickly against us, but some of our prime men, Mr. Marshall by name, upon it and Voetius, who from Parker has the same, differs from us, giving excommunication, and, which is more, ordination, to our sessions in all ordinarie cases. If yow can gett this helped in the Zeland letter, it will be well; for other divines, in the face of the Assembly, Seaman by name, has been forced to decline with all reverence your authoritie, saying, that Voetius was but one man, and the classes of Walcheren but one class; that the Acts of your Generall Assemblies, and Harmonie of Confessions, gives the power of excommunication and ordination in ordinarie cases to your Classes, and not to your parochiall Consistories.

London, Aprile 12th 1644.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

REVEREND AND DEAR COUSINE,

Yours the 12th of this instant this day I received, whereby I perceive yow had not received what I had written with the

last post. That any of the Affemblie hes written for Mr. Durie⁽²⁾ it's more than I know : that the Synod did never write for him, or any man else, I know affuredlie ; for smaller actions exceeds their power. His letter to the Synod I heard read with no great regard ; for it favoured of somewhat. If he be pleased to come, over to Oxford, he may resolve to be taken, while he lives, by us all here for a malignant ; and if he should come to us with the least tincture of Episcopacie, or liturgick learning, he would not be welcome to any I know. As yow love the man, persuade him to stay at this time where he is : he cannot be so well or honourable imployed any where I know. As for Dr. Forbes⁽³⁾, yow have done very well, in my mind, who hath not given him your pulpitt. As yow desire not to be mistaken by too many, meddle not with him, or any who flees from our church-censure. I know there are fundrie exceptions against that man, and that the last Generall Affemblie gave order to enter in process against him. No man did more for him in the Affemblie of Aberdeen than I ; but it's my earnest advyce to yow, to send him away and not to engage yourself in any of his affaires.

Our affaires here go very strangelie. The difaster at Newark cast us much doune ; the victorie at Winchester put us as farr up. We hoped Sir William Waller would shortlie regaine all the North ; we feared Prince Rupert would make havock in my Lord Manchester's affociations : but in both we were clean disappointed. Prince Rupert made ane hafty march to Shrewsburrie ; Sir William Waller's forces melted quicklie to a poor handfull ; the Londoners, and others, as is their miscent custome, after a piece of service, got home : so that Waller being weaker than the quicklie-rallied forces of the enemy, was forced to retire without the conquite of one foot of ground. We are exceeding fadd, and ashamed that our armie, so much talked off, hes done as yet nothing at all. What can be the reason of it, we cannot guess, only we think, that God, to humble our pride, and to disappoint the carnall confidence of our friends, hes not yet been pleased to assist them. These bygone dayes there, hes been the matter of our shame and feare. We were begun to think, it was the Generall's wisdom, having Sunderland, a port open by sea, and having quartered by east and south to Durhame, whereby he was

(²) John Durie was chosen one of the superadded members of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, about this time.

(³) John Forbes of Corse, D.D., one of "the Aberdeen Doctors."

provyded plentie of victuall and forage, to defeat the enemy without stroke of sword. In this hope we were confirmed, when the other [day] we heard of the great victorie of Sir Thomas Fairfax and Meldrum at Selbie, which made our friends absolutelie masters of the fields in Yorkshire, and inabled them, without impediment, to follow their instructions, of going down to joyne with our armie, or fall on Newcastle's back. This put us in hope quicklie to be conquerors of all the North. Only this was our griefe, that little honour would come to our armie, who had so long done so little. Ungrate people did not consider that our lying there did keep off that great and very considerable armie of Newcastle, who being free of us, had, without doubt, not only kept Fairfax in his old holes, but had, in all lykelihood, been long agoe at the ports of London. However, we were glad that God should end the work, how small a part soever we should have in the praise. But behold we have other thoughts this day put in our heads: we are advertised, that Prince Rupert has gathered together an armie of twelve thousand men; and that, with all speed, he is marching northward to joyn with Newcastle, and to crush Fairfax in his way, that all together may thunder on our armie. We are looking up to God: this, if he help us not, may wrack us: we have sent to Manchester to follow. We hope our armie will be advertised, that they may fight before Prince Rupert come. All here thought Prince Rupert would have come hitherward; but the fatall laziness of all, and treacherie of the faction here, makes them all secure at Oxford, and misregard our threats. This day was appointed a randivouze at Aylesburrie for all our forces, more than thirtie thousand, to goe seek the King wherever he be. Oxford was said to prepare for a siege; the Queen and the children to be in the way for Bristoll, and thence to Ireland or France: but not a man have we in readines; Waller's armie is molten away; Manchester [must go] north; the Generall will be recruiting till doomsday; the City is on their new motion of leavying, on their pay, twentie thousand foot: but while these conceits are in daylie debate, the enemy is in action. Your good Ambassadors has so encouraged and strengthened the potent faction in both Houses, and in the City, that we must be miserablie spending all our thoughts and time, in drawing up articles of peace, while the enemy is encompassing us for our ruine. It's said that a peace to the King's mind is drawn up already in private, which we must either be persuaded or forced to accept. Great jealousies

here: yet God must not leave us. One favorable blow in the North would make both the open and secret malignants despaire, and take our too mercifull conditions. They say the Queen's child is dead in her belly, and that she takes now and then, convulsions of a palfie.

Our Assemblie at last hes perfyted Ordination, both in the doctrinall and directorie parts. I think, to-morrow, they shall present it to the Houses. It hes cost us much labour, and above twentie long sessions. I hope it shall doe good, and over all this land shall erect presentlie an association of ministers to ordaine. Our Presbytrie will shortly follow. The Independents are resolute to give in their reasons against us, and that shall be the beginning of an open schisme: lykelie after that, we will be forced to deal with them as open enemies. They have been here most unhappie instruments, the principall, if not the sole causes, why the Parliament were so long in calling an Assemblie, and when it was called, why nothing in a whole year could possiblie be gotten concluded. In the mean time they, over all the land, are making up a faction to their own way, the farr most part whereof is fallen off to Anabaptisme and Antinomianisme. Sundrie also to worse, if worse needs be: the mortalitie of the foule, the denyall of angels and devills, and cast off all sacraments, and many blasphemous things. All these are from New England, where diverse are in irons for their blasphemies, condemned to perpetuall slavery, and well near by a few votes it went for the lyfe. They proclaime their fears for the Presbyteries rigours. Possiblie they are conscious of their unsufferable tenets, and certainlie they know their own rigour against the Presbyterians: in all New England, no libertie of living for a Presbyterian. Whoever there, were they angells for life and doctrine, will assay to sett up a diverse way from them, shall be sure of present banishment. Be diligent, we beseech yow, with your Synod.

While I am writing this, praise to God for evermore, a messenger comes to us from our armie, shewing, that on Fryday night the enemy hearing of Fairfax's victorie, marched away from Durhame towards the Tyfe; that Saturday and Sunday we were following, and were within three myles of them, resolving to follow wherever they went. The great God be with us. I must close, for the post is going.

Fryday, Apryle 19th 1644.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG : APRILE 26TH 1644.

REVEREND AND DEAR COUSINE,

YOURS of the 18th I receaved : yow have some of myne since. The imployments of Mr. C.⁽⁴⁾ was procured by Mr. Strickland's letters, calling for him oft by name ; beside, he is of very good esteem with us all ; neither had we any readie of such trust. The books yow wrote for yow shall have all shortly, and what more yow desire. I wish all odds in our compts were evened ; for I am too long behind ; wherefore I pray yow write hither for what yow please. We are all very sensible of your prudent diligence ; by all means go on with your Divines for their answer. I wish these whom yow have engaged in Zeland were put on to engage with themselves the Divines of the other provinces, especially the Professors of Leyden, also Rivett and Voetius. There is great need ; for this is a very wavering and fickle people. Wryte what they please against bishops and ceremonies *obiter*, for our confirmation ; for these are now out of the hearts of all here almost ; but above all, and in earnest, let them exhort to be watchfull against anarchicall schismes, and the heresies of Antinomians and Anabaptists. These three come togidder cordially against all the Reformed churches, and increases so much in number and boldness, as easilie they would carry all here to a lamentable confusion, if the fear of our armies did not keep them in order ; and, as it is, many fears they shall doe much [evil], if God prevent it not. We have given in to the Parliament our conclusions anent Ordination ; whereupon, we have spent I think, above forty long sessions. To prevent a present rupture with the Independents, we were content not to give in our propositions of Presbyteries and Congregations, that we might not necessitate them to give in their remonstrance against our conclusions, which they are peremptor to doe when we come on that matter. We judged it also convenient to delay till we had gone through the whole matters of the Presbyteries and Synods ; to send them up rather in their full strength than by

(⁴) Thomas Cunningham :—The Committee of Estates having deposed Patrick Drummond as Conservator of the Scots Privileges at Campvere, Cunningham, about this time, was appointed to that place. An " Act in favours of Thomas Cunningham, anent the place of Conservatorie," is the title of an Unprinted act, dated 10th July, 1644.

pieces ; also we suffered ourselves to be persuaded to eshew that rupture at this tyme, when it were so dangerous for their bruckle state. The Independents having so managed their affaires, that of the officers and sojourns in Manchester's armie, certainlie also in the Generall's, and, as I hear, in Waller's likewise, more than the two parts are for them, and these of the farr most resolute and confident men for the Parliament party. Judge ye if we had not need of our friends help. I wish we had letters by some of your friends means from Suifs and Geneva ; and however the French divines dare not keep publick correspondence, and I hear the chieffe of them are lyke some of yours, so much courtiers, as they will not [help us in] the halfe they dare and might, policie and prudence so farr keeps down their charitie and zeal ; yet I think some of the ministers of Paris, and of their professors, if they were dealt with by some of your friends, might, in private letters, either to some here, or some with yow, write so much of their mind in this publick cause of Church-government, as might contribute to the encouragement of this fainting and weak-hearted people. In any letters comes here, I wish they may be spareing of the point of the Magistrate ; also in the enlargeing of the power of particular congregations. I wish they might speak home to that yow assure is their practise, of giving ordination only to the classes, and excommunication, at least for regulating of the proceffe ; albeit we make the chiefe parts of the proceffe to be ledd before the classes, and gives them the power of the decree ; for we count it a *causa communis*, and of so high a consequence as can be, to cutt off a member, not from one congregation only, but the whole church and bodie of Christ. Our brethren are here so peremptor, that they will by no means tye themselves so much as to advyse any thing in the whole proces with the classes ; only when they have sentenced, if they be required, they will give an accompt to any whom they have offended.

We gott letters this day from our army at Wetherby. The Marques of Newcastle stole away from Durhame ; we followed so fast as we could ; he is now with all his remaining forces in Yorke, and about it. We and Fairfax are joyned, and lye about Yorke, at some distance, at Selbie, Wetherby, Tadcaster, etc. Prince Rupert is expected, and Manchester on his backe. Likelie there must be blood shed there, except God, without blood, (as hitherto we have shed very little, thanks to God,) make them melt away. Waller could make no use of his victorie ; for presentlie the

London foot would home : the Generall also called back his horse. The enemye incontinent, drew up so strong, that Sir William [Waller] was forced to give ground, and returne to Farnhame. Jealousies and laziness, and possible correspondence with Oxford, for all our great words to keep a generall randivouze on Fryday the 19th, makes that yet we are not near readie to march. We have, throw your Ambassadors, and the friends of Oxford among us their importunitie, been more sharplie debating propositions of peace than thinking of warre. Yet as all our other enemies plotts, so happilie this shall turn to our good : for that which seems was intended for division of the Nations, and of the one House from the other, and of the House of Commons amongst themselves, and the City among themselves, I hope shall, before all be done, unite them all the more firmlie ; for we are all like to agree to stand to such articles of peace, as shall give the contrivers of the motion small advantage. The Queen is towards Bristoll : the reports of her health are various. Proclamations from the King calls for the victualls of the neighbouring counties to Oxford, or threatens fire.

Aprile 26th [1644.]

TO MR. DAVID DICKSONE : APRIL 29TH 1644.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

YOURS, in the beginning of Aprile, we received yesternight. Your letters and memorie, believe it, is very sweet to all here. I hope before this yow have received many of mine since the 18th of February. Yow have here the double of my letters to Mr. William Spang, and his to me. These are to yourself, and Mr. Robert, and Mr. George Young ; also the paper the Synod gave into the Parliament. Of this no copies are yet come out ; so, keep it to yourselfe alone ; disperse the rest as yow think fitt. For publick news that any may see, I have sent yow printed papers, to spare my writing : the most in the Diurnall and Intelligencer are true ; *Aulicus* and *Britannicus*⁽⁵⁾ are for jests only, and not worth the reading. Yow have in my wife's letter a paper for forraigne news. I wrote to yow my mind anent the motion of our coming doune to the Generall Affemblie. I am still of that mind, and my Lord Waristone thinks so with me ; yea, it is all

(5) These were the titles of some of the newspapers or journals of the day.

our minds that Mr. Henderfon cannot be spared : For the matter of both Government and Directory, especiallie in the points of prayer, sacraments, preaching, which we have given in alreadie ; the Catechise, which is almost readie, and the other parts also, will shortly be in such a maturitie, that about the midds and end of May, it's lyke our work shall be hottest. Mr. Henderfon's absence for a little, might not only retard, but also put matters so farr wrong, as would not in haste be gotten righted. For any other of us to come doune to the Assemblie, we conceive, were not only very needles, but in some respects, which I will not write, disadvantageous to affaires here and there both ; yet if yow on the place think fitt to send for any or all of us, we are all willing and readie to obey your calls. However, in this long anarchie, the sectaries and hereticks increafe marvellouslie ; yet we are hopefull, if God might help us, to have our Presbyteries erected, as we expect shortly to have them, and gett the chieffe of the Independents to joyn with us in our practicall conclusions, as we are much labouring for it ; and are not yet out of hope, we trust, to winn about all the rest of these wild and enormous people. However, for the time, the confusions about religion are very great, and remediless. There was many bickerings, and feare of breaking, about the Articles of Peace ; but, thanks to God, I hope that feare be past. The committee of both Kingdomes hes unanimously agreed to the Articles, which my Lord Waristone, for the farr most part, drew up. I think he may come down with them himselfe one of thir dayes, to be agreed to by yow there. Upon your first hearing of his coming to Edinburgh, make haste to be at him, for he cannot stay. The Articles are such as doubtlesse the King will scorn, till his wicked counsell and partie be broken, which, by God's help, will shortly be. Prince Rupert, so farr as yet we hear, is to come South to joyne with the rest about Oxford. We hope ere long to be on the fields with a great armie ; Essex, Waller, and Manchester. In the meantyme, Lesley and Fairfax, we hope in God, shall get Yorke ; and then we conceive the rest will faint and give over. The storme which long hes been threatening yow, from Montrose and the rest in the South, Huntly and these in the North, is like to break very seasonable : I hope it shall do no harme but to the contrivers. We look for a mercifull and glorious end of all these troubles.

I pray yow remember my love and best affections to all our schollers, and to these most who gives yow greatest satisfaction.

All of them, who will be gracious and learned, are lykelie to be well provided, if once we had peace. I thank my cummer your wife heartilie for that great kindnes she shews to my wife, to my dear brother Mr. Robert [Ramfay] and his wife; I am also much obliedged to kind Mr. Zacharie [Boyd] and his wife: I must lay it upon yow to thank them in my name. Will ye be pleased to remember me to the Principall and all my colleagues. I am glad yow have put Mr. Hew Blair's busines to so honest a point. The fights I see here dailie will make me the more willing, all the days of my life, in all humilitie of mind, to live in peace as a fervant to any tollerable creature. Trulie here they are, and are lyke to be, many men more intollerable than ever any I saw there; with whom yet there will be ane absolute necessitie to live in silence. I am glad of what yow writt to Mr. Henderfon of your ending the Epistles:⁽⁶⁾ by all means go on with diligence in that work. I remaine in my old opinion of the great use may be of it, and of your fitness for it above any man I yet heare of: who flights it, understands it not. I hear the Synod hath granted yow Mr. George⁽⁷⁾. I yet look for a blessing on our labours; so much the more of the sharp oppositions Satan has made hitherto to our intentions. I hope the most of the storme is fallen out, that the weather shall shortlie be faire. Let me know, I pray yow, how all goes. The Lord be with yow.

Your Brother,

R. BAYLIE.

Aprile 29th [1644.]

I shall write with my Lord Waristone, or the next occasion to Mr. Robert [Ramfay.]

[FOR MY LORD EGLINTON.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I AM much refreshed to hear of your Lordship's good health in

⁽⁶⁾ A volume by Dickson, entitled, "Expositio Analytica Omnium Apostolicarum Epistolarum," was printed at Glasgow, 1645, 4to.

⁽⁷⁾ George Young: In 1619 he was a Regent in the College of Glasgow; he afterwards became Minister of Mauchline in Ayrshire, and, at this time, one of the Ministers of Glasgow.

so hard and laborious services. I doe oft joy to hear of your Lordship's personall valour and success. I pray God preserve your Lordship from all hurt. All our worldlie hopes depends on the happiness of that your armie: yow are every day near the heart of all the godly here; nixt to the salvation of our soules, we wish that armie's prosperitie. We esteem our lives and estates, and, which is much more deare unto us, our religion and liberties, both ours and the posterity's, in all the three Kingdoms, to be at this time in your hands. We trust in the goodness of our God, that he will furnish yow with so much grace, wisdom, and courage, that yow shall make to us, and after ages, a very good accompt of these greatest and most precious jewells which yow now carrie on the points of your swords. We are very hopefull here, that when God gives yow a prosperous day against Yorke, it shall be a reall defeating of all the enemies both before and behind yow. For occurrents here, I know your Lordship, in that committee, receaves them from much better and more legible hands than mine; only I doe here present your Lordship with a copie of my poor Sermon, and with my very heartie service; for well it becomes me all the days of my life, to remaine,

Your Lordship's very affectionate Servant,

[ROBERT BAILLIE.]

London, Aprile 30th [1644.]

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG: MAY 3d [1644.]

REVEREND AND DEAR COUSEN,

YOURS of the 18th of Aprile I received. Yow had two of me since, and this is the third; so yow are much in my debt; but I most freelie forgive yow for that letter of your Synod: a better turne could not have been done to us. It was read to us with very good acceptance, and a Committee is appointed, not only to translate, and transmitt it to the Houses, as the former, bot to thinke of an answer; which, according to their woefull way, cannot be expected for some moneths. Doubtless the point of the Magistrate will hinder the printing of it here; but we wish it were

printed there, and sent over, with the former of Walcheren: no man here can get the copie of either. We have printed our letter to yow, both in Latine and English, why should not yow doe the lyke with yours to us? also in your Walcheren letter, if I remember, yow professe your putting [in] print your former letter to the Synod; certainly there is much more use of these two latter. What I wrote, of ingageing your other provinces and professors, and other churches, yow will doe what yow may herein. I sent to yow by Thomas Cunninghame my sermon before; but receive now another; also three of Goodwin's pieces, one at five shillings, another at one shilling and fourpence, a third at one shilling and fixpence: (I cannot help the extraordinare dearth: they say, the great fume which the author putts on his copie, is the cause of it:) also Huit on Daniel, at two shillings and tenpence, and a wicked piece, which one of the Independents wrote against Dr. Stewart, at fixpence: in all eleven shillings and fourpence. For the folio Bible, as yet I have not gotten any to my mind. I hear yow may have better and cheaper there; so I would send none till yow advertised againe. Mr. Samuell has sent yow one of his sermons, and one of his great books which came out the other day; also other two to Voetius and Mr. Forbes at [Delft.] Mr. George also sends yow his sermon. All these are bound up together, and delivered to Mr. Teren's man, who undertook to gett all safe to yow what I sent him. I cannot tell how things goe here. If God doe not this work, it will perish of itselfe without ane enemye. Extreame inlacke of money for all occasions, which yet daylie are many and great; a mightie party in the Houses, in the city, and every where, who minds their own things, and causes such distrusts, and fears of treacherie, as are formidable; in all armies great divisions, [and] extreame want of pay. When we have any truce with the Independents anent our Presbytrie, we fall in new warrs with others. For our sessions, a great party in the Synod, for feare of ruleing Elders, and in opposition to Independencie, will have no ecclesiastick court at all, but one presbytrie for all the congregations within its bounds.

I cannot tell yow our daily perplexities: yet we must trust in God, and not faint, for all the vexation which presses from farr and near on all hands. Our armie, of fourteen thousand foot and two [thousand] of horse at least, are joined with Fairfaxe his two thousand horse and four [thousand] of foot: they are about York

on all quarters near the toune. Before they came so near, Newcastle sent out all his horse, who are followed by all ours; but it's thought we will let them be gone. The designe is suspected to goe towards Shreufburrie to joyn with Prince Rupert, that all may come together to relieve the siege; but this we doe not much regard. Albeit Manchester, with good eight or nine thousand, is in Lincolne to wait on these. But our greatest difficultie is want: no penny have we gott since we came to England, except it have been a fournight's pay at most. The country gives no victuall; our discipline hinders the taking of it; the sojourns cloaths are worne; their extreimity is great. Sundry thinks it was not well advysed, that they staid not till they had taken Durhame and Newcastle; yet we hope all shall turn to the best. Argyle, I hope, be this hes gotten order of Huntly, and Calender of Montrose; so I hope both shortly shall come to Newcastle as they purpose, and clear the north of England; while Lesley, after York is gotten, may go over Trent. My Lord Waristone is gone to Scotland with the Articles of Peace, whereto the Committee of both Kingdomes hath unanimously agreed, and transmitted them to the Houses. I am in haste. The Lord help us, and be with yow.

London, May 3d [1644].

TO MR. R. RAMSAY: MAY 9TH 1644.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

I HAVE gotten none from yow since February 11th. I saw a short one of Mr. David's, without date, before yow went to the provinciall. Since that, I think, he hes fundry from me long enough. Yow may see our affaires in the papers: the most is true, and all is the common reports here. The inside of our affairs, is this, experience of God's carying of this cause from the beginning to this day, and ever coming in with his seen and immediate help, makes us that we dare not but be confident of a happie issue; but were it not for our hope in God, we would oft be put to black thoughts, when we behold the carriage and dispositions of men. This people is so marvellously

divided, and subdivided in their judgement and practise, that if ever either their Church or State settle, it is God's miraculous mercie. Had not God raised our nation to joyn with all our strength, long ere this, without all doubt, they had been swallowed up by their enemies; yea, they had, without the hand of an enemy, by their own broken and languid proceedings, been lost irrevocably; and as yet it stands, the dangers are exceeding great.

For our Assemblie matters, we are daylie perplexed; not only we make no progresse, and are farr from the sight of any appearance of an end, but also matters oft are in hazard of miscarriage. The Independents, so farr as yet we can see, are peremptor to make a schisme; and their partie is very strong and growing, especially in the armies. The leading men in the Assemblie are much at this time divided about the questions in hand, of the power of congregations and synods. Some of them would give nothing to congregations, denying peremptorilie, all example, precept, or reason, for a congregationall eldership; others, and many more, are wilfull to give to congregationall eldership all and intire power of ordination, and excommunication and all. Had not God sent Mr. Henderfon, Mr. Rutherford, and Mr. Gillespie, among them, I see not that ever they could [have] agreed to any settled government. We expect the favour of God to help us over the rocks, and through the storms, in the midst whereof we sail at this houre. The answer and returne of your prayers we oft feell and acknowledge. All our companie, blessed be God, have had perfect health, good courage, and hearty unanimitie, in all things; great credit and reputation; sensible assistance in every thing, and hitherto very good successe, to all our motions, either for Church or State; so that we are hopefull to wrestle through the present difficulties, as we have done many before, by the help of the prayers of God's people among yow. The humour of this people is very various, and inclinable to singularities, to differ from all the world, and one from another, and shortly from themselves. No people had so much need of a Presbytrie.

The affaires of the State, marvell not that I and others writes oft so diverselie of them; for there are many contrare and diverse tydes into them. We are still feared that the King come and sett himself doune in the Parliament. If he had done so this twelve-month bygone, or yet would, it would putt our affaires in the greatest hazard of confusion. To crosse that dangerous designe of

the mighty faction among us, the ingine of the Articles of peace is turned on the face of the authors, to our great advantage. We have gotten such Articles past the Committee of both Kingdoms, and transmitted to both Houses, as Waristone has brought doune: they are of our owne framing. Nynne of the greatest are consented to by the Commons, and the rest will shortly passe, I trust. Yesterday the whole House went up to the Lords for a conference, and required the passing of three ordinances, which long had lyen by. First, The continuance of the Committee of both Kingdoms for other three months. That Committee is the great bulwark against the faction; the first framing of it was over their heads: it has been their greatest eye-fore. It expires the morn. They thought either to hinder the renewing of the ordinance; or to [have] added unto it such other members of both Houses, of their mind, as might have over-swayed the better partie, and us; but we hope this union of the Commons will counteract that plott. Second, The continuance of Manchester's ordinance for other three months: that Manchester should have so many counties under him, it was the faction's grief; it made him a greater and better paid armie than the Generall. It and Waller's armie was their great strength, if any treacherie had been used by any others; for unhappie, and, I hope, ungrounded jealousies here troubles all. However, it was the designe of some to have Manchester and Waller's ordinance altered. The Third was, for the excluding of these from the Houses that returned from Oxford. Sundry of them are here alreadie, as Holland, Bedford, Clare, Kingston, Trennant, and Conway; and many more are coming. It was feared their errand was not good. To prevein the danger of their counsells, the Commons presses they may not be re-admitted to their places in haste; an answer this day is expected from the Lords. The Generall, one of these dayes, will march out: he and Waller joined will have greater forces than any the King can oppose in these bounds. The Queen is at Exeter, very bigg: it's feared she flipp over to France. The warrs of Italy are certainly ended. The treaty of Munster is at last begun. Sundry thinks, that either a peace or a truce is lyke to be taken between France and Spaine. If this be, our condition is in a horrible hazard, if quickly we come not to an end of our businesse. Manchester, with a pretty armie of eight or nine thousand horse and foot has taken Lincolne by force, and so could not hinder the plunder of it. We have strictly beleaguered Yorke. On the

event of that fledge the affairs both of this Church and Kingdome doth much depend. To-morrow there will be shipped twenty thousand pounds sterling for our armie, and the next week sixteen thousand pounds for Ireland; and more at once will follow. We trust God will arise, and doe somewhat by our Scotts armie. We are afflicted, that after so long tyme we have gotten no hitt of our enemy; we hope God will put away that shame. Waller, Manchester, Fairfaxe, and all getts victories; but Lesley, from whom all was expected, as yett has had his hands bound. God, we hope, will loose them, and send us matter of praise also; but blessed be his name, that we are in so good a posture, and the enemy in so bad, that without strokes we can overcome. It is best.

I must end; for I am in haste. My service to all that minds the cause of God in hands, and to no others.

May 9th [1644.]

Your Brother,
R. BAYLIE.

These for yourself, Mr. David, and Mr. George Young.

MEMORANDUM TO MR. BUCHANAN. ⁽⁸⁾

I CONCEIVE it very expedient, that yow write to some of the ministers of Paris, Geneva, and Berne, the true estate of our affairs, how that a mighty faction is arisen, to pres liberty of conscience for all sects, at least a freedom for Morellius's popular government of the Church; that the Scotts, and most of the Synod and Parliament, are for the establishing of the Government by fynods and classes. It would encourage them much, if the Divines of Geneva and Switzerland would, in their answers to the fynod's letter, as the Divines of Zeland hes done in their letter, and the Divines of Heffia also, exhort the fynod at some length, and in

⁽⁸⁾ David Buchanan, the author of various learned works, appears to have resided in France at a previous period, and to have had much intercourse with foreign divines. Baillie, in a subsequent letter, April 24th 1646, styles him "a most sincere and zealous gentleman, who has done, both in write and print, here and over sea, many singular services to this Parliament, to his nation, and the whole cause." He died in August 1652.

earnest, to beware of that pernicious liberty of all sects, and in particular of these who are enemies to the discipline of all the Reformed. There is a golden occasion in hand, if improved, to gett England conforme in worship and government to the rest of the Reformed. If nothing dare be written in publick by any of the French, see if they will write their mind, for our encouragement, to any private friend here, or in Holland. You would write for the same purpose to Moulin in Sedan, and Spanheim in Leyden. It were good, if they writte, that their letters were conceived in the greatest names they could procure; the Theologie of Berne would get a letter from the Switz Church, these of Geneva from their whole Ecclesiastic classes, Moulin from the University of Sedan, and Spanheim from the University of Leyden. It were not ill, that in all their letters, they congratulate the abolition of Episcopacie and Popish ceremonies, and exhorted to sett up quickly the government of Christ; that so long an annarchie as hes been here, is the mother of Heresies and Schismes, and many more evils.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

DEAR COUSIN,

I WROTE not to yow the last Fryday; for what I wrote with your post the three Frydays preceding, I know not yett whether you have received them; neither dare I write any more by the post, while I find you receive them unbroken up. I sent to yow the Hooker you wrote for, and some other. The letter of your classes of Zeland, I feare it shall here be drained, as well as that of Walcheren, because the Independents, on the occasion of the clause of the Magistrate, works, by their too many friends, on the Parliament to suppress it. Yow would doe well to cause print it there, and send over a number of copies of it here: yow did so with your other letter the last yeare; and the Synod has caused print, in Latin and English, their letter to yow; who can justly offend, if yow doe so, with your letter in answer? I approve exceedingly well of Apollonius's letter, to enquire of the Independents themselves their judgments in three heads he propones. The two books which have sent yow last, will informe him more of their mind; little Dr. Homes, the author of "The Coole Conference," "M. S. against

A. S.”⁽⁹⁾ is John Goodwin of Coleman Street: he names yow expresslie, and professes to censure the letter of Zeland. He is a bitter enemy to Presbyterie, and is openly for a full liberty of conscience to all sects, even Turks, Jews, Papists, and all to be more openly tolerate than with yow. This way is very pleasant to very many here. We are much obliged to that excellent divine Apollonius. We trust he will, with all diligence, goe on in his avowed intention: there is nothing wherein he can doe better service to God and the Reformed churches. To understand them better, I send you herewith other two pieces. That faction increases mightily in number, hopes, and pride; but if it please God to give us good news from Yorke, we will tell them more of our mind. Our opinion of their piety and ingenuity is much diminished, by that we see and hear daily from the best of them. It’s marvelled, that the rest of your provinces and professors will not follow the gracious and charitable example of Zeland. Shall they see both the Church and State of all these three Kingdomes perish, and stand aloofe without the least assistance by the stretch of their penn, when they are called to it by our lamentable letters, and the gracious example of their compassionate brethren? See how they will be answerable for such an apathie in so necessary a tyme. Mr. Forbes, in Delft, has sent us over, in writt, a very prettie piece against the Apologick. I like it very well, I wish it were in print. It is good yow keep correspondence with that young man, and acquaint him with all yow know in this subject.

We and Fairfax, good twentie thousand horse and foot, are lying about Yorke. Manchester, with more than eight thousand, is in Lincolne. Prince Rupert, with all he can make, is drawing near Newarke. It is expected shortly, that thereabout the fatal blow will be given. Effex and Waller are going out at last, they say, to-morrow, with nineteen thousand betwixt them. However, Prince Maurice, Ruthven, and Hopton, can make no power to withstand; yet we expect small action in these quarters. Montrose’s foolish bravado is turned to nothing. The gentlemen of Teviotdale, before Calender drew near with the armie, chased him into Carlisle, with the loss of the most of his cannon. Huntly, with some three thousand men, runs over the field as far as Montrose; but we hope shortly it shall be otherwise.

On Fryday, after a week’s debate, we carried, albeit hardlie,

⁽⁹⁾ The titles of some controversial tracts on the question “Of the powers of the Magistrates in matters Ecclesiasticall.”

that no single congregation had the power of ordination. Tomorrow we begin to debate if they have any right of excommunication. We gave in, long agoe, a paper to the great Committee, wherein we asserted a congregational eldership, for governing the private affaires of the congregation, from the eighteenth of Matthew. Mr. D. Calderwood, in his letter to us, has censured us grievously for so doing; shewing us, that our Books of Discipline admitts of no Presbytrie or Eldership but one; that we put ourselfe in hazard to be forced to give excommunication, and so entire government, to congregations, which is a great stepp to Independencie. Mr. H[enderfon] acknowledges this; and we are in a pecke of troubles with it. In many things we had need of the prayers of our friends.

PUBLICK LETTER. MAY 14TH 1644.

SINCE my last, the 9th of this instant, our affaires here goes as you may see in the two inclosed Diurnalls, and business abroad as you have in the paper. Yesternight Effex went out to his armie; Waller will go to-morrow: they will be prettie strong. There is great feare at Oxford; small hope of the relieving Yorke, or saving any part of the North, from the hand of the Scotts. Their hopes in force are near an end; they have therefore returned to their old wayes of treacherous plotting. A great word here of the King's coming hither, and putting all in the will of his Parliament; being, as is feared, confident of the one House, and a great part of the other, and of many in the City. This now is our greatest feare; and care to provide for it: we hope the discoverie shall prove the preventing of it. We expect daylie the randering of Yorke. This day twentie thousand pounds sterling is shipped for our armie. We hope, before eight dayes end, to have near as much shipped for Carrickfergus.

In our public letter to the Generall Assemblie, since we are commanded, all of us, to stay still, we shall give an accompt how the affaires of our Synod goes. The greatest things, both in Church and State, are presentlie in hand. O if we had humbled hearts to deall earnestlie with God, who hath granted us so much of our desyres, and hath put us in so fair a way shortlie to obtaine all, albeit in so wise a dispensation as to mix our hopes with very

great dangers, that he may still be fled to, and depended on. We keep a fast in the Assemblée on Fryday next, for all the armies, and the great affaires which in that Synod are presentlie in hand: we hope our Father will hear and comfort us. The Queen is at Exeter; it is thought she can hardlie be delivered; it's suspected she will to France. Much of Wales is risen for the Parliament. A few dayes may produce great things. We had much need, and confidentlie we expect the help of your prayers, to our very great and difficult imployment. All our company, blessed be God, are in health and cheerfulness, feeling sensibly, in God's continuall assistance, the answer of your prayers.

Tuesday, May 14th.

A POSTSCRIPT TO MR. SPANG'S LETTER.

MAY 17TH [1644.]

WHILE I had written thus farr, yours of the third of May comes to my hand, so I will venture to send this yett by the post. Apollonius's letter and questions I had gotten before by another secret means. I fear these men shall either not write, or delay too long, or write obscurely; for, as I conceive, they are not at a point, in their own mind, as yett, what to stand at. Among themselves there are fundry differences, which time will bring out. They profess to differ from these of England; but who knows wherein? The maine seems to be in libertie of conscience: for both seems to avow the divine right of Synods for consulting, albeit the destroying of Presbyteries classically; for a presbytrie to them is our session, and our presbytrie is their synod. Take herewith another of their Apologies; it's old, nameless, and as yet I have not read it; only they in New England are more strict and rigid than we, or any Church, to suppress, by the power of the magistrate, all who are not of their way, to banishment ordinarily, and lately, even presently to death, or perpetuall slavery; for one Jortin, sometimes a famous citizen here, for pietie, having taught a number in New England to cast off the word and sacrament, and deny angels and devills, and teach a grosse kinde of union with Christ, in this life, by force of armes was brought to New Boston, and there, with ten of the chiefe of his followers, by

the Civil Court was decerned perpetuall slaves; but the votes of many were for their execution. They ly in irons, though gentlemen; and out of their prison writes to the Admirall here, to deal with the Parliament for their deliverance. The Independents here, finding they have not the magistrate so obsequious as in New England, turns their penns, as yow will see in "M.S." ⁽¹⁾, to take from the magistrate all power of taking any coercive order with the vilest hereticks. Not only they praise your magistrate, who for policie gives some secret tollerance to diverse religions, wherein, as I conceive, your divines preaches against them as great finners; but avows, that by God's command, the magistrate is discharged to put the least discourtesie on any man, Turk, Jew, Papist, Socinian, or whatever, for his religion. I wish Apollonius considered this well. The five he writes to will not say this; but "M.S." is of as great authoritie here as any of them. Your course of ingageing the other provinces is very good. I send this inclosed to a friend here, who is well acquainted in Paris, Berne, Leyden, Sedan, and Geneva, who accordinglie hes written to all these five places for their assistance in the common cause. My correspondence with yow is so secret as may be. Some of them suspects somewhat of yow; but knows little: however, they must be content that all the Reformed, whom they openly avow to oppugne, should declare what sence they have of their wounds and danger from them. I long for Morellius and Sadael, also if by Mr. Paget, or any of your friends at Amsterdam, yow could find any of the writes of Browne, the first sectarie; for however I have used all possible dilligence, yet cannot I find any of that man's writes here: they would, I conceive, be very usefull to me.

This day was the sweetest that I have seen in England. Generall Effex, when he went out, sent to the Assemblie, to entreat, that a day of Fasting might be kept for him. We appoint, this day, four of our number to preach and pray at Christ's Church; also, taking the occasion, we thought meet to be humbled in the Assemblie, so we spent from nine to five very graciousslie. After Dr. Twisse had begun with a briefe prayer, Mr. Marshall prayed large two houres, most divinellie, confessing the sins of the members of the Assemblie, in a wonderfullie pathetick, and prudent way. After, Mr. Arrowsmith preached one houre, then a psalme; thereafter, Mr. Vines prayed near two houres, and Mr. Palmer preached one houre, and Mr. Seaman prayed near two houres, then a psalme.

(1) *Vide supra*, page 181, note 9.

After, Mr. Henderfone brought them to a short sweet conference of the heart confessed in the Assemblie, and other seen faults, to be remedied, and the conveniencie to preach against all sects, especiallie Anabaptists and Antinomians. Dr. Twisse closed with a short prayer and blessing. God was so evidentlie in all this exercise, that we expect certainlie a blessing both in our matter of the Assemblie and whole Kingdome. They have sallied out of York once or twice; but are beaten in with losse. Callander, with eight or ten thousand, is lying about Carlisle. We have four or five thousand about Newcastle. David Lesley, with the most of our and Fairfax and Manchester's horse, is about Nottingham. We hear nothing of Prince Rupert. Waller is out with eight or nine thousand men: Essex with ten. The King with his forces is neare. Yow shall hear more with the next; the post can stay no longer. Farewell. Your Cousin,

R. BAYLIE.

Friday, May 17th.

Our Admirall has taken a ship with seven thousand pounds, and some one thousand of arms, coming from yow. No more notice here of your Ambassadors. Our affaires here, blessed be God, are in an excellent posture everywhere. When we settle, your Estates cannot hope to gett any thanks: We might have perished, and they looked on us without any help. God will not be mocked.

FOR MR. BLAIR. MAY 19TH [1644.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

THE condition of our affaires here yow will see in our publique list: There is only a postscript which I was desyred to write to yow. We are advertised, that much more than the most part of my Lord Manchester's armie are seduced to Independencie, and very many of them have added either Anabaptisme or Antinomianisme, or both. We hear that their horse and your's are conjoined, and that occasions may fall out wherein more of them may joyne to yow. We all conceive, that our silly simple lads are in great danger of being infected by their companie; and if that pest enter in our armie, we fear it may spread. We remember, that in our former expedition, on farr less occasion than now is apparent,

some of our fouldiers were leavened, and at their returne were the authors of trouble in diverse parts of our land. We earnestlie entreat yow and Mr. R. Douglas to advise of the most prudent and safe wayes of preveening the danger of this evill; which we all apprehend to be very great, except God bleffe yow our brethren there, with wisdom and zeal to prevене the beginnings. Praying for the help of God to yow in this particular, and all things else, I rest,

Your loving Brother,

London, May 19th.

R. BAYLIE.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG. MAY 31ST [1644.]

COUSIN,

YOUR's of the third of May, and that inclosed, I received yesternight. The books I sent with Mr. Garet, the young man with whom Thomas Cunninghame lay, by whom I send all my letters. As for the Synod's acceptance of your Zeland letter, I assure yow, after it was read, Mr. Calandrin was called in, and it was solemnlie declared to him, by the Proloquutor, how thankfullie the Affemblie took it, and how much they were obliged for it. As for returning an answer, they have no power to write one lyne to any fowl, but as the Parliament directs; neither may they importune the Parliament for warrants to keepe foreigne correspondence. With what art and diligence that generall one to all the Churches was gotten, I know. Yow know this is no proper Affemblie, but a meeting called by the Parliament to advyse them in what things they are asked; so their not answering comes on no neglect I know very well. By all means encourage Apollonius, and whomsoever else yow can, to assist in this common cause: if this season be missed, it will be hardly recovered. The Independents hes no considerable power, either in Affemblie or Parliament, or the Generall or Waller's army; but in the city and countrie, and Manchester's army, their strength is great and growing; yet by the help of God and our friends, if once we had the Affemblie at ane end, and peace, we would get them quieted.

Since our Fryday fast we have made good speed in the Affemblie. Our Church-fessions, to which Independents gave all, and their opposite nothing at all, we have gotten settled with unani-

mity in the Scots fashion. Our great debate, of the power of excommunication, we have laid aside, and taken in at last the Directory. Already we have past the draught of all the prayers, reading of Scripture, and singing of psalms, on the Sabbath day, *nemine contradicente*. We trust, in one or two sessions, to through also our draught of preaching: if we continue this race, we will amend our former infamous slowness. Always I can say little, till once we pass the Directorie of the Lord's Supper in the Committee, [which] we found there very sticking; the Independents, and all, loves so well fundry of their English guyfes; which we must have away: however we are in better hope of a happier speed, than before. We have not heard from Scotland these twenty days. Warriston is down to the Parliament, for their confirmation of the Articles of Peace. The Oxfordian faction is now quieter here. I told you how it was prest to cite the King to a day for his compearance here; if that had been asked, he had appeared, as now we find. The next was to importune a draught of Articles of Peace, hoping about these to have divided us; but God be thanked, we have made vantage of that plott also, and have agreed unanimously to such Articles as we hope in the end to obtaine. Their last was, for the King to come to the Parliament without any condition; for this we were afrayed, as exceedingly dangerous: but upon the first suspicion of the designe, such courses were taken as made that plott to evanish also. At the expiring of the three months of the Committee of both Kingdoms, it was plotted that this Committee should not be renewed, for it was the hammer of the evill partie, but that the Generall himself, with his very suspect counsellors should manage the warr; or if it should be renewed, they should be ordered so many, and so suspect persons, that it should be an engyne against us. With this device we were for many days vexed. Let the House of Commons and the City do what they would, if all should have gone to all, the House of Lords was peremptor. The Committee they would not renew, without such alterations as made it uneffectual for its end: yet, by God's providence, a mean at last was found, which, nill they will they, forced them to renew it as it was before. I have no time to write it. By the direction of this Committee all is guided.

Effex and Waller are joyned: they have half-chafed the King and his armie from Reading to Vantage, from Vantage to Abingdon, from Abingdon to Oxford, from this to Islip and

Woodstock. We trust to heare shortly of their totall derout. Manchester hes above twelve thousand very well appointed men; quickly he regained all Lincolneshire, laid a bridge over the Trent, hes joined with our armie. We and Fairfax, with above twentie and thousand brave men, lyes about York: finding it has more victuall than we expected, we are preparing to storm it. It is strong in works, hes above fix thousand armed men, and plenty of ammunition; their confidence is in Prince Rupert's secours. He is ane ubiquitarie; he holds both York and Oxford in full expectation of his coming daylie: yet where he is, and what are his forces, no man certainlie can tell. He hes been long about Chester, waiting for the performance of the promise of fifteen thousand Irish. The King hes granted them peace, oblivione for bygones, libertie of conscience, and all they desire for time to come. This horrible grant cannot bot provoke God and man's indignation. We are grieved to hear nothing of Callander. Montrose ravages at his pleasure in all Northumberland and Bishoprick: we hope it shall not be so long.

I doubt if your book be Sadael against Morelius: I think it is a wryte before that debait was heard off. Your translateing of your Dutch notes⁽²⁾ is a purpose myself and many moe here doe passionatelie desyre. Diodati,⁽³⁾ I conceive, is not so good; yet it fells excellentlie. The stationers here would doubtles cause translate and print your Dutch notes, but they delay for their own gain. They have on the presse, large English notes by some Divines; while that impressiion be fold, that cannot come out this twelve-month, they will not medell with the other: but we look for little good from these English notes.⁽⁴⁾ The authors were sett on by Episcopall men; neither are they of such abilities or disposition as that work would require. If yow can finde a means to gett these Dutch notes printed in English, it would, as I

(2) "The Dutch Annotations upon the whole Bible," &c. This work, compiled by order of the Synod of Dort in 1618, and published in 1637, was "rendered into English, and faithfully commended to the use of Great Britain, by Theodore Haak, Esq." London, 1657, 2 vols. folio.

(3) "Annotations upon the Holy Bible;" translated from the Italian of John Diodati. London, 1643, 4to. and republished in 1648, 1651, and 1664.

(4) "Annotations upon all the Books of the Old and New Testament." This work is usually, but improperly styled, the "Assembly Annotations." The authors were recommended by Parliament, and not by the Westminster Assembly, of which the majority of them were not members. It was published 1645, folio; and again in 1651, and in 1657, 2 vols. folio.

conceive, be a work exceeding profitable; bot of this more hereafter. Will neither Rivett nor Voetius follow the example of brave Apollonius? Doe your best in this. If men will forsake themselves and us, we will be the more obliged to God. All Glasgou quarrells are, to my joy, settled by Mr. George Young's coming to them. Farewell.

May 31st.

FOR MR. GEORGE YOUNG. JUNE 7TH [1644.]

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

AFTER your long silence I receaved yesternight what yow wrote May 9th. For your so particular care of all my affaires, after your old fashion, I have no more to give you but heartie thanks. For your transportation to Glasgou, it's a matter I have wished among my chief worldlie desires, not only for my own private benefite, which I know will not be small by it, bot most for the good which I apprehend will quicklie come thereby to that Toune. I wish with all your power, yow sett yourself to put these things in frame which too long hes been out of joynt. A cordiall agreeance is much the best of it: and now since yow are there, and all their places filled, (I know no other matter of difference,) yow will strive to make a better understanding mutuallie betwixt Mr. David, Mr. Robert Ramsay, and the Provost, Principall, and Mr. William Wilkie. If that were done, all were well; and trulie, I hope, yow may be a good instrument of it. I wish every one of these had a better opinion one of another than I know they have. I wish what can be gotten amended in every man's way were gotten amended, and that we contribute to it, both by our loving counsell and example of humble and meek pietie; and what cannot be gotten helped, that we did tolerate it so far as zeall and prudence did permitt. However, your coming there puts me in good hope that all shall goe better there than ever. Believe it, what I see in the world abroad makes me much the more willing to condescend to live quietlie with worse men than any I know there. If God will help us to gett the bodie of that Toune brought to the knowledge and fear of God, [our friends] to temperance and concord, to get learning and pietie flourish in our Univerfitie, I have few other private ends on this earth.

How publick affaires goe here and elsewhere, yow have in my

papers, both in writt and print. Mr. William Spang's two late letters to me are here, also the copie of Apollonius's letter to the Independents. I suspect all their answer shall be by a piece of Cotton, which Goodwin hes now on the press; but there is a piece of twentie-fix sheets, of Mr. Edwards, against the Apologetick Narration, near printed, which will paint that faction in clearer colours than yet they have appeared. You have such a punctuall care of all my affaires, that I need to say no more to yow of them; only help my wife to gett my half-year's stipend, due the first of July, so pleasantlie as yow can. Within a few weeks, we expect, be God's blessing, a great progresse both in the matters of our Church and State. My heartie love to your Elizabeth. I know who will be two great cumers, yet I will not be content they be drunken-jutors. I am oft thinking of your son John: if we had peace, which I trust is coming, I think I could gett him provided, either at London or Cambridge, as he pleased; bot of that at meeting. The Lord be with yow.

Your Brother,

London, June 7th.

R. BAYLIE.

PUBLICK LETTER. JUNE 7TH 1644.

WE are much rejoyced to hear, that our malignant countrey men, both in the North and South, are so easilie compesced. It's the Lord that watches over that blefled land: a blefled land indeed, if compared with others. The miseries of England yow may see in the inclosed print, and these of Denmark and Germanie in the write. Civill warr wracks Spaine, and lately wracked Italie: it is coming by appearance shorthlie upon France. The just Lord, who beholds with patience the wickednesse of nations, at last arises in furie; great is his mercie unto finfull Scotland. We trust God will fend peace to this land by the ruin of the malignant partie. Both the Spanish and French are glad now to change the Oxford dialect, and speak to the Houses at Westminster as a true Parliament. On Monday, at night, the King brack up, with all his horse, and so many of his foot as he could mount, and, with all speed, made first as it were to Worcester, but thereafter turned towards Bristoll. Effex and Waller are on his back: he will not be able to keep the fields. Very like, before he can come to Bristoll, the

small armie he has will be routed. The only confiderable force he has, is with Prince Rupert in Lancashire, where great and barbarous cruelties are committed. We hope before this a course is taken with that insolent man : for Meldrum in Manchester will be four or five thousand ; Denbigh can bring him three or four ; and the armies now about York may spare ten thousand for that service, and keep good eighteen thousand behind. If God be pleased to bleſſe, there are means anew to break that wicked faction ſhortlie in pieces ; yet it is in God alone that we will put our truſt. We hope his gracious Maieſtie will ſo much the more be pleaſed to look upon us, as no remorse at all appeares in our enemies ; but horrible crueltie, rapine, and uncleannels, rages among them as much as ever. Their only truſt is in the Irish butchers and Spaine. France has given them over, and will be glad, if we pleaſe, to joyne with us. The Swedds has ſent agents for a ſtrict league with us. The Irish butchers has gotten peace, and all they deſyre. The Pro- teſtant commiſſioners from Ireland came all hither yeſternight from Oxford. For the encouragement of our Irish armie, there is gone away in coyn thirtie thousand pounds ſterling, and alſe much will be gotten for them ere it be long. We long much for Callander's coming to Newcastle ; doubtleſs the Parliament here will take the burden of his armie alſo.

Our progreſs in the Aſſembly, albeit ſlow, yet, bleſſed be God, is ſenſible dailie. We have paſt, but after a world of debate, all the Directorie which concerns ordinarie prayers, reading of the word, ſinging of pſalms, and preaching. Our toyle is exceeding great ; every day, from eight in the morning till near one, and oft in the afternoon, from three to half ſeven, we are in exerciſe ; only the Saturday free, and that for Sunday's preaching, when ſinle [few] times any of us does vacke. All of us longs much to be at home ; but we are all commanded to ſtay, and attend this great ſervice. Of a truth, to our power, we put ſpurrs to their ſlow fides. We hope all, ere it be long, ſhall goe according to our hearts deſyre. The Independents, our great retarders, it's like, ſhall not ruiſe themſelſe in the end of their oppoſitions. The moſt of their partie are fallen off to Anabaptiſme, Antinomianiſme, and Socinianiſme ; the reſt are cutted among themſelves. One Mr. Williams has drawn a great number after him, to a ſingular Independence, denying any true church in the world, and will have every man to ſerve God by himſelſe alone, without any church at all. This man hes made a great and bitter ſchiſme latelie among

the Independents. We hope, if once we had peace, by God's help, with the spirit of meekness mixed with a little justice, to gett the most of these erroneous spirits reduced. The ministers of London, near fix score, hes their weeklie meetings. They are all Presbyterians, except Burton said to be a Brownist, John Goodwin to be a Socinian, and one scrupling Pædobaptisme. Some of the Independents are lecturers, but none settled ministers. We had much need of the prayers of God's people there; by that help a very glorious work here may be hastened. All our companie are in good health: oft our spirits are overwearied; bot God allwayes, by new favours, refreshes us. No man here to speak a word either for bishops, or liturgie, or any ceremonie. We are thinking of a new work over sea, if this Church were settled. The times of Antichrist's fall are approaching. The very outward providence of God seems to be disposing France, Spaine, Italy, and Germany, for the receiving of the Gospell. When the curtains of the Lord's Tabernacle are thus far, and much farder, enlarged, by the means which yet appear not, how shall our mouth be filled with laughter, our tongue with praise, and our hearts with rejoycing! My heartie service to all friends on whose spirit any piece of the burden of His great work doth lye. These on whose heart there lyes no weight but of this world, I pity more, but regard lesse.

The French generall in Catalonia, after he had supplied the garison of Lerida, would needs sett upon the Spanish armie that lay near by. The fruit of this rash and needles interprize was the totall rout of the French armie, the strict beleaguring of Lerida, the great hopes of dinging the French out of all Catalonia. Yet the French are useing all diligence to make up their losses. The Mareshall of Turain could not gett his armie made so strong as to relieve the siege of Uberlingen; so at last the Bavarian generall Merci hes gotten it, and come down nearer Brissacke, to besiege other places in Alsatia. The great designe of the French is upon Graveling, a sea-port betuixt Cales and Dunkirk: many doubts of the event of that siege. Sundrie rumours of bad designes in Monsieur's counsellors to trouble the State. The Protestants are in doole for Mr. Coliny Chastillon his eldest son's untymous death. The pitie is, that his other only son Andelot revolted the other year to Poperie; yet they speak now of some hopes of his return to the Religion.

FOR MR. SPANG. JUNE 9TH [1644.]

COUSIN,

I WROTE not with Fryday's post : I have gotten no answer from yow of what I wrote before. Least this bearer should come to yow with nothing from me, yow have here, what I sent the other day to our friends in Scotland : I can add little to it. Upon Tuesday at night, Waller, without order, followed the King. What is become of either armie, as yet we know not, which is strange. Generall Effex was pleased to fitt still, and after so long delay to send a small partie of horse to make a fashion of persueing. When he fand Waller with all his forces was gone, he sent word to the Houses he would go for the reliefe of Lyme. This was not well taken ; for it was to enter in the heart of Waller's affociations, and reallie to subvert his armie. The Admirall, and the braverie of that poor garrison of Lyme, I hope will have dissolved that question ; for the other week, on our solemn fast-day, that unhappie prince, Maurice, having assaulted with confidence of carrying that small toune, was beaten off with so hudge a slaughter, that they are in no more feare of him. We heare the Admirall hes taken three ships, which was carrying from yow to Exeter fortie-five thousand pounds sterling ; If it be so, it's a good prize. Manchester, with all his forces, hes lyen doune before Yorke. On Wednesday last they drew near the walls : they within put all the suburbs in a fyre ; we were favoured by the wind to quench the fyre. We are now within pistoll-shott of the walls, and are making readie to storme it ; for they have much more victuall within than was thought : it cannot but be a bloodie busines. Prince Rupert rages in Lancashire ; it's thought he will make a great armie before he come to Yorke. If God help us to take Yorke, and defeate him, the busines is ended in England.

Send me Morellius, if yow can gett him : I have gotten Broune at last. Forbes is on the presse. Hold Apollonius on. The Independents have sett up a number of private congregations in the citie : they are exceeding buffie ; we will have much to doe with them. Edwards's piece we expect the next week at furthest. Strange ! that your divines of Holland will learn nothing from England. Doe they fitt still while we are a-dying ! The calamitie may shortlie come over to them. Be assured, your State will follow the

fortoun of England. If the malignants prevaill, all the force of this Isle will be employed to putt the Naffovian yoke on their neck, nill they will they; and if the democrattick annarchie vex our churches, ye are blind if ye see not that pest incumbent to yow likewise. Paper bids me say Adieu.

Sunday, June 9th [1644].

MY PUBLICK LETTER.

AFFAIRES here at this time stand thus. After the King broke up from before Oxford, Waller followed him beyond Worcester towards Shreusburrie, his foot being left in diverse strengths by the way. Waller could not overtake him; only was carefull he should not winn to Prince Rupert, nor raise any new forces in these quarters. His Majestie finding this, turns about, and with all speed, with what he could carrie, returns to Oxford: Waller is still at his heels. After some dayes rest at Oxford, having joyned all he can make out of the neighbour garrisons, he gott towards the affociate counties. This putteth us in some perplexitie; yet we are informed this night, that Waller is at his backe, and the counties hes cast ten thousand well-armed men before his face; so that much harme cannot be done in these bounds. The Generall having gone of his own head, yea, contrarie to the direction of the House of Commons and Committee of both Kingdoms, to the West, Maurice rose from Lyme. Weymouth rendered to us, and faire hopes were made of a short recoverie of the whole West; but wise men doe not look for much good from that airth. Prince Rupert, after the spoyling of Lancashire, and the great increase of his armie there, hes returned to Cheshire. We were once much afraid he should have gone to Scotland; but now that feare is past. Least he should doe harme where he is going, there is a gallant armie now in pursuit of him: ten thousand from Yorke, six thousand from Lancashire; Denbigh and others will joyn all the forces they have. In the meantime, these about Yorke will be quiet. The storming of the town will cost much blood; and if Rupert's armie were once off the fields, all hope of succour being cutt off, it's hoped it will render. The Queen on Sunday last was delivered of a daughter.

We are proceeding in our Affemblic. This day before noone we gott fundrie propositions of our Directory for the sacrament of the Lord's Supper past; but in the afternoone we could not move one inch. The unhappie Independents would mangle that sacrament. No catechising nor preparation before; no thanksgiving after; no sacramentall doctrine, or chapters, in the day of celebration; no coming up to any table; but a carrying of the element to all in their seats athort the church: yet all this, with God's help, we have carried over their bellies to our practise. But exhortations at tables yet we stick at: they would have no words spoken at all. Nye would be at covering the head at the receaving. We must dispute every inch of our ground; great need had we of the prayers of all God's people. We rejoyced at the peaceable conclusion of our Generall Affemblic.

By the printed papers yow have the common reports here; and by the write which comes weekly from Bruffells to my good friend Sir Robert Anstruther, yow may see how things goe over seas.

FOR MR. R. RAMSAY. END OF JUNE [1644.]

I WILL continue still to write unto yow, though none of yours hes come since that of February 11th. Where Mr. David is, I doe not know: if he be in toune, let this serve yow both. We have here many ups and downs, great securitie and luxurie in the city, and over all the land where the sword rages not, which makes us afraid of further judgements than yet have appeared. We see very little zeale or minde in the Parliament for the House of God. We are on occasion telling them, that this neglect is a great cause of the continuance of the warr; but for no purpose: the most of the people who are counted religious, are running to wayes of error and schisme of many diverse kinds. The avowed disobedience of the Generall, and his going the clean contrare way to his orders, what it may produce we doe not know. No great appearance of getting Yorke in haste. The foolish rashness of Major Crawford, and his great vanitie to assault his alone the breach made by his myne, without the acquainting Lesley or Fairfax with it, and the killing of so great a number of his men, also the sending away from the siege so great a partie to follow Prince Rupert, will force us to look on these walls till hunger make them

fall, whereof as yet we hear not much. The delay of Callender's incoming so long has given time to the Marques of Montrose to make havock of the northern counties, which will make the siege of Newcastle the harder; and without Newcastle, this city will hardly put off this winter. Very many of the Assembly are departed for want of means: the allowance promised by the Parliament is not paid. What we gave in concerning Ordination yet lyes still, and, by the underhand dealing of the Independents, is like to come out from the House so mangled, that if we get it not helped, it will much offend us both for the matter and the preparative, it being the first paper came from us to the Houses. Very many things that comes to be handled in the Assembly are new to us all, and obscure: we have to doe with very many scrupulous and thraward wits: whether we had need of prayers, or not, you may judge. We have overcome many difficulties; our God has extricated us out of very many labyrinths; we are confident therefore, by the assistance of God's people there, to see a glorious work ended in these dominions, and begun elsewhere, ere it be long. The feare of this makes the devill and his instruments so busie in their malicious opposition.

Receave Diodati's Bible at 9sh. 6d.; the Royall Favorite 6d: Valefi Philosophia you shall have it of mine. Piscator is coming out together on the whole Old Testament; neither could I find the peices you named. The English great Notes will not be out this half yeare: I am on a way to gett the Dutch notes Englished.⁽⁵⁾ The Chronicles of the Kings of Judah are not known here. I wish Mr. David's⁽⁶⁾ Covenant and Method of Preaching were printed: encourage him in his excellent work of commenting the Scriptures; no man ever yet I saw, in my judgement, is so good at that. I lay it upon you to goe downe to his wife, and say, I thank her heartilie for all her kindnesse to my nurish; say as much to your own. Commend me to your kind neighbours, Mr. Zachary [Boyd] and his wife, and all others there whom ye know to beare the publick worke on their heart. Acquaint Mr. George Young with all: I long to heare the event of his matter, what the Generall Assembly has done with his transportation, &c.

⁽⁵⁾ *Vide supra*, page 88, notes 2 and 4.

⁽⁶⁾ Mr. David Dickson: but the work here referred to appears never to have been printed.

FOR MR. SPANG. JUNE 28TH [1644.]

YOUR last, July 1st, [O. S.] and your former, wherein was a part of Rivett's letters, I received the other week. I write none, being diverted with business; for here we have very little spare time. Yow have here what was written to our friends of Glasgow, and more privatly to a special one, (B.) What Mr. Buchanan, at my desire, wrote to Paris, produced a letter from Mr. Drillingcourt, with the advyse of the whole consistorie there, which had been printed, had not I stayed it by this paper. We have sent to have it rectified according to my motion, (D.) What Mr. Moulin wrote from Sedan, is more to the purpose, and our mind, though we expected least from that man. Spanheim, I see by his answer, is not disposed to write at this time, except the Univerfitie would lay it upon him. Certainlie Mr. Rivett is very ill-informed. As I am an honest man, I never heard man, privatelie or publickly, speak either of his person, or any of his writts, but with honour: if he or any there will give eare to all that is written from London at this time, they will wrong themselves. That of burning his, or any divine's book over sea, is a malignant calumnie. We cannot but regrave, that both your statesmen and divines should see and hear us sweating to the blood, under these burdens, which concern all the Reformed alike, while they will obstinatelie sitt still as neutrall. It is clear, many of your good simple people has no such minde. Their large contributions to the poor Irish, shows their affection; that it should be distribute to the poor people there, as well as to the sojors, I think it great reason; and for satisfaction in this point, letters are gone already from the Committee of both Kingdomes, and more will go shortly upon this your motion. But I hope your people will not exclude the sojors of the Scotts armie altogether from their liberalitie: for I know it, there lives not any more poore than the most of them, being kept together without one penny pay for twentie-two months. Something is going from this for helpe, but within two months pay. Apollonius would doe well to go on in his writing. What yow speak of a voyage to Holland, would be good service to God and this Church. For the overfwaying power of the Independents, yow hear of, I know it to be a false fable; only this is true, that they and other sects, joyned with the strange backwardness of the most

of these here to do in time, what they must, and are willing also oft to doe, may be very dangerous, and does call for all the helpe can be obtained from our neighbours.

We are vexed to the heart very often with the unkent and unexpected ways of some or other here. Yesterday my stomack was full of them, and this day more. I had need of patience, and not only of wisdom and courage. Not long agoe, while I am visiting my good friend Mr. Rous, I find the favour from him of that which then I suspected, and now have found, a dangerous designe. After very great labour, we gave in, as our first fruits, a paper for Ordination of ministers to both the Houses. Oft had they called for it before it came. When it had lyen in their hands neglected for many weeks, at last it was committed to a few of the Commons to make a report to their House about it. We heard surmises that this committee had altered much of our paper; but I finding by Mr. Rous, the chief of that committee, that the alterations were both more and greater than we suspected, and that the committee had closed their report, and were ready to make it to the House, without any further meeting. I persuaded him it would be convenient before the report was made, and either House engaged in any thing which was against the minde of the Assembly, and of our Nation, to confer privately with some of us anent these alterations. Upon this he obtained an order of the House for that committee to call for any of the Assembly they pleased. This he brought to the Assembly, and called out Marshall and me to tell us his purpose. We gave him our best advice. On his motion the Assembly named Marshall, Vines, Burges, Tuckney, and the scribes, to wait on; and withall requested us to be with them. Great strife and clamour was made to have Mr. Goodwin joined; but he was refused by a vote: Marshall came not. At meeting we found, they had past by all the whole doctrinall part of ordination, and all our scriptural grounds for it; that they had chosen only the extraordinarie way of ordination, and in that very part had scraped out whatever might displease the Independents, or patrons, or Selden and others, who will have no Discipline at all in any Church *Jure Divino*, but settled only upon the free-will and pleasure of the Parliament. Mr. Henderson, and the rest, reasoned against the dangerousness and disgrace of this their way, so clearlie, that sundry of the gentlemen repented of their alterations; yet the most took all to advice. We, in private, resolved we would, by all means, stick to our paper; else, this being

the first, if we yielded to these most prejudicial alterations, which the Independents and Civilians underhand had wrought, the Affembly's reputation was clean overthrowne, and Eraftus way would triumph. What will be the end of this debate, God knows. If the Affembly could stand to their deed, we hope to have the Parliament reasonable; for they will be loth to losse the Affembly and us, for the pleasure of any other party. But we fear the fainting of many of our House: this holds our mind in suspence; only we are glad we have taken the matter before it came to the House. This day we were vexed also in the Affembly: we thought we had past with consent, sitting at the table; but behold Mr. Nye, Goodwin, and Bridges, cast all in the houses, denying to us the necessitie of any table, but pressing the communicating of all in their seats, without coming up to a table. Messrs. Henderson, Rutherford, and Gillespie, all three disputed exceeding well for it, with arguments unanswerable; yet not one of the English did joine with us, only Mr. Affesfour Burgess, who then was in the chair, beginning to speak somewhat for us, but a little too vehementlie, was so mett with by the Independents, that a shamefull and long clamour ended their debate. This has grieved us, that we feare the end of our worke, allwayes we expect it shall be better.

Prince Rupert is not gone south, but north towards Cumberland. I pray God save Calander's armie and Scotland out of his bloody mouth. Yorke seems to be so provided, that in haste it cannot be taken, neither can we spare any men from the siege, the garrison within is so strong, and our works so large. The Commons have written a sharpe letter to the Generall, for his disobedience to the Committee of both kingdoms. His armie is not great, and we fear shall doe little good in the West. The King is stronger than we expected, and is falling on the associations. Things goe here every other week wonderfull variouſlie; yet by God's help, all will be well; and your Ambassadors in the end will not be commended for their bad offices they have, as is said, done us. If your Prince will needs, without the Parliament, make a second marriage with our King, it's feared it may hasten the ruine of both families, which might be prevented if God would touch the heart of your Prince to goe another way to worke. Had he and your States joyned with our Parliament their counsells, it might have saved all. While they side with the King, and makes your people neuters, they doe what in haste will not be forgotten.

I must break off here. My service to your wife, and Thomas Cunninghame my good friend. Farewell.

June 28th.

The King is about Bedford, as they say, with near eight thousand men : Waller is near him. Some think that they will fight ; others that the King is wheeled about again towards Oxford, and will wait for his Irish succours. If your Prince had the wisdom and moderation I wish, it seems, with all men's blessings, he might attaine all his ends both in England and Holland quicklie, for the great benefite of all ; but as he is like to proceed, he will misse his designe, and lose all.

TO MR. SPANG. JULY 5TH [1644.]

COUSIN,

WITH the last post, yow had from me, at length, how things went here. Since, we have been in great perplexitie ; but God the Lord, within this houre, hes begun to shyne. The Generall, in the West, was doing little, and as little is expected from him. The King had given an alarme to Bedfordshire, and all the affociate counties ; Waller had skirmished with him near Banbury, and lost eight cannon, and had gotten some rubb ; but that which concerned the heart of the affaires, the unhappines of our countrey men, Major Crawford's precipitation, in springing a mine by himselfe, and assaulting his alone, and losse upon it, had so discouraged all the rest of the armie, that they could not be brought to storme any more. Very many of our Scotts sojourns were fallen sick ; and, to bring our dangers to the topp, Prince Rupert, above all men's expectations, had brought over the hills of Lancashire, a very strong armie, both in horse and foot, eight thousand horse at least, and ten [thousand] of foote ; these were marching directlie to Yorke. Within it, it is thought, were six thousand good sojourns, very many gentlemen and officers. When we heard that ours had raised their siege, we were much afflicted, both with the disgrace and great danger of the persons of our brethren, if they fought with that greater power, and danger to the cause if they fought not ; for the most did think, since Prince Rupert had gotten his point, and raised the siege, he would presentlie retire, and with his

great armie goe ravage in the affociate counties, whether Manchester durst not follow him, nor Waller meet him; Yorke at once would be revictualled; Marquefs of Newcastle and King, being at libertie, would quicklie gather ane armie, and strait us. As for the Affembly, Mr. Nye, and his good friend Mr. Herle, hes kept us these three weeks on one point of our Directorie alone, the recommending of the communicants coming up to the table to communicate. Their way of communicating, of some at the table, and some about it, without any fucceffion of companies to more tables, is that whereupon we ftick, and are like to ftick longer. Also the great appearance of the Parliament's misleading, by a few, to change the papers we give in to them, fo that nothing fhall be eftablifhed on any fcripture or any divine right, did much afflict us. But behold, in a moment, when our credit was beginning fenfible to decay, God hes come in. Our army foughten Prince Rupert, hes overthrown his forces, taken his cannon and baggage, killed many of his chief officers, and chafed the reft within Yorke. You have here the copy of my Lord Fairfax's letter to the Mayor of Hull, which is feconded with two or three other letters to the Speaker of the Houfe of Commons. Major Broune hes joyned to Waller a prettie armie. The King hes run away again, with his horfe only, northward: Waller is following as he may. The Generall writes, the Queen hes left Exeter, and is going to Pendinnis Castle: I pray God fave poor Hamilton from her malice. The gentry of the weft are coming faft in. This people, yefterday and to-day, were much difcouraged, and fainting; but this night are triumphing. We dare not be too much exalted, only we blefs God from our heart, that is beginning to fhynne on our armie, and make it, after very long expectation, and beating doune of our pride, to be a fountain of joy and hope to these that loves the wellfare of religion. We hope things in the Affembly and Parliament may go more after our minde. Our armie oft fignified to us, they conceaved their want of fucceffe flowed moft from God's anger at the Parliament and Affembly, for their neglect of eftablifhing of religion. We oft told them the truth, we had no hope of any progresse here, till God gave them victories; and then, we doubted not, all would run both in Parliament and Affembly.

Yow have here, for yow and Mr. Forbes, a duffan of the Anatomies, and two or three of the Anfwers: lett him answer that poor piece if he please: also receave a late piece of Cotton. Edwards's

book is expected within two or three dayes ; it's excreffed to near fourty sheets. Doctor Stewart is not yet on the presse. I think my Lord hes written to Mr. Strickland and Mr. Cunninghame anent the Irish moneys, and will write also to yow. I am too long in your debt : I pray yow write to me what I am resting yow ; also send me over Beckmare against the Socinians, and Rivett's Critick last edition, and his *Institutio Principis* ; also if his Catholick Orthodox, last edition, at Geneve, be yet come out, and his first piece against Grotius's Annotations on Cassander ; I have the posterior. I shall send over to yow by exchange what I am resting for all. The classis of Amsterdam have written kind letters to our Assemblie, and recommended conformitie with Scotland. Hold on Apollonius. I wish Voetius ingaged. The Lord be with yow.

Fryday at night, July 5th.

FOR MR. SPANG. JULY 12TH 1644.

DEAR COUSINE,

By yours, July 5th, 15th [O.S.], I see yow had not gotten what I had written largely, with the two last posts. I hope, before this, yow have all. I did assure yow of the great falsehood of the informations which came to Doctor Rivett. I wish againe and againe, that Apollonius and Voetius were moved to write. They most not expect that this Assemblie, or any member of it, will desyre them to doe so : it's farr above their power to doe this ; and if they assayed it, they would soon be taken up by the Parliament. Yet we are doing what we can to gett leave to answer, with great respect, all your letters, both of Walcheren, and of Zeland, and Amsterdam. That ingagement yow write, of the Parliament with Spaine, against the French and yow, I give yow full assurance of my certaine knowledge it was never intended. True, the Spanish Ambassador made such a motion to the Committee of both Kingdomes, and they transmitted to the Houses, and a priest caused print a paper, of the great hurt would come to England if the sea-coasts of Flanders should fall to the French ; but that any living soul here ever dreamed to intermedle with the siege of Graveling, it's as false as the other informations, which your Ambassadors hes come over to coyne, and vent them over

feas to our prejudice: but thanks to God, and “gramercie good Scott,” that these men are lyke now in a sudder to change their note. On Fryday, the certaine news of Prince Rupert’s routing came here. On Saturday the Dutch Ambassadors pressed for audience from both Houses of Parliament, in alse ample form as either the Spanishe Ambassador or Imperial Agent had used. We expect no good from their trifling propositions. There is no friendly word, so farr as I can hear, come out of any of their mouths since their arrivall; but it’s generally thought here, their designs have been wholly for the advancement of the malignant party. No man doubts but, in spyte of the devill, Brittain and Holland must joyne heart and hand for their common necessities; but for the courtiers of Oxford and Hague, it’s very like, if they goe on still in their wicked wayes, they may be taken by both for common enemies. Concerning T. C. (7) I wish by all means yow and he may keep intire correspondence, otherwise I foresee it cannot faile to fall out to both your great displeasors. He is taken here, and at home, for a very honest man, and one who is diligent, and very cordiall, to his utmost abilitie, for the common cause: Yow will not believe what scarcitie there is of men whom we dare trust with such a matter. Never a minister was taxed by a Committee, but many of us, in this time of great need, gott on our creditte, some five hundred, some a thousand merks, to lend to the publicke; which will be returned, with the interest, according to condition, or else all will go to all. It’s my earnest advyce to yow, to keep fast with that man.

I fend yow, heirwith, two printed sheets of the passages of the battle. God was mercifull to us. We were in a sad condition: Prince Rupert had done a glorious piece of service: from nothing, had gathered, without money, a powerfull army, and in spite of all our three Generalls, had made us leave Yorke, after a long siege. But the blood of Bolton would not let him rest, till all the glory he had gott was lost in ane houre: against the mind of Newcastle and King, and all his councill of warre, he would fight, and pursue our army: where in half ane hour he lost all. The Independents sent up one quicklie, to assure, that all the glory of that night was theirs; that they, and their Generall-major Cromwell, had done it all their alone: but Captaine Stuart afterward shew the vanitie and falsehood of their disgracefull relation.

(7) Thomas Cunninghame, *vide supra*, p. 169.

God gave us that victorie wonderfullie. There was three Generalls on each side, Lesley, Fairfax, and Manchester; Rupert, Newcastle, and King. Within halfe an hour and less, all fix took them to their heels; this to yow alone. The disadvantage of the ground, and violence of the flower of Prince Rupert's horse, carried all our right wing doune; only Eglintone kepted ground there to his great losse; his lieutenant-crowner, a most brave man, I feare shall die, and his son Robert be mutilate of ane arme. Lindsay had the greatest hazard of any; but the beginning of the victorie was from David Lesley, who before was much suspected of evill designs: he with the Scotts and Cromwell's horse, having the advantage of the ground, did dissipate all before them. For a while no quarter was given. Baylie, Lieutenant-General, and Lumisdane had the greatest burden of the conduct of all. Scarce ane hour did the fight last till ane entire victorie was gotten. Never such armies, this hundred years, mett in England, large fifty thousand men on the field. I pray God we make good use of this. We have a solemn thanksgiving on Thursday next. Yow may see what Lieut. Baylie writes to me. We expect daylie to hear of the deliverie of Yorke. The designe is to leave Newcastle to Callander, and to march south with their victorious army, if Yorke were yielded.

In our Assemblie we goe on as we may. The Independents and others kepted us long three weeks upon one point alone, the communicating at a table. By this we came to debate, the diverse coming up of companies successively to a table; the consecrating of the bread and wine severallie; the giving of the bread to all the congregation, and then the wine to all, and so twice coming up to the table, first for the bread, and then for the wine; the mutuall distribution, the table-exhortations, and a world of such questions, which to the most of them were new and strange things. After we were overtoyled with debate, we were forced to leave all these things, and take us to generall expressions, which, by a benigne exposition, would infer our church-practices, which the most promised to follow, so much the more as we did not necessitate them by the Assemblie's expresse determinations. We have ended the matter of the Lord's Supper, and these last three dayes have been upon Baptisme. We have carryed, with much greater ease than we expected, the publickness of baptisme. The abuse was great over all this land. In the greatest parosch in London, scarce one child in a-year was brought to the church for baptisme. Also we have carried the parents presenting of his child, and not their mid-

wives, as was their universall custome. In our last debate with the committee of Commons, for our paper of Ordination, we were in the midst, over head and ears, of that greatest of our questions, the power of the Parliament in ecclesiastick affairs. It's like this question shall be hotter here than anywhere else: but we mind to hold off; for yet it's very unseasonable. As yet we are come to no issue what to do with that paper.

This day your Ambassadors had audience to their compliment in both Houses. For answer, they will be remitted to the Committee of both Kingdoms, and there they must stand till they fetch over letters of credence, as well for Scotland as England: but spending of time is their aime, to see the event of affaires before they ingage. If Apollonius, or any other, write at all, it were good it were done quicklie; for the chief use, either of their authoritie or arguments, will be shortly at that nick of time when the Independents gives up their reasons against us to the Parliament. The chief point we wish were proven, is the real authoritie, power, and jurisdiction of Synods and classical Presbyteries over any the members, or the whole of a particular congregation; also the right of ordinarie professors to the sacrament, though they can give no certaine or satisfactorie signes of reall regeneration. These two are the main heads; also I wish that power of Presbyteries classcal, to ordaine and excommunicate, were cleared. Many besides the Independents, by Voetius's writes, are brought to give the rights of both these actions to the congregationall presbytery, much against our mind and practice. The Churches of Jerusalem, Corinth, and the rest of the Apostolic churches mentioned in the New Testament, which can be proven to have practised either ordination or excommunication, appear to us to have been classcally, consisting of more congregations than one, and of greater numbers, when they did exercise either of these acts, than could meet in one place. Also, it's a great question about the power of jurisdiction in a congregation. We are not against the people's power of election of the officers, or, at least, free consent thereto; but beside, they presse all proceffe and acts of censures to be done, if not in the name and authoritie, as the Brownists, and these of New England, yet necessarily in the presence, and with the consent, not only of the presbyterie congregationall, but also of the whole people, even every communicant male. If in these we were agreed, I think the difficulty would be small in any other matter.

FOR GENERAL-LIEUTENANT BAYLIE.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

I GIVE hearty thanks to God for his work on the 2d of July, and to yow for your true accompt of it. We hope that blessed day shall be the crisis of our affaires, which then were in so dangerous a condition. Had Prince Rupert been prosperous that day in his faught, or past by without fight[ing], we all conceive affaires should have been desperate. God, who in mercy to his people, who long has been waiting on him, gave to yow that most glorious victorie, we trust, will give you wisdom and courage to make use of it. On Thursday next, in all our churches, we are to praise God for that unspeakable favour; and, as we hear, the King has directed to do the like in Oxford on Fryday. We are longing to hear newes of Yorke. This people here will never end any businesse either in church or state; all that honor is reserved for yow. Waller has been running up and down with the King for little purpose. His London and associate foot are all home; so the King, with his horse and foot, is stronger than he, and is drawing towards Bristoll. It's feared that, being joyned with Maurice and Hopton, he may distress the Generall. The Holland Ambassadors have been heard in both Houses. The only delay of a treatie is on the upcoming of our Commissioners, with the Articles sent downe to our Parliament. No good is expected of that treatie: yow must give a second blow to that faction before it be in a posture to receive such a peace as is necessary.

Your former letter from Middlethorpe, May 8th, I delayed to answer till it might have been for some purpose. I received the inclosed from Coll. Hobourne; he came in himselfe also the other day. I left so with him, that he should not fail, according to his written promise, to bring to me these papers, or in case I should be abroad at his returne to our house, he should leave them with some sure hand for me; but since I did neither see nor hear of him, I think he will, ere long, give me these papers; albeit, when I have gotten them, I have small hope of payment: there is so universall a clamor against their shameful injustice in paying any money, that, for a time, I conceive no possibilitie to gett any reason; but if it please God to spare yow, doubtless, that, and what else concerns any the like of yow, will be payed every

farthing; however, I think yow are assured that neither that, nor any of your busines that lyes in my way, shall be a whitt hindered by my negligence. I pray God preserve yow in your great and dangerous service. So I rest,

Your Coufine to serve you,

R. BAYLIE.

London, Tuesday, July 16th [1644.]

FOR CAPTAIN PORTERFEILD.

DEAR GOSSOPE,

I LONG to hear what became of yow and your companie on that perilous, but glorious, 2d of July. As yet I can heare nothing of yow, though I have heard enough of many others, and of some much more than I defyred; I pray God yow be all well. Mr. John Dickfone came here yesternight: he told me, your wife, and all friends in Glasgou, were in health some ten days before. Let me hear what yow have debursed for my sojor, that I may send it to yow with many thanks. Blessed be the name of God for ever more, that strengthened your arms that night. Had our God deserted yow bot one hour, it had been the blackest newes that ever Brittane gott since it was inhabited; but now, bleffe[ings] to his name, we hope the back of their pernicious faction is broken: one other found blow will beat out its brains. All things, both here and in Edinburgh, both in Church and State, would quicklie have miscarried, had not that blessed day holden all right, and kepted many a wicked designe within breast, which was readie to have broken out. The Lord send yow Yorke and Newcastle: till then all things fticks. Many a perplexed night have we of it. If our neighbours at Edinburgh tasted the fauce wherein we dip our venifone at London, their teeth would not water so fast to be here as some of them doth. Our hope is in the Lord, that he who hes done so glorious things for us, will not give us over to the will of the most unreasonable and wicked men that ever were borne. Mr. Maxwell of Roffe hes printed at Oxford so desperatlie malicious a invective⁽⁸⁾ against our Affemblies and Presbytries, that, however

(8) "An Answer by Letter to a worthy Gentleman who desired of a Divine some reasons by which it might appeare how inconsistent Presbyteriall Government is with Monarchy. Printed Anno 1644," 4to. pp. 78. This anonymous

I could hardlie consent to the hanging of Canterburry himfelfe, or of any Jefuite, yet I could give my fentence freely againft that unhappie lyer's life. It is good he is no better to our Parliaments than to our Affemblies; for in his other pamphlet, *Sacro-Sancta Regum Majestas*, he layes them abfolutlie under the feet of a King's meer pleafure, were he the greateft tyrant that ever was. If God go on a little with you, fuch flattering ferpents, incendaries, and overthrowers both of Kings, Parliaments, and Churches, will be gotten charmed. Bleffing God againe and againe for his mercies to us all in you, I reft,

Your loving friend to ferve you,

R. BAYLIE.

London, July 16th [1644.]

FOR MR. BLAIR.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

I THINK it for little purpofe to wryte oft to yow, fince I know that Samuell wrytes largelie at all occafions. Bleffed be God for evermore, that hes looked doune upon us all in that glorious 2d of July. By that which I fee here, and hears from Edinburgh, our affaires, both of Church and State, both here and in Scotland, were in fuch a pofture, that if yow in that day had mifcarried, whatever we have been building up thefe bygone years, in leffe nor ane moneth was like to have been overturned, to the unfpeakable woe and wrack of all the godly in both kingdomes; bot honor and glory to his name, who hes eftabliſhed our tottering eftate by that dayes mercy. However ſhame have fallen upon particular men, when they turned their backs, who were moſt oblidge, and moſt expected to have flood ftill; yet it's well, fince God is glorified, and yow are victorious in fo full and ſplendid ane overthrow of all your enemies. We were both grieved and angry, that your Independents

tract, by Dr. John Maxwell, the deposed Biſhop of Roſs, (*vide* vol. i. p. 161.) was republished by the author, with ſome alterations, two years afterwards, and called "The Burden of Iſſacher." Baillie answered this in his "Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland," 1646, where he ſtates, that after a few copies of Maxwell's "Answer, &c." had been given to the author's friends, "who received it with great joy," he adds, that "the Lord gave testimony for us againſt them; for, by a ſudden and unexpected fire, almoſt all the copies of that wicked Booke were deſtroyed before they were brought from the Printer's ſhoppe," at Oxford.

there should have sent up Major Harrison to trumpett over all the city their own praises, to our prejudice, making all believe, that Cromwell alone, with his unspeakable valorous regiments, had done all that service; that the most of us fled; and who stayed, they fought so and so, as it might be. We were much vexed with these reports, against which you were not pleased, any of you, to instruct us with any answer, till Lindesay's letters came at last, and Captaine Stuart with his collors. Then we sent abroad our printed relations, and could lift up our face. But within three dayes Mr. Ashe's relation was also printed, who gives us many good words, but gives much more to Cromwell than we are informed is his due. Let good Mr. Ashe know what is the use that generallie here is made of his relations; much I know beside his intention: even this in plain terms, the Independents have done so brave service, yea, they [are] so strong and considerable a party, that they must not only be tollerated, but in nothing grieved, and no wayes to be provoked. It seems very necessary, that since none of you of purpose, and ordinarlie, sends up relations, and Mr. Ashe sends to the presse constant intelligence of your actions, which, for the man's known integrity, are every word believed, your proceedings have a great influence in all affaires here both of Church and State; I say, it seems needfull that all Mr. Ashe's letters which are sent hither to the presse, should be first seen and pondered by some of you there. These are my own private motions, which I propone to you alone, to be made use of as you think fitt. I blesse God, who graciouslie saved your life in that so dangerous ane houre. Glory to his name. Farewell.

London, July 16th.

See by this inclosed, if the whole victorie both in the right and left wing, be not ascribed to Cromwell, and not a word of David Lesley, who in all places that day was his leader. If his reports of Manchester be true, you know the flight of some is worse and more shamefull than death.

FOR MY LORD EGLINTOUN. JULY 18TH 1644.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

AFTER the first reports of your great battell, hearing, for all our victorie, that the whole right wing, wherein your Lordship

was, to be routed, I was for some dayes in perplexitie and fear, doubting much what was your Lordship's condition ; but after Captaine Stuart came up, and also your Lordship's large letter to Sir John Seaton, I was much comforted, and blessed God, who had saved your life, and of your brave sone Robert's, from the greatest and most apparent danger that ever yow had seen. Blessed be God againe and againe, who did protect yow, and brought yow out of the jaws of death, and that with so great honor, when so many with cowardice fell in disgrace, worse than death. This day we have been giving to God publick praise, for that dayes unspeakable mercy.⁽⁹⁾ If God had not been with yow at that hour, if yow there had been broken, we all conceive our welfare in this world had been overthrown with yow ; our religion, our liberties, our children, our persons, our estates, our posteritie, had all been putt in the cruell mercy of that wicked faction. Great is your honor and happines, whom God made the instruments to conserve to all this Isle all that is dear to them. We are hearing also, that the town is rendered to yow without blood, and other very great favour. O ! if we were thankfull to God for all these great mercies. I long to heare of the cure of Robert's wounds ; also of Lieutenant Montgomerie, that brave and gallant gentleman. I have sent heirwith to your Lordship three weeks of the gazetts of Paris ; for many I have oft received from your Lordship. I wish in any thing of the world I were able to doe your Lordship, or any of yours, any pleasure ; by God's grace, while I live, I shall be very willing, as I am straitlie obliged to serve your Lordship, and all yours. Praying God to be present with your Lordship in all your noble enterprises, I rest, your Lordship's, ever to be commanded,

R. BAYLIE.

London, July 18th.

All affaires here, both of Church and State, both of warre and peace, are much hindered by the too long and unexpected delay of the coming up of our Commiffioners from Scotland.

(⁹) The decisive engagement near York, on the 2d of July, to which Baillie so frequently refers in his letters at this time, is better known as the Battle of Marston-Moor. As each side at first was reported to have gained the victory, this explains the apparent inconsistency of the report (*supra*, p. 206,) that the King had appointed a thanksgiving for it at Oxford. Amidst all the contradictory statements, it appears, that the total defeat of the Royal party was chiefly owing to General David Lesley's efficient support of Cromwell's cavalry.

FOR MR. D. D[ICKSON.] JULY 23^D [1644.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

Not knowing where yow were from Aprile till the time of your son's coming hither, I directed my letters to Mr. Robert. Yow have in my publick letter and papers the outside of our affaires; but the inside of the thoughts of many here is this. Our difficulties in all our affaires, both of Church and State, are great and many, as they have ever been, from the beginning till this day; yet the Lord hes carried us through hitherto. If his good hand continued not with us, we see no possibilitie of any tollerable issue. Our progress in the Assemblie is small; there is so much matter yet before us, as we cannot winn through for a long time after our common pace. Our Independents continew and increases in their obstinacie. Much is added to their pride and hopes by their service at the battell of Yorke; albeit much of their valor is grounded on very false lies, prejudiciall to God, the author, and to us, the true instruments, of that dayes honor. The politick part in the Parliament is the stronger, who are resolute to conclude nothing in the matters of Religion that may grieve the sectaries, whom they count necessitie for the time. Our armie is much diminished in number and reputation. Also here Callander's armie is called very small, and no wayes able to reduce Newcastle. The letters we have, both from the Committee and Presbytrie at Yorke, are much for a safe peace; which we wish from our heart; but thinks their proponing of it is from the conscience of their present weakness. We fear the extraordinar long stay of our Commissioners be from new factions and divisions among yourselves. If the King should gett any real vantage against Essex, it would much change affaires here. This is an irresolute, divided, and dangeroussie-humoured people: we long much to see them settled, and our nation honestlie ridd of them. We suspect the Queen may work us much mischief in France. The Articles of peace, which are concluded here, and, as we hear, with yow also, are such as we think the King will never accept; and if we should begin to treat with him on the alteration of any of them, it will draw both to a great length, and a dangerous losing of our ground. The sectaries of diverse sorts, Anabaptists chieflie, increases here. Very many are for a total libertie of all religions, and writes very plauf-

ible treatises for that end. Sundrie of the Independent partie are stepped out of the Church, and follows my good acquaintance Mr. Roger Williams; who sayes, there is no church, no sacraments, no pastors, no church-officers, or ordinance in the world, nor hes been since a few years after the Apostles. If our Commiffioners were once come up, we mind to put them a little harder to it, and see what they understand by their uniformitie, which they have sworne to us. We can make no certain conclusion, but that we believe God will work his own gracious ends by man's weakness. One week we have fair appearance to gett all things quicklie done according to our mind, another week such alteration in affaires, that nothing less can be hoped for. These vicissitudes of hopes and despairs, when we look to the earth, are very frequent: If we had no need of your prayers, yourselfe judge. Communicate this to Mr. Robert, and Mr. George, if he be with yow. I shall have a care to speak with Mr. John, ⁽¹⁾ and cause Mr. Alexander and Mr. Samuell speak him in the purpose ye wrote of. It would be very sweet for me to be at home, and serving in my charge; but as yet no appearance of loufing for any of us. We are upholden by God's presence with us, giving us all health, and great love, and concord, and in all occasions opening the mouths of my colleagues to speak what is convenient. Thanks be to God, that in nothing hitherto we have been a shame to our church and countrey. The things yow desired to be helped in our church, will all fall out according to your mind; but I may not enter into particulars till all be finished. They put us allwayes in hopes, if the malignant faction were brought doune, and our armie well advanced, then quicklie all should be settled, with small regard to the sectaries, whom now they dare not offend, at least not put them to despair. However, our affaires yet are very mistie: The Lord's time of light is not yet come; his people must hasten it by their prayers. The Lord be with yow. By all means go on in your Commentarie: it's the studie best liked of by all divines here, and, in my judgment, your gift is for it more than any man I know, or can hear of. Goe on, in the name of God, therein with all cheerfulness. I wish your Covenant and Method of Preaching were abroad. I am sorry that your wife's health, as Mr. John tells me, is so weake;

(1) This Mr. John was evidently the son of David Dickson, to whom this letter is addressed. The other persons mentioned, it is scarcely necessary to say, were Robert Ramsay and George Young; Alexander Henderson and Samuel Rutherford.

my fervice to her. I know all of you are countenancing and encouraging my poor wife, as yow have occasion. I thank Mr. Robert for his letter, June 9th, and Mr. George for his, June 9th.

How our affaires go here, yow may see in the four inclosed papers printed; and forraigne affaires yow may see in the written one. I can add little thereto. Our Assemblie being wearied with fitting since the beginning of July was a-year, without any intermission, was earnest for a little relaxation; so fourteen dayes were obtained from the Houses, of vacation. We sitt not till Wednesday, August 7th. Some of us were earnest to delay that vacation till we had closed the Directorie of baptisme, which was near an end, and till the Houses did return to us their sence of our paper of Ordination, whereupon they had spent allreadie some time; but the dogg-dayes and the fasting-week coming on, and the particular affaires of diverse our members admitted of no delay. As yet there is nothing concluded anent the disposition of the armies at Yorke; but Humbie being now come up to us for that end, I think quickly they will be all disposed on for our best advantage. My Lord Humbie told us, that the Governour of Yorke shew him, that he was going out to bury the old Bishop of Glasgow ⁽²⁾ at the very time when word came to him of the fight; so he behooved, with the most with him, to leave the corps to be put in the earth by some few poor men. The Bishop had nothing for his buriall but as the Governour furnished: the judgements of God are to be observed and adored. Jacobus, as Humbie sayes, was killed long before at Bandoune. The armie is at Doncaster, willing to follow Prince Rupert whithersoever he goes, if so they be furnished with necessaries for the march. Generall Essex is betwixt Exeter and Plymouth: The King is towards him. When Maurice and Hopton are joyned, there will be many more men than we: to help this, Waller is to send a great party of horse and dragoons to Essex. The Queen from Falmouth was caryed in ten ships of the Hollanders to Brest in Brittanie. What she may work against us at the Court of France, many doubts. Dr. Mayern ⁽³⁾ would make us believe, that her dayes

⁽²⁾ This can only refer to Patrick Lindsay, Archbishop of Glasgow, who was deposed by the Assembly in 1638. At vol. i, p. 163, he is stated to have died at Newcastle in 1641; but this date (for which Keith quotes Bailie's MSS.) must be a mistake.

⁽³⁾ Sir Theodore Mayerne, M. D. who was successively physician to James I., Charles I., and Charles II., and died in 1655.

cannot be many. The French and States Ambassadors are urging a treaty, wherein we suspect deceit, and a continuance of their old arts ; but nothing can be said to that point till our Commissioners come from Scotland. We have been expecting them every week these two months. Their delay is exceeding prejudicial to all our affaires here, both of Church and State. The victorie at Yorke, so farr as we are informed, appears to us more and more miraculous. We cannot praise God enough for it. It was exceeding great, and exceeding seasonable, if all the truth were known. By the assistance of your prayers, we trust to obtain from God a happie conclusion of the whole work in his due time. All our companie are, praised be God, in good health.

FOR GLASGOW. AUGUST 7TH [1644.]

THE estate of affaires here, since my last, yow may see in these four printed papers, and of affaires abroad, in the inclosed writt : I can add little hereunto. This day we sitt down in our Assemblie, after our vacances. The House of Commons has past our paper of Ordination unanimeslie, with some alterations, which are to be considered by us. The right settling of that buisness will be a great step to advance our affaires. The little interruption we have had in our sitting, makes both ourselves, and the Houses, and the city, and all the world, to call on us for dispatch ; and it seems God, disposing of all affaires, is making for our furtherance ; so we hope for a farther progresse quicklie, than for a long time bygone we have made. We are afflicted with the delays of our Commissioners upcoming. We know not what yow are doing in Scotland : no man here has seen one lyne from Scotland since the 26th of June, which is a fottishness unexcusable : The publick suffers by the carelessness of some. By letters intercepted from Ireland, we hear of Antrim's landing in Argyle, with two thousand five hundred men at most. We trust they shall not doe much hurt, but that God, who has defended hitherto our land, shall deliver these idolatrous butchers to our swords. There is a great expectation here from Inchequin, and the rest of the Protestant Irish in the south, who are risen for the Parliament : the accident, if it please God, may doe much good. Essex's armie is in good case, praised be God, in Cornwall. The King, Maurice, and Hopton, and all

they can make, are upon his back, but are weaker than to fight. The most of Waller's horse are gone with our brave countryman, Generall-major Middleton, to waite on the King's rear. Prince Rupert has divided the remnant of his beaten armie: himselfe, with the foot he can gett, is towards Shewsburie; and Manchester is to attend him. The most of his horse, with Clavering, Glenhame, and Montrose, are towards Westmorland: so our whole armie, after refreshment at Leeds and Wackfield, by the heartie and unanimous advyce of all the English committee, is sent north; for there is nothing worthie of their stay either in Yorkshire or Lancashire. Fairfax has the reducing of these castles committed to him. Newcastle is the only design of importance: we pray God deliver it in our hands. We are glad to hear of the recovery of our sick and wounded men, and that our armie is so full of chearfullnesse. Much monie is coming from the sale of the prime malignants lands. God is still very gracious to us. We feared the effects of the Queen's going to France; but our fears now are diminished. The King's affaires at the Court of France are taken for desperate, and not to be meddled with; so much the less, as the Queen and her faction are conceived to be Spanish, and upon the design to trouble the affaires of France. But the evidence of God's care for us, is in that great sturr that is quicklie lyke to fill all France for our great advantage. The Duke of Orleance will not come to the Court, but sends fundrie articles to the Queen, which will overturn the Cardinall and all her counsells, if they be granted; and if not, he hes a victorious armie wherewith he will command. This might be a beginning of a great commotion, if the lightnes of the French spirite hindered not all men from building any thing on their motions. Lerida is taken at last by the Spainards. Since Anguien and Turayne are joyned, a bloodie battle is expected about Friburg, betuixt the French and the Bavarians. That old foxe Urbane is at last gone to his place; yet the devill, his father, cannot die, and will never want a sone to be the Pope's successeur.

At our fitting doune this day, a great many of our brethren did complain of the great increafe and insolencie, in diverse places, of the Antinomian and Anabaptistick conventicles. A committee was appointed for a remedie of this evill, to be represented quicklie to the Parliament. Mr. Edwards hes written a splendid confutation of all Independents' Apologie. All the ministers of London, at least more than a hundred of them, have agreed to erect a

o | weeklie lecture for him in Chrif's Church, the heart of the city, where he may handle thefe questions, and nothing elfe, before all that will come to hear. We hope God will provide remeeds for that evill of Independency, the mother and true fountaine of all the church diftractions here.

August 7th 1644.

FOR MR. SPANG. AUGUST 10TH [1644.]

DEAR COUSIN,

o | I WROTE none to yow the laft poft, for it was our vacance, and we were abroad; neither, I think, the two pofts before, waiting while I heard that yow had receaved what I had written with the three former: and when your's came, I fand that yow had only then receaved my laft, July 12th; but not the two former. Of this inquire the caufe. I fent yow long agoe Mr. Edwards's book. Dr. Stewart hes a call to Leyden, fo he intends not to put his Reply to the preffe till he bee going hence, leaft he fhould be retarded with ane new Answer. As for our affaires, thus they ftand. The Parliament goes on after their old way, flowlie in all things. The truft is in the Commons alone. They have a world of affaires in hand: they moft doe by [delay] a number. Since Pyme dyed, no a ftate head amongst them: many very good and able fpirits, but not any of fo great and comprehensive a braine, as to manage the multitude of fo weightie affaires as lyes on them. If God did not fitt at their helme, for any good guiding of theirs, long ere this they had been gone. Callander, with above five thoufand foot and horfe, came over Tyne about the 20th of July, gatt Hartlepoole and Stocktone on the Tyfe the 24th, went thereafter to Newcastle, took in Gateside, and barricadoed the bridgeport. The armie in Yorke, after having fent up my Lord Humbie hither for direction, were advyfed by the Englifh committee to goe back to Newcastle, the taking of it being judged the moft neceffare fervice: for the few caftles in Yorkfhire were not worth their labour: alfo Fairfax was eftemed able enough for their reduction. Prince Rupert had fent the moft of his horfe, with Clavering and Montrofe, northward; and the few broken troopes he retained with him were diftribute about Chefter, where he purpofes to lye till men and munition come to him from Ireland. However, Man-

chester was directed to wait on his wings. We were the more willing to be sent North, because of Callander's danger from Montrose, also to be near Scotland, if any need were. Our Parliament, before the excise and loan-money could be established, spent too much time; also much debate and secret working was about the Commissioners to be sent hither. If men knew the vexation we have here, they would not be so earnest for the employment as we hear many have been. Always at last the better party prevailed, to get the Chancellor, Argyle, and Balmerinoch, named for the Lords; Warriston, Sir Charles Areskein, and Mr. George Dundas, for the gentry; Sir John Smith, Mr. Robert Barclay, and Hew Kennedy, for the burrowes. Their chief business will be about the Articles for pacification. We expected their return, at farthest, against the midst of June, and yet they are not come; only Warriston is said to be on his way with them: however we have been much called for them, yet, in my mind, they shall not be of great use when they come, for so long as the King is able to keep up any face of an army, there is small hope he will ever hear of them. Our longsome Parliament was hastened to an adjournment, by the sudden and unexpected invasion of Kintyre, by Coll Macgillespick's son,⁽¹⁾ who, with two thousand five hundred runagates from Ireland, are loopen over there. Argyle is gone to wait on their service: I trust God will make them repent their voyage. The chief action and expectation is now in the West. Essex, after his journey through all the West, for little purpose, has cast himself into Cornwall, as far as Foy, near Falmouth. The King, with all he can make, is at his back. Many various opinions are here: many thinks his voyage, as against his orders, so it was contrived, by his bad counsellors, for no good end: Waller's army is destroyed thereby. No considerable place in the West has been so much as attempted. The King might easily have been hindered to have come to such a strength, and yet the General's army is much the better. Always many doubts the event. A fast is appointed for God's help to that army, on Tuesday next: if God make all honest, we doubt not of a success.

⁽¹⁾ In the M.S. "Coll. Mr. Gillespie's Sons." Alexander or Allester Macdonald son of Coll Macgillespick, the person who is here referred to, was Major-General to the Earl of Antrim, and commanded the Irish troops that landed at Ardnamurchan in Ayrshire about this time. He rendered himself conspicuous as one of Montrose's chief adherents; and the Scottish Parliament, on the 8th of March 1645, passed a "Ratification of the Act of Counsell for apprehending and detaining of Coll. Macgillespick and his Sons."

The first day of our fitting, after our vacance, a number of complaints were given in against the Anabaptists and Antinomians huge increase and insolencies intollerable. Notwithstanding of Mr. Nye's and others opposition, it was carried that the Assemblie should remonstrate it to the Parliament. Both Houses took our complaint well, hes sent for the chief of the seditious sectaries, and promises a quick remead to that great and dangerous evill. A kind letter from the Synod of Holland to us was read. We have ended our Directorie for baptisme. Thomas Goodwin one day was exceedingly confounded: He hes undertaken a publicke lecture against the Anabaptists: it was said, under pretence of refuting them, he betrayed our cause to them: that of the Corinthians, our chief ground for the baptisme of infants, "Your children are holy," he expounded of a reall holiness, and preached down our ordinare and necessary distinction of reall and fœderall holiness. Being posed hereupon, he could no wayes cleare himselfe, and no man took his part. God permitts these gracious men to be many wayes unhappie instruments: as yett their pride continues; but we are hopefull the Parliament will not own their way so much as to tolerate it, if once they found themselves masters. For the time they are loath to cast them off, and to put their partie to a despaire, lest they desert them. The men are exceeding active in their own way: they strive to advance Cromwell for their head. They ascribe to him the victorie of Yorke; but most unjustlie: for Humble assures us, that Prince Rupert's first charge falling on him, did humble him so, that if David Lesley had not supported them, he had fled. Skeldon Crawford,⁽⁵⁾ who had a regiment of dragoons in that wing, upon his oath assured me, that at the beginning of the fight, Cromwell got a little wound on the craige, which made him retire, so that he was not so much as present at the service; bot his troupers were led on by David Lesley. The sectaries books press most in a universall libertie for all religions: if Apollonius, Voetius, or any other, intend to assist us, lett them not delay. Try what answer the Independents hes given to Apollonius. In my judgement they neither will nor can declare themselves in the halfe of his interrogatories. Concerning the Irish monie, our Commissioners long agoe wrotte at length to Thomas Cun-

(⁵) Colonel William Crawford of Nether Skeldon in Ayrshire. In 1642 he was Major of Lord Montgomerie's regiment of horse; and was the person mentioned *supra* pp. 195, 200, as making the rash attempt at the siege of York: *vide* also, *infra* p. 229, &c. He died in 1646.

ninghame and Strickland. I must bid yow farewell. Answer my former letters.

August 10th.

For JAMES MITCHELL. AUGUST 13TH [1644.]

JAMES,

THAT since I came here I never heard from yow but once, I was marvelling what could be the cause, till Mr. John Dick did tell me your condition; but now my heart does much pity your great affliction. I have loſſed, with yow, a youth whom much I loved. I cannot blame yow to be thoroughlie pained with ſo deep a ſtroke. In a ſuddain, he rypered more than ordinare, and above my expectation. I truſt, long before this, the Lord hes cured the wound of his own hand. The certain felicitie of that glorious ſoull will not permit yow to mourne above meaſure, for his going home ſome houres before yow. I am ſure his eyes are cloſed from much woe, ſinn, labour, and danger, which was before him. He is the fourth of my ſchollers, excellent youths, whom God hes tranſlated before our deſires, in that ſpot of ground, Sir Henry⁽⁶⁾, Mr. John Bell, Mr. Alexander Cunninghame. We had much hopes of great ſervice from them all; but the Lord will find instruments of all the comforts he intends for us, and theſe fair bloſſoming plants will bring forth better and more fruit, when they ſtand in that good ſoil above, where the fountaine of life continuallie waters their roots, and that glorious Sun of Righteouſneſs ſhines in the full ſtrength of all his beams upon them, night and day, winter and ſummer alyke. God hes left unto yow diverſe gracious children, a favour denyed to many, which ye would not undervalue.

The publique is lyke to goe well; many wonderfull and desperate hazards it hes paſt through, and we are confident there are glorious dayes of the Goſpell at hand. What a glorious mercy was that at Yorke! how near was our armie, and ſo all our worldlie ſtrength and hope, to ſhame, diſcredit, and very ruin! Since, we were in great feares for Eſſex's armie, in the Weſt; but now, as you may ſee in my publick letter, we are almoſt freed of theſe fears. At theſe times, when the very being, not the welfare alone, of all the Churches in theſe dominions, are in hazard, we moſt not let our

⁽⁶⁾ Probably Sir Henry Montgomery of Giſſen, ſecond ſon of Alexander Earl of Eglington.

minds be drowned in private affections. When the Lord shall triumph over that wicked partie, which yet is full of strength and hope, private griefs shall be swallowed up in publick joyes; and if that partie should gett up the head, children would be the greatest burden and grieve to all honest minds. Alwayes while Christ and Antichrist are wrestling together, our eyes must be more upon this great and publique combate, than any thing within our doores. I trust that God, which has brought yow through many and great troubles, will comfort yow in this present and very great one. Praying for it, I rest,

Your compassionate Brother,

R. BAYLIE.

London, August 13th 1644.

PUBLICK LETTER. AUGUST 18TH 1644.

SINCE my last, our affaires here had this progress. We have gone through, in the Assemblée, the whole Directorie for baptisme, except some little things referred to a committee; also the whole Directorie for solemn thanksgiving, with a good unanimitie. So soon as my Lord Warriston came up, we resolved on the occasion of his instructings, and the letters of our Generall Assemblée, both to ourselves and to this Assemblée, which he brought, to quicken them a little, who had great need of spurrs. My Lord Warriston very particularlie declared in the Assemblée the passionate desires both of our Parliament, Assemblée, armies, and whole people, of the performance of the Covenanted Uniformitie; and withall we called for a meeting of the grand committee of Lords, Commons, Assemblée, and us; to whom we gave a paper penned, notablie well, by Mr. Henderson, bearing the great evils of so long a delay of settling religion, and our earnest desires that some wayes might be found out for expedition. This paper my Lord Say took to deliver to the House of Lords, Mr. Solicitor also for the House of Commons, and a third copy was given to Mr. Marshall, to be presented to the Assemblée. On Tuesday last there was a solempne Fast for Generall Essex's armie. Mr. Palmer and Mr. Hill did preach that day to the Assemblée, two of the most Scottish and free sermons that ever I heard any where. The way here of all preachers, even the best, hes been, to speake before the

Parliament with so profound a reverence as truelie took all edge from their exhortations, and made all applications to them toothless and adulatorious. That stile is much changed of late: however, these two good men laid well about them, and charged publicke and parliamentarie sins strictlie on the backs of the guilty; among the rest, their neglect to settle religion according to the Covenant, and to sett up Ordination, which lay so long in their hands. This was a means to make the House of Commons send us down that long delayed paper of Ordination. On Thursday it was twice publickly read, so much altered from our paper, that all of us did much mislike it. To encourage the Assemblie to reject it, we did add in the end of our prayer, an expresse disavowing of it; and at the committee's desyre, we sett down our reasons in wryte against the Houses alterations; which did so encourage the Assemblie, that this day, unanimouſlie, they sent a committee to the House, to crave leave to consider their alterations; for without their expresse order they have not so much power as to debate a question. This leave is granted: we are confident by reason, seconded by more plaine and stout dealing than hitherto has been used, to make them to take up their unreasonable alterations of our first paper; also we have the grand committee to meet on Monday, to find out wayes of expedition; and we have gotten it to be the work of the Assemblie itselſe, to doe no other thing till they have found out wayes of accellerating; so by God's help we expect a farr quicker progress than hitherto. The long-looked-for Propositions of peace, which my Lord Warriston brought down to our Parliament, are now past the Committee of both Kingdoms unanimouſlie, with all the additions our Parliament putt to them; also this day they are transmitted to the House of Commons, and from thence it's expected they will quicklie goe to the Lords, that so they may be sent to the King. If he will accept them, our troubles will shortlie be ended; if he reject them, they will be published, that the world may see which partie refuses, and which has been misguiding ignorant people with the shew of the desyre of peace. There is not, so farr as we can heare, any change in the minde of the malignant faction. Maxwell, our excommunicate incendiarie, is one of the chief preachers at court, and before the King. The King's declaration to forraigne Churches, avowes his resolution to stand by the Hierarchie and Liturgie: It will be no otherwayes till that wicked faction, which still misleads him, be broken in pieces. Prince Palatine is landed this day:

he hes no designe here but to live, which elsewhere he cannot doe. We were affrayed for the Generall's armie in the west, and so we had reason; for great mutterings there hes been of correspondence betuixt the chiefe officers of that armie with the King; but thanks to God, that is now broken, and this we have as the first anfuier of our Tuesday's prayers. On Thursday the Generall sent up to the House a letter wrytten to him, all with the King's hand, and subscribed, the most flattering and tempting of any thing that ever I saw, offering to Essex and all his officers, and all his friends, what they could desyre, if they would concurr with him, to make the Parliament accept of a just and equitable peace. The sending up of this letter is a demonstration of Essex's honesty, and will put off him all calumnies which long hes burdened him. His army and the King's have been within a myle of other for some days: there hes been some strokes lately for our advantage. Inchequin's brother hes delivered Warhame to Middletone, which we take for a good advantage; but most because it's a clear evidence [of] that party which is arisen for us, in Munster, above all our thoughts. After the taking of the towne, with fifteen piece of cannon, and fifty barrells of powder, Middletone went on to Sommerfettshire, and at his first coming hes routed a thousand horse of the enemies, and taken the most of their officers. The House of Commons, on Saturday, hes past all the Propositions of peace, as they came from our Parliament, without the least alteration; also, on the reading of our paper, they did recall, by vote, four of their chiefe alterations of the Assemblie's paper of ordination. We hope we shall move them to recall the rest also.

There is a great sturr in Rome [upon] the victorie of Naples. The Duke of Florence and Parma have sent their armies thither to have the election of the new Pope every one to their own mind; the nephews of the last Pope, hes barracaded the towne, and filled it with their own army. The Cardinalls refuse to enter the conclave till the towne be void of sojourns. Lerida in Catalonia, and Freyburg in Alfatia, after long sieges, and many sharp assaults, were both about one time lost to the French; but, by a strange providence, they have regained the one: Duke de Anguien coming up with his army, and joyning with the Marshall of Turraine, they, with a great slaughter [of] the Bavarians, and in a few days, gott back Freyburg in the poore terms of discretion. Gallas, with the Imperiall army, is joyned with the Bis hope of Bremen and the Danish: they lay near to Torstenston in Holstein. The

Swedish and Danish fleets, after a hott fight, are making for a new onfett: great blood is feared shall be shortly shed there, both by sea and land. The anger of the Lord against all Christendome is great; and yet little humiliation of heart any where. In our Assemblie we cannot but quickly come to our greatest questions, and our hottest debaites; also the Propositions of peace, as we have drawn them, will be shortly sent to the King. All who loves the common cause, and would be glad to see the Church reformed, and the peace of the Kingdomes settled, would be diligent now, if ever, to stirr up their spirits to deall with the God of peace and truth, that he would so over-rule the hearts of our opposits, that both Church and State, in all these dominions, may be relieved from the grievous calamities and dangers which this day presses very fore. I believe there is nothing wanting to the quick and happy ending of our troubles, but the diligence of the godlie to wrestle with their Father for that very desireable blessing. Expecting the assistance of your prayers to God, both for the great work in hand, and the weak finfull persons who are employed about it, I rest, your servant,

R. BAILLIE.

London, this 18th of August 1644.

Sir William Waller, this week, with all the rest of his forces, will follow his Lieutenant Middleton, that they may gather up the King's reare, while Essex is dealing with his vanguard. We wish both may become happy instruments to move his Majesty to pass these Propositions of peace, which both Parliaments have found to be necessary.

PUBLICK LETTER. AUGUST 28TH 1644.

How our affaires goe, yow may see in the three printed papers; and forraigne affaires yow may read in the inclosed wryte. Our Assemblie these dayes bygone has been busie on the House of Commons their alterations of our paper of Ordination; at last they have agreed to send back our desires for changing the most of these alterations, according to the papers which we gave in to the Assemblie and both Houses. Concerning these alterations, we doe expect, that without further adoe, the Houses will pass our desires; so that presentlie all the youthes in England, which for

many yeares have waited for a pure ordination, shall be admitted to churches; and when all these, and what moe Scotland can afford of good youthes for the ministrie here, are provided, it is thought some thousands of churches most vaik for fault of men. Our next worke is, to give our advyce what to doe for the suppressing of Anabaptists, Antinomians, and other sectaries. This will be a hard work; yet so much as concerns us will be quicklie dispatched, I hope in one session. It's appointed thereafter that we return to the Government, and to hold to it till we conclude the erection of sessions, presbyteries, and synods. The most of the Directorie is past, and the rest is given to hands to prepare the models for the Assemblée. All the world is sensible of our necessitate delays, and cries for expedition. All of us longs much to be at home; but the daily unexpected difficulties, and the necessitate length of our affaires, is incredible to any who is not on the place. What prayers to God, and diligence with men, can doe, we are in our weakness essaying, and, praise to God, with sensible fruit.

The affaires of the State are in no worse posture than before. In all our churches, on Sunday last, we prayed for Monro's hard condition. We were informed, that the greatest army which ever the Irish had on foote, was come doune upon him to roote all our people out of Ulster; but this day we heare he hes beaten them: we pray God it may be true. Inchequine in Munster goes on for us. Prince Rupert lyes still quiet in Chester: he getts no men from Ireland, and hes no munition. In Lancashyre, Meldrum hes taken Preston, and is master of the fields. The forces which Clavering had about Carlisle are making towards him, and Manchester is sending supplies to him. The condition of Newcastle you know better than we. The King and Essex are yet looking the one upon the other. Middleton hes ranged all these western fields for good purpose: Waller is away to joyn with him: we expect good news from that airt. The tumults at Rome are composed; the Cardinals are entered the conclave for the chusing ane other furie to trouble the world. Prince Thomas hes ane army for France in Milane, besieging little towns for small purpose. The French in Catalonia, to regaine their credit for the loss of Lerida, are besieging Tarragonie. What was believed at Paris, and here, of the retaking of Freyburg, is false. Duke de Anguien and Turraine, with their gallant army, are down the Rhyne as farr as Philippsburgh, which they are lyke to besiege:

the Bavarian army is following them. Gallas is now very neare to Torstenston in Holstein, and the two fleets are looking upon other at sea : great strokes are there feared. The Transylvanians have broken through Pole towards Silesia, and Coningsmark is going up to joyne there with them : the Duke of Saxonie lyes in his way. The Prince of Orange is battering Sas de Ghent ; but the enemy has opened the fluices, and drowned much land about it. The French army at Graveling vexes the Spaniards with a number of strong forts, which they are building in these parts of Flanders. It's thought Don Melos the governour, a Portuguese, favours too much the French designs. The Duke of Orleans is gone to Paris ; the Cardinall flatters him much : it's thought they cannot long agree. Palatine is not yet come hither, but is daily expected. Both we here, and all the Churches abroad, hes much need of the prayers of all the godly there. My hearty service to all my brethren of the Presbyterie of Glasgou and Irvine. I pray God bleſſe every one of them in their service of Christ, and his people.

R. BAYLIE.

London, August 28th.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG. SEPTEMBER 13TH [1644.]

DEAR COUSIN,

You see what I have written here to our friends in Scotland. We are for the time under a great and very black cloud. While Argyle is entangled with one company of Irish in his bounds, another company lands in Seaforth's bounds, who letts them pass in peace : many by the way joyned. Before they came to Strathern, Montrose came from England disguised, and is now in their head. Kilpont is gone to him, and Sir John Drummond ; he took, as is thought, with their own good will, Inchmartin and Garntilly.⁽¹⁾ Elcho, with the body of Fyffe, without officers or ministers, will rashly sett on them, before Gask, now Tullibardine, and [my Lord] Drummond joynes. At the first stroke, sweet [Forbes of] Reirus, and his brother, and more, were killed : the rest fled, and cast away some thousand armes, and left four piece of cannon : A lamentable disafter. Montrose after fell on Perth :

⁽¹⁾ Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartin, and Stewart of Arntullie or Grandtully.

it abode the first affault: what next we know not. Lothian and his regiment are to guard Stirling bridge. All the west and the south-east are running to Stirling. Argyle is marching, Callander, Lindsay, Montgomerie, Dalhousie, Lares [Lawers], are posting from Newcastle, with their regiments of horse and foote. Had this calamity befallen two moneths before, when Prince Rupert, with his fix thousand horse, might easily [have] fallen in on Edinburgh, and was so resolved, had not the King called him south on other fruitless employments, they, by appearance, had drawn all our forces out of England, and [at] once had put all Scotland in a hazard. But God is our watchman: this whipp, I hope, shall do us good. All the armies here are pitifully filled with division. The Generall misled, must needs go to the west, in despite of his expresse orders to the contrarie. This was to break, and did break Waller's army, and brought it to little or nothing. When he went there, it was nocht for no service to runn to the extreme end of Cornwall, and to lye there till the King gathered ane army at his back, and belaid him on all sides, to [be] master of all his victualls, and take up the passage betwixt him and Foy, his seaport. The greatest pity is if any treacherie was here. The authors of it will have power to doe it againe in this our next and only army on this side Newcastle: but it's hoped all will be honest; that Middleton and Beere, Effex and Waller, Waller and Massie and Browne, Cromwell and Crawford, will lay down their great and known quarrells to joyn against the commonemie. Great scarcity of moneys for any thing; great clamour every where of injustice and rapine; church-divisions every where increase; the sectaries wax bolder daily: yet we are hopefull all shall quickly goe better; it's time, I hope, for God to work, our extremitie of danger is so great. If Apollonius stand on ceremonies, and wait for the authoritie of his classis, or stay till he clogg his book with other treatises, *De magistratu*, as Callendrin was his purpose, it will come out of season here, and will be for little purpose. One Mr. Haak is on the turning of your Dutch notes on the Bible.

This day Cromwell hes obtained ane order of the House of Commons, to refer to the Committee of both Kingdomes the accommodation or tolleration of the Independents; a high and unexpected order; yet, by God's help, we will make use of it contrarie to the designe of the procurers. We had need of your prayers in this houre of great darknes; since none of your helpe, nor of any others

else over sea, can be obtained. The unkindness of all the Reformed churches to us at these times is great. It's England's merit, but may be the great sin of these who hes no charity, nor so much zeale as prudence. The Lord be with yow. The nixt, I hope, shall be more comfortable.

September 13th 1644.

PUBLICK LETTER. SEPTEMBER 16TH 1644.

OUR affaires here, thanks to God, goe better than latelie. On Saturday last we went out to meet the Chancellor⁽²⁾: he was welcomed by some appointed from both Houses. Two hours after his coming, that same night, we were much afflicted with the miscarriage of Effex's army in the west, and the disaster of the Fyfe gentlemen in Scotland. Our recourse, in these grieves and feares, wes to our God. On Thursday we had a solemne humiliation, wherein we trust the Lord did hear us, and already hes comforted us in a good measure. Sir William Balfour, in the night, after the setting of the moon, broke through the enemy with all his horse, with no loss considerable. Effex, Roberts, and Merrick, had before gone by sea to Plymouth; Skippon had putt his foot in good order, about his cannone, resolving to die fighting if good quarter were refused. Tollerable quarter was given, but not kept; yet there was no slaughter. Middleton's horse are now joyned with the Generall's; also the foote, naked as they were, are come to them: clothes and armes are at them before this. Waller is also joyned with them, and Manchester's whole army is marching fast towards them; so, be the blessing of God, that army will be stronger than ever, and that losse will doe us much good, to humble us, and draw us nearer God, and unite our minds; for their divisions were shamefull and many, and jealousies great of many men, which this mis-accident is like to cure. Generall Leven writes to us of his dissipating the enemies forces in Cumberland, and good hopes to carry Newcastle in a short time; also, of his sending my Lord Callander with so many of his best horse and foot, as, with Argyle's forces on the rebels backs and the countrey forces on their face, with God's help, may bring these wicked men to their deserved end. When we heard of Elcho his disaster, we were much per-

(2) John Earl of Loudoun, Lord Chancellor of Scotland.

plexed; and above all things in the world we long for good news from Scotland. We hope these things will further our Assemblée; albeit we have made little progresse these fourteen dayes. We spent a number of sessions on some propositions of advyce to the Parliament, for suppressing Antinomians, Anabaptists, and these who preach a libertie for all religions. Even in these our good Independents found us great difficultie; and, when we had caried our advyces against their mind, they offered to give in contrare reasons to the Parliament. We spent two dayes or three on the matter of a remonstrance to the Parliament of the sins which provoked God to give us this late stroke; and here we had the most free and strange par[ley] that ever I heard, about the evident sins of the Assemblée, the sins of the Parliament, the sins of the army, the sins of the people. When we were in full hope of a large fruit of so honest and faithfull a censure, Thomas Goodwin and his brethren, as their custome is to oppose all things that are good, carried it so, that all was dung in the howes, and that matter clean laid by. We are again on the Government. We have past two or three propositions, that the Church may be governed by three sorts of Assemblies, congregationall, classically, and synodall. We begin with Synods, and hopes to make quicker dispatch than before, by God's help. We have fundry means of haste in agitation with our private friends: one of our speciall helps must be the prayers of the godly there. This rage of the Devill, both here and there, is a good signe to us of a glorious work in hand, which he so vehementlie opposeth.

The French make strange progress in Germany: They have, with great ease, taken that great strength of Philipsburg, and with it almost all the Nether Palatinate. Both Hatfield, Loraine, and Beck, hes joyned their forces with the Bavarian army, and great supplies also are come from France to the Weymarish: there may be a battle there. The Swedes and the Imperialists are parted without any considerable cuffle. The Holland fleet is joyned, they say, with the Swedish against the Danes. Our good Queen is negotiating the marriage of her sone with her brother the Duke of Orleans's daughter. She sold her daughter to the Prince of Orange for his money, and now would cast away her sone for ane army from France against us; but all will not doe. The physicians speak of her impossibilitie to live long. By God's helpe we may make ane end of this warr before the French can be at leasure to engage.

FOR MR. D. D[ICKSON]. SEPTEMBER 16TH 1644.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

How affaires goe here yow may see in my publick letters and printed papers: but beside all these, yow may know more. At this time we are put to live by faith; for so farr as we can reach with the eye of our fence, there is one of the thickest clouds above us that we have seen since the beginning of our affaires. Beside your troubles in Scotland, which we feare are very great, and the small hopes of carying Newcastle in haste, we walk here very heavily. We can gett money for nothing: very vast sommes are mispended. No man will contribute any more, willingly, and compulsory wayes brings not in what so many and great necessities as we have calls for. The diffolution of the Generall's army in the west, in itselfe is a huge losse both of strength and reputation: but the circumstances makes it greater. These who affects the Generall, thinking it was procured by the Parliament's willing neglect to send him tymous supplies; others feare their treacherie in running to such a place needfullie, and staying in it till they were circumveened, which a little providence might have eschewed. Our greatest feare is, that the forces we have to oppose the King are full of jealousies and malice one against another. The most of the officers in the Generall and Waller's army hes open and known quarrells. Manchester's armie is more pitifullie divided: it is like to divide us all incontinent. Manchester himself, a sweet meek man, permitted his Lieutenant-Generall Cromwell to guide all the army at his pleasure: the man is a very wise and active head, universallie well beloved, as religious and stout; being a known Independent, the most of the sojourners who loved new wayes putt themselves under his command. Our countreyman Crawford was made Generall-Major of that army. This man proving very stout and successfull, got a great hand with Manchester, and with all the army that were not for sects. The other party finding all their designs marred by him, sett themselves by all means to have him out of the way, that he being removed, they might frame the whole army to their devotion, and draw Manchester himselfe to them by perswasion, or else to weary him out of his charge, that Cromwell might be Generall. This hes been the Independents great plott

by this army, to counterballance us, to overawe the Affembly and Parliament both to their ends. At this nick of time, while their service is necessary to oppose the King, they give in a challenge against Crawfurd; they require a committee of warr to remove him. Both the parties wrytes up here to their friends the cause: at last, Manchester, Cromwell, and Crawfurd, come up themselves. Our labour to reconcile them was vaine: Cromwell was peremptor, notwithstanding the Kingdom's evident hazard, and the evident displeasure of our Nation; yet if Crawfurd were not cashiered, his Collonells would lay downe their commiffions. All of us, by my Lord Manchester's own testimonie, and the testimonie of the Ministers in the army, finds Crawfurd a very honest and valorous man, in nothing considerable guiltie, only persecuted to make way to their designs on that army, and by it on the Parliament and Kingdome; therefore all here of our friends resolves to see him gett as little wrong as we may. What the end of this may be, God knows. While Cromwell is here, the House of Commons, without the least advertisement to any of us, or of the Affembly, passes an order, that the grand committee of both Houses, Affembly, and us, shall consider of the means to unite us and the Independents; or, if that be found impossible, to see how they may be tollerated. This has much affected us. These men has retarded the Affembly these long twelve moneths. This is the fruit of their disservice, to obtaine really ane Act of Parliament for their tolleration, before we have gotten any thing for Presbytrie either in Affembly or Parliament. Our greatest friends, Sir Henry Vane and the Solicitor, are the main procurers of all this; and that without any regard to us, who have saved their nation, and brought these two persons to the height of the power now they enjoy, and use to our prejudice. We are on our wayes, with God and men, to redresse all these things as we may. We had much need of your prayers. This is a very fickle people; so wonderfullie divided in all their armies, both their Houses of Parliament, Affembly, City, and Countrey, that it's a miracle if they fall not into the mouth of the King. That partie grows in strength and courage. The Queen is very lyke to gett ane army from France. The great shott of Cromwell and Vane is to have a libertie for all religions, without any exceptions. Many a tyme we are put to great trouble of mind: wee must make the best of ane ill game we can. Marshall miskenes us altogether; he is for a middle way of his own, and draws a faction in the synod to give ordination and excommunication to

congregations, albeit dependentlie, in case of mal-administration. God help us! If God be pleased to settle Scotland, and give us Newcastle, all will go well. We must see for new friends at last, when our old ones, without any the least cause, have deserted and half betrayed us. These things to yow alone, to stirr up your prayers, by knowing our straits, and increasng your thanksgiving when yow heare of the salvation of the Lord, which we do certainlie expect. The Chancellor is here in a very needfull time. Blessed be God, all our company is in health and cheerfull; trusting God, and resolving to doe our duty with all the care and prudence God will enable us, be the success what it may, as truly we are hopefull it shall be very good. These things to yow, Mr. Robert, and Mr. George.

I rest, your Brother,

R. BAYLIE.

September 16th 1644.

PUBLICK LETTER. OCTOBER [1644.]

How affaires goe here and elsewhere, since my last with Mr. John Dickson, the six inclosed printed papers, and two in wryte, may shew. We were here for some dayes under a cloud. The disasters lamentable in Scotland about St. Johnstone and Aberdeen, the prolongation of the siege of Newcastle, the scattering of Essex's army in the west, Sir Henry Vane, our most intime friend, joyning with a new faction to procure liberty for sects; these, and fundrie other mis-accidents, did much afflict us for a fourtnight. At that time we endeavoured to live by faith; but the goodness of our God hes already begun to illighten our darkness. If it were God's will to crush that wicked insurrection with yow, as we heare, praise to God, these wicked men are not farr from their ruine; and if Newcastle were taken, as we [are] informed it is lyke to be shortly; then all difficulties here, we hope, would easilie be overcome. Thanks to God, things are in much better posture here than latelie: The Chancellor hes done a great deall of noble service. The treachery in Generall Essex's army was like to be the fountain of great confusion, but it will now doe good: it will purge that army of all the dangerous knaves, and procure to Essex as much trust and more command than before,

for which he may thank our Chancellor; it will reconcile him and Waller; it will compose the irreconcilable differences betwixt Cromwell and Crawford, in Manchester's army; all these are now joyning in one, above eight thousand horse and twelve thousand of foot, well armed and old sojourners. The King has gotten nothing by his victory: he is with his army about Bristol, not much above ten thousand horse and foot, and no other army he has on foot in England. We hope this posture may draw on a peace, and move his Majesty to accept the propositions whereupon both Kingdoms have agreed. In the Assembly, thanks to God, we have throughed not only our Presbyteries, but also our Synods provincial and national, and the subordination of all the four meetings, parochial, classically, provincial, and national: We are now to dispute on the power of all the four. We have strange rugging with the Independents: the House of Commons have appointed a committee to consider of their differences with us, if they be reconcilable; or, if not, how far they may be tolerated. At first the motion did much perplex us; but, after some debates upon it, we are now hopeful to make vantage of it for the truth, against the errors of that very willful and obstinate party. We are in hopes to gett the Directorie brought towards an end, and the Catechise also ere long, with which some of us are likeliest to be sent downe. The Confession of Faith is referred to a committee, to be put in severall the best hands that are here. By the help of God, procured by your prayers, our adversers designs may contribute to the happy closure of those longsome and wonderfullie troublesome affaires.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG. OCTOBER 25TH 1644.

DEAR COUSIN,

I HAVE not written to you these three or four weeks, not only to stay while I find you had gotten my last, but specially because I had not a mind or a hand to write any thing to any while I saw what would be the pleasure of God to do with us; and howsoever we be yet under the cloud, yet least you should wait so long, I force myselfe to write this to you. On the other side you have what I wrote last to Scotland. That poore desolate Ireland lyes in the former miseries. Monroe, with all he could make, in

July, made a rode within fixteen miles of Dublin ; for fault of provifion he quicklie returned without the fight of an enemy. Castlehaven, convoyed with all the Irish commanders of note, followed him at the heels, with the beft army ever that nation had, above twelve thoufand well armed and difciplined men : they lay doune under Charlemont, fenced in with waters and boggs. Monroe brought up to Armagh all he could make. Both were lying there September 19th, waiting who fhould firft, for want of victualls, difband : fince, we have heard nought of either. Inchequin, and the Munfter men, who declared againft the Popifh Irish, lye quiet. Ormond, with the King's advyce, hes prorogate the ceflation for three months longer, holding out the hopes of a full peace. In the meantime Alexander Macdonnald, Coll Kittoch's fone, with fome fifteen hunder, the moft part Scotts Highlanders, comes from ifle to ifle to Argyle, from the Continent, with fome Englifh and Holland fhips ; takes from them the moft of their fhips and boats : whereupon they run to the Lewis, and through paffages where it's thought Seaforth (efpeciallie being warned by Argyle for that effect) might have ftopped them ; but, without any oppofition, they run through Lochaber : when they come to Atholl, the moft there joyned with them. Drummond and Gask rofe the Low country againft them ; but Montrofe coming from England his alone difguifed, did joyne with them, and, by his letters, gott many of Stratherne and Perthfhyre to joyne with him. Kilpont's treacherie is revenged by his death, juftlie inflicted. Lord Duplin, now Kinnoule, Maderty, Fintry, Bracko, and a number of note, did increafe the army ; yet they were but a pack of naked runnagates, not three horfe among them, few either fwords or mufquetts. But the villany of my Lord Drummond, and his friend, in the point of joyning, exhorting to flee, according as by his letters he had appointed the night before, ftruck the reft with a pannick feare, fo that near fix thoufand of very good and brave men fled, leaving eight piece of cannon, and the moft of their arms. In the faught not ten were killed ; but in the flight fome hundreds of the honeft burgeffes of Fyfe did fall. The villaines gave no quarter ; not a prifoner in the field was taken ; Perth rendered at the firft fummonds. Argyle, after he had learned the way whether the mifcreants had runne, followed as armed men might, which was four or five dayes journey behind them. As he came near Stirling, Montrofe left Perth, having extorted near ninety thoufand merks of monie, and what arms they had. His fummoning of

Dundee was in vaine ; but all the rest of the countrie was at his mercy : had Argyle given him later [leasure], all Fyfe had been sacked. The bridge of Dee was manned, so he went over a foord, where Elcho's regiment had a hott dispuitt, and killed many of his men ; but prevailling in number, he forced his passage. Marisball being malcontent, satt still in Dunnotter. Gordon, to whom, unadvifedlie, the command of the countrie was committed, did not bring with him above thirty horse, and these nothing stout. The tounsmen of Aberdeen assayed to defend their mercatt place ; but seven score of them were killed : Within two dayes after, [we] put the knaves to their feet. Our greatest fears were, that Seaforth, and Graunt, and Murray there should have joyned ; but when they came to Spey, Seaforth and Sutherland, with the gentrie of Murray, lay on either side, and keeping them from passing. Argyle was at their heeles ; they gott up to the mountains ; many of their followers left them ; yet Montrose, with two or three thousand of most desperate and cruell villaines, came back on the hills, so farr as Atholl : Whether he was to break downe on Argyle, and so to fisher boats, to fly to Ireland ; or to keep the hills till he came to Campsie, and then fall downe on Glasgow, and then to break through to England, as most did feare, we doe not yet heare. Only Kyle and Cunninghame with my Lord Montgomerie, Cliddale with my Lord Lanerk, Barranfrow, and Lennox, had their randivouze at Glasgow the 11th of October. If he come that way, our greatest feare is, that a new army from Ireland fall on our west before Argyle can come back from the north. This is the greatest hurt our poore land gott these fourscore years, and the greatest disgrace befell us these thousand. If we gett not the life of these wormes chirted out before they creep out of our land, the reproach will stick on us for ever : it hes much diminished our reputation alreadie, being joyned with the length of the sledge at Newcastle. Many things there hes deceived our hopes : The enemy within desperatlie resolute, with frequent fallies keep our people night and day in dutie ; our minde [mines], the most part, after all our labour, were countermined or drowned ; our sojourns, for want of pay and cloathes, were worn to raggs ; fundry of our best regiments and officers were of necessitie gone to Scotland ; beside, winter and ill weather now comes on.

The Independent party lying allwayes at the watch, finding us so low, and the Generall in the west shamefullie disgraced, began lustilie to play their game. Their first assay was on Manchester's

army; there they had cast their strength, under Cromwell. All sectaries who pleased to be sojourns, for a long time casting themselves from all the other, arrives under his command, in one bodie. By many means they assayed to gett Manchester removed: finding they could not conquess him, when all had failed, they betook themselves to our countryman Jordanhill's brother, Generall-Major Crawford, to have him casheered by a counsell of warre, for a number of pretended faults; but we did so manage that businesse, that all their assayes so were in vaine. Their next assay was to have laid aside the Generall, and the remnant of his forces, that Cromwell and their forces might be the more considerable: but considering the hazard; and seeing, after all our tryall, no guiltiness in the Generall; and finding the underhand dealing to joyn the Generall to their party, when they could not overthrow him; God helped us to guard it so, that the Generall keeps his place and credit, and knows who are his friends and foes. We had another bout with them about Skippon: they made the City crave him to be leader of their new levy of five thousand foot, and to be joyned to Manchester; this was, by Skippon's foot and Cromwell's horse, to have made themselves masters of the fields: this we also gott crossed. But their greatest plott, wherewith yet we are wrestling, is an order of the House of Commons, contrived by Mr. Solicitor and Mr. Marshall, which they gott stollen through to the committee of Lords, Commons, and Divynes, which treated with us, to consider of differences in point of church-government, which were among the members of the Assemblie, if they might be agreed; or if not, how farr tender consciences might be borne with, which could not come up to the common rule to be established, that so the proceedings of the Assemblie might not be retarded. This order presentlie gave us the allarme: we saw it was for a tolleration of the Independents, by act of Parliament, before the presbytrie or any common rule were established. Our most trustie friend the Solicitor had throughed it the House before we heard of it. Mr. Marshall had evidentlie, in the prosecution of it, flighted us. Sir Henry Vane, whom we trusted most, had given us many signs of his alteratione; twyce at our table prolixlie, earnestlie, and passionatelie had reasoned for a full libertie of conscience to all religions, without any exceptions; had publickly, in the House, opposed the clause in ordinatione that required ministers to subscribe the Covenant, and that which did intimate their being over their flocks in the Lord; had moved the muster-

ing of our armie, as being farr less than we were payed for; had been offended with the Solicitor for putting in the ordinance the differences about church-government; and not only about free grace, intruding libertie to the Antinomians, and to all sects, he, without the least occasion on our side, did openlie oppose us. Allwayes God hes helped us against him and them all egregiously to this day. In the first meeting of the grand committee, Mr. Marshall the chairman, by cannie convoyance, gott a sub-committee nominate according to his mind, to draw up the differences; Goodwin and Nye, other four with himselfe, who joyned with the Independents in giving to the congregations power of excommunication and ordination. Vines, Herle, Reynolds, Temple, Seaman, and Palmer, of our mind, were named; but seeing us excluded, by Marshall's cunning, would not joyne. The next two or three meetings were spent on the sub-committee's draught of the differences. We fand the Independents clear for the whole people, every communicant male, to have decisive voyce in all ecclesiastick causes, in admiffion, deposition, excommunication of ministers, in determining of schismes and heresies. 2. That no Congregation did depend on any superior Synod, so that a congregation falling in all the heresies and crymes of the world, neither the whole nor any member of it can be censured by any synod or presbytrie in the earth, however it may be refused communion by any who finds no satisfaction in its proceedings: but, which is worst of all, they avow they cannot communicate as members with any congregation in England, though reformed to the uttermost pitch of puritie which the Assemblie or Parliament are lyke to require, because even the English, as all the rest of the Reformed, will consist but of professors of the truth in whose life there is no scandall; but they require to a member, besyde a fair profession, and want of scandall, such signs of true grace as perswades the whole congregation of their true regeneration. We were glad to have them declare this much under their hands; for hitherto it hes been their great care to avoid any such declaration; but now they are more bold, apprehending their partie to be much more considerable, and our nation much less considerable, than before. The change of Providence did nothing daunt our courage; yet we were much in prayer and longing expectation that God would raise us from our lowness, near to contempt, and compesce their groundless insolencie. At our first meeting, my Lords Say and Wharton, Vane and the Solicitor, pressed vehementlie to debate

the propositions of the sub-committee. They knew, when we had debated, and come to voicing, they could carrie all by pluralitie in the committee; and though they should not, yet they were confident, when the report came to the House of Commons, to gett all they desired there past. So, without the Affemblie, they purposed immediatelie from this committee to gett a toleration of Independency concluded in the House of Commons, long before any thing should be gotten so much as reported from the Affemblie anent Presbyteries. Here it was where God helped us by our expectation. Mr. Rouse, Mr. Tate, and Mr. Prideaux, among the ablest of the House of Commons, opposed them to their face. My Lord Chancellor, with a spate of divine eloquence, Warriston, with the sharp points of manifold arguments, Maitland, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Gillespie, and all, made their designes to appear so clearlie, that at once many did dislyke them; yet Harrie Vane went on violentlie. We refused to consider their propositions, except on two exprefs caveats; one, That no report should be made of any conclusion of the committee, till first it came to the Affemblie, and from them, after examination, should be transmitted to the House of Commons; ane other, That first the common rule of Government should be resolved, before any forbearance of these that differed therefrae should be resolved upon. The first, after many hours sharp debate, we obtained: the second we are to debate to-morrow; and, if we obtaine it not, we have a brave paper readie, penned by Mr. Henderson, to be given in to the Houses and Affemblie, which will paint out the Independents and their adherents so clearlie, that I am hopefull the bottom of their plotts shall be dung out.

While I am wryting, we gett the long expected news of the taking of Newcastle, and that by storme. Blessed be the name of the Lord, who will not for ever contemn the prayer of his people. We were extreamlie dejected on many grounds: we were perplexed for Scotland; beside winter, povertie, and strong, proud, obstinate enemies within Newcastle, the pest was beginning in our armie; the King, with the greatest armie he ever commanded, was coming straight upon us, being hopefull to dissipate our armies before they could conjoyne, and it was but the misse of one day; yet Waller held him up skirmishing at Andover till Manchester came to Newburie, and Effex to Alfort, whence all three, on Saturday, joyned at Basing. The emulations and quarrells among all these three armies, both Generalls and inferiour officers, were

formidable ; yet such was the diligence and wisdom of the Chancellor and others, that Warriston and Mr. Crew going down from the committee of both Kingdomes, did move all the three Generalls, and their armies, to joyn cordiallie against the enemye. The most true and reall Fast I ever saw here, was kept on Tuesday ; also the House of Commons desired us in the Assemblie, to pray upon Wednesday, thinking the armies both these dayes to be in action, and expecting the determination of the great quarrell hourly, neither partie having any other considerable forces on this side Newcastle. Great were the frayes of this people, and their tears to God plentifull. The answer was not long a coming. Before we had ended our prayers on Wednesday, in the Assemblie, the House of Peers sent us a message by my Lord Admirall and Pembroke, with all diligence, to hast the Church-government, for heresies did spread mightilie over all the land : also they told, the King had turned his back on us, and was retireing towards Oxford, finding, against his expectation, that all our armies were joyned. He sent his foot and artillery away, and with his horse drew near, as resolute to fight ; but shortly drew off, and followed his foot. We are at their heels : it will be hard if we gett not a hit of them before they winn Oxford. Hurrie is come back to us, and received ; he promises the coming over of a greater sojour than himself : but above all, the news of Newcastle, in these two hours, has filled the city with extream joy. The great God be blessed againe and againe for it : this people would have perished of cold without it. Had we gotten it by composition, it had not relieved our credite, nor the necessitie of our most deserving and worst rewarded army. God, in clear justice towards that most wicked town, and great mercy to us all, hardened that people, that they should reject, with insolence, the fairest conditions that ever people in their condition could have expected ; so that any losse they have, the world will excuse us of it. That our joy may be the greater, the Admirall at the same time receives a letter from one of his ships on the Irish coast, that Monroe has defeat Castlehaven with all his proud army in Ulster. We trust to hear next the vengeance of God on Montrose, and his followers in Scotland. All things lifts us not up, but hastens us to send our Propositions to the King, without any addition to these articles which were debated and agreed on in our Parliament. The admitting of these articles is the greatest use we desire to make of these great favours our God has these two dayes poured upon us.

The books yow wrote of are not come to me ; I hear nought of them as yet. What you wrote for I delivered to Mr. Garret, to be sent in the nixt ship. Downame's Guide is eighteen shillings, and Hooker's three volumes is fifteen. I know I am much in your debt ; but I intreat, so far as either your papers or your memory can serve yow, let me once againe know what is my sounge : by any means satisfie me in this, I shall the more freely send for any thing I desire from thence, and shall send yow whatever yow desire from this. If God will blesse us with the overthrow of these evill men, friends yet will live comfortablie together. Apollonius's book will not be delivered to the Assemblie till it come off the press. We are extreamelie obliged to him, and as much disobliged to his opposits. The letter of the synod of Utrecht was read the other day in the Assemblie, but had not one word either of Episcopacie or Independencie. We would have expected other things from Voetius ; but the Independents diligence farr and near is great ; yet I believe God will not blesse their wayes. Rivett, in all our controversies, resolves to be mute and silent also ; yet Moulin has written very honestlie his mind ; but Diodati and the Parisians are not as we expected. The Switzers, and lately the rest of Geneva's divines, has given us satisfaction. We hope shortly, when God has putt our enemies under our feet, these our Reverend brethren who has been last in appearing for us, shall be most ample in their encouragements. We are loath to censure any man, only, in so great conflicts, we would have expected from brethren in a common cause, greater assistance than we have gotten from any over sea, except only worthie and noble Apollonius ; but I must end abruptly, or losse my late supper. Farewell.

Your Cousin,

October 25th 1644.

R. B.

FOR MR. W. SPANG. NOVEMBER 1ST [1644.]

DEAR COUSIN,

WITH the last post yow had a large accompt of all our affaires. Yow will see what I did for Thomas Cunninghame in his letter. Of the books yow sent to me I have yet heard nothing. Hooker's three volumes, and Downame's Guide I sent to yow long agoe. Downame is too deare, but now I cannot help it ; it shall learn

me a witt afterward. The most truſtie of the ſtationers here are very rogues. What I have written to yow of my accompts, I pray yow at laſt to ſatiffy me in it.

Of the taking of Newcaſtle I wrote at length. The routing of the Iriſhes by Monroe is not ſeconded; bot the routing and flight of the King's army here is very true. His foot are all diſſipate; few ſlain: his horſe got away at midnight towards Oxford. Monday laſt, himſelfe, and the Prince, with ſome five hundred horſe, towards Briſtoll; the remnant of his cannon and baggage, which was not that night taken, was left in Dennington caſtle, a myle from Newburry. We expect to hear this night, or to-morrow, that the Caſtle and all in it, alſo Generall Riven [Ruthven] to the boot, now weary of the King, ſhall fall in our hands. Our Committee at Newcaſtle wrote up to the Houſes, to haſte the ſettling of the Church. This motion was well received by all but Say, Vane, and ſome few Independents. To comfort them, ſix or eight of the chief Lords came this day in meſſage from the Houſe of Peers, with that letter, entreated the Aſſembly to haſte; alſo in that letter the Commons voted, over the Independents bellie, the diſſolving of that dangerous committee, which theſe five weeks has vexed us. The preface of our Directorie, caſting out at doores the Liturgie, and all the Ceremonies *in cumulo*, is this day paſt. It coſt us diverſe dayes debate, and theſe ſharp enough, with our beſt friends. Apollonius's book is not yet off the preſſe, and ſo I have not ſeen it; only the preface I read, which I like exceeding well. One thing I muſt recommend to your ſerious care. We are informed from thence very credibly, that the agents of the Independents have ſo farr prevailed with Voetius, as to make him publiſh his approbation of Cotton's Keyes of the kingdom of Heaven, as conſonant to truth, and the diſcipline of Holland. If he ſhould be ſo evill adviſed as to doe any thing of this kinde at this time, he will wrong himſelf, and us, and all the Reformed churches, exceedingly, and doe what in him lyes to marr the moſt great and gracious work here; which, by God's help, after ſo great oppoſition, we are carrying to a happy concluſion. Yow would write to him, and all yow can joyne with yow, to obteſt him he doe not any ſuch work, ſo unworthie of himſelf. We could never have ſuſpected any ſuch things, if a very good hand had not confidentlie affured us of it. Your Couſin,

R. BAYLIE.

London, November 1ſt 1644.

PUBLICK LETTER. NOVEMBER 21ST 1644.

OUR langour here is great to hear of the crushing of that wicked crew which troubles your peace: That as yet yow have not gotten order with them, is the matter of our greatest grief. If the Lord had humbled and softened the hearts of your people, and wrought them by that rod to a reall reformation, which I trust he is doing, I am confident, by the blast of his vengeance, these grasshoppers should be carryed out of the land. The condition of affaires here yow may read in the printed papers, and of things abroad in the wryte. The fruit of our victorie at Newberry was not so great as we expected. Within ten dayes after the King rallied his forces, and, with the addition of what Prince Rupert brought him, became stronger than we: for the custome of the sojourns here is woefull; they cannot byde from home a moneth together on any condition. This unamendable abuse diminished much our armie; so that the King came safely from Oxford to Donnington castle, and brought off his cannon and baggage, and all he had left there. Our armie were content to look on him in the bygoing, without minting to fight: this was ill spoken of here. From hence the King marched towards Basing to relieve that long-some siege: our armie followed, much incensed with the obloquy they had suffered for their sitting still at Newberry. The Houses, fearing their rashness in fighting, and seeing the necessary dissolution of the King's armie of its own accord in a few dayes, having no pay, and the winter being rainy, sent them word to be very wary in fighting: so ours returned to Reading, and the King's to Newberry; whence it's expected, that, without more adoe, both will go to their winter quarters, leaving the ending of the warr in the spring to the Scots armie, if peace cannot be had before. Three of our Commissioners, Maitland, Sir Charles Erskine, and Mr. Barklay, went yesterday, with the Earl of Denbigh, and four commoners, to the King, upon his safe conduct, with the Propositions of peace agreed upon by the Parliaments of both Kingdomes: We pray God give them good speed. There is small hope of the King's acceptance of them; yet many thinks they may draw on a treatie; and who knows bot that may bring us to a peace? However, the difficulties as yet seem unextricable by the witt of any man.

Our Church affaires goes on now apace, blessed be God. Our letters from Newcastle moved the Houses to call once, twice, thrice, to the Assemblie for expedition. They sent up our propositions concerning Presbyteries; the Independents gave in the reasons of their dissent therefrae: these are in the hands of a committee. The answer is lyke to be full and satisfactorie to the world, and possibly to the parties themselves. In a few dayes, all we have done about Government will be sent up to the Houses, against which, the Independents will have nothing considerable to say more than is in their papers against Presbyteries. But that which most comforts us, is the Directorie. All that we have done in it is this day sent up, with a full unanimtie of all: many a wearysome debate has it cost us; but we hope the sweet fruit will over-balance the very great toyle we had in it. The last passage was sensibly guided by God. After, with huge deall of adoe, we had past the parts that concerned prayers, reading of Scripture, preaching, both the sacraments, ordination, and sanctification of the Sabbath, there was many references to the preface; and in this piece we expected most difficulty; one party purposing by the preface to turn the Directorie to a straight Liturgie; the other to make it so loose and free, that it should serve for little use: but God helped us to get both these rocks eschewed. Alwayes here yesterday, when [we] were at the very end of it, the Independents brought us so doubtfull a disputation, that we were in very great fear all should be cast in the howes, and that their opposition to the whole Directorie should be as great as to the Government; yet God in his mercie guided it so, that yesterday we gott them, and all others, so satisfied, that, *nemine contradicente*, it was ordered altogidder to be transmitted to the Houses, and Goodwin to be one of the carriers; which this day was done, to all our great joy, and hope that this will be a good ground of agreeance betwixt us and them, either soon or syne. What remains of the Directorie anent marrying and buriall, will soon be dispatched. The Catechise is drawn up, and, I think, shall not take up much tyme. I feare the Confession of Faith may stick longer. However, we will, by God's helpe, have so much work done in ane moneth, that it seems necessar to have a Generall Assembly in Scotland shorthlie, that some of us may bring there what has here been so long in doing, to be revised, and I hope, without great difficulty, to be past. If it please the Lord to perfyte this work, it will be the sweetest and most happie business

that ever in this Isle was interpreted. The hope of it comforts us in the midst of our perplexities, which sometimes are not small.

The chymes for midnight are ringing at Westminster, so I must crave leave to go to bedd; only remembering my best affection to my brethren of both my Presbyteries, and desiring their prayers for the advancing and perfecting the great work in hand, I rest, the servant of all these who wish the weale of Zion.

London, November 21st.

[PUBLICK LETTER. DECEMBER 1ST 1644.]

ALL our companie, thanks to God, feels the fruit of Scotland's prayers. We all, since our coming to this day, had good health and perfect concord, and, in greatest perplexity, faith in God. After two dayes tough debate, and great appearance of irreconcilable difference, thanks to God we have gotten the Independents satisfied, and an unanimous consent of all the Assemblie, that marriage shall be celebrate only by the minister, and that in the church, after our fashion. There are whisperings of good appearance that the Independents will be gotten contented to take up their reasons, and submit themselves to the Assemblie. If this be, it were better than a new victorie over the King's army. Who knows what reward the Lord may give us for our great patience and love to these (however very good, yet very dangerous and unhappie) men, who have been the great and mighty instruments to keep all things here loose, both in Church and State, these two yeares bygone, for the increasing of their party to so great a strength, that they might by feare and threats obtaine their desires. But this four moneth bygone, since we sett our face against them openly, their plotts are so broken, and their strength decayed, that I hope God will make them more plyable to reason than otherwise they were inclined. Yow see I am carefull, by all occasions, to let yow see how the world does go: with our post, by land, I sent large information, November 21st. With this bearer you have one diurnall, and, for affaires abroad, two papers; the one, what Sir Thomas Dishington sent me last from Paris, the other, what Sir Robert Anstruther gott the last week from Bruffell.

Matters here stand thus : The House of Commons hes past, without any variation to count of, all the Directorie we sent them, and I hope to-morrow will send it to the Lords, to make ane ordinance upon it. In the Assemblie we have stuck longer than we expected on marriage : but I hope to-morrow we shall end it ; and before this week end we shall passe the two remanent parts of the Directorie, fasting, and buriall, or visitation of the sick ; also, that we shall one of the dayes of this week send up the rest of our votes of Government, except we fall in debate of some passages of our too large answer to the Independents reasons against Presbyteries. Believe it, for as slow as yow may thinke us, and as we pronounce ourselves to be, yet all the dayes of the week we are prettie buffie. We sitt daily from nyne till near one ; and afternoone till night we are usuallie in committees. Saturday, our only free day, is to prepare for Sunday, wherein we seldom vaick from preaching in some eminent place of the city. Judge what time we have for letters, and writting of pamphletts, and many other busines. We would think it a great ease, both to our body and spirits, to be at home.

There are two new busines fallen in, which will make some sturr for a time. Our Commissioners are returned from Oxford. In the few dayes they were there, they saw, and learned from their secret friends, that however the sojourns, and most both of nobilitie and gentry, be extreame miserable and poore, and have great need of peace ; yet the Queen's party, that guides still the King, Digby, Hyde, Ashburnhame, Rupert, and Maurice, Richmond, and Southampton, the junto that makes cyphers of the other Lords and Commons, few and poore, who now sits in the two Houses of Parliament at Oxford, are as farr averse from any just and equitable peace as ever. They think Montrose is master of Scotland, that from Ireland and France they will get wonders ; therefore they but laugh at us and our propositions. Only to encrease our divisions, they have sent for a safe conduct to Richmond and Southampton, to come with the King's answer to our propositions. What these two will offer, we know not ; but we expect little good from them. The other matter is, Lieutenant-General Cromwell has publickly, in the House of Commons, accused my Lord of Manchester of the neglect of fighting at Newbury. That neglect indeed was great ; for, as we now are made sure, the King's armie was in that posture, that they took themselves for lost allutterlie. Yet the fault is most injustlie charged on Manchester :

It was common to all the Generall Officers then present, and to Cromwell himfelfe as much as to any other. Allwayes my Lord Manchester hes cleared himfelfe abundantlie in the Houfe of Lords, and there hes recriminate Cromwell as one who hes avowed his defire to abolifh the nobilitie of England; who hes fpoken contumeliouflic of the Scotts intention in coming to England to eftablifh their Church-government, in which Cromwell faid he would draw his fword againft them; alfo againft the Affemblic of Divines; and hes threatened to make a partie of fectaries, to extort by force, both from King and Parliament, what conditions they thought meet. This fire was long under the emmers; now it's broken out, we truſt, in a good time. It's like, for the intereſt of our nation, we muſt crave reaſon of that darling of the Sectaries, and in obtaining his removeall from the armie, which himfelfe, by his oure [over] rafhneſs, hes procured, to breake the power of that potent faction. This is our preſent difficill exerciſe: we had need of your prayers.

London, December 1^{ſt}.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG. DECEMBER 6TH 1644.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

Yow have here what I have written to Scotland. Befide, I let yow know, we never goe ſo quicklie in the Affemblic as we expect. This week, after many ſharpe debates, we have agreed, and ſent up to the Houſes, our Directorie for marriage, and dayes of thanksgiving; alſo we have, with much difficultie, paſt a propoſition for abolifhing their ceremonies at buriall: but our difference about Funerall ſermons ſeems irreconcilable: As it hes been here and every where preached, it is nothing but ane abuſe of preaching, to ſerve the humours only of rich people for a reward; our Church expreſſlie hes diſcharged [them] on many good reaſons: it's here a good part of the miniſters livelyhood; therefore they will not quitt it. After three dayes debate, we cannot find yet a way of agreeance: if this were paſt, there is no more in our Directorie, but faſting and holie dayes, wherein we apprehend no difference. Upon theſe, with our votes of Government, already paſt, and our answers to the Independents reaſons, the next week, I think, will be ſpent. The letter of your claſſis before Mr. Apollonius's

book ⁽³⁾ was read the other day, and a printed copy of his book given to every member of the Affembly. It was not only very well taken, but also, which is fingular, and, so farr as I remember, *absque exemplo*, it was ordered, *nemine contradicente*, to wryte a letter of thanks to Apollonius. Surely he hes done a piece of good service to God, and his churches here. I have not yet had leasure to read it all; but I approve what I have read. This matter of Cromwell hes been a high and mightie plott of the Independent partie to have gotten an armie for themselfe under Cromwell, with the ruine, and shamefullie unjust crusing of Manchester's person, of dissolving the union of the nations, of abolishing the House of Lords, of dividing the House of Commons, of filling this city, and most of the Commons, with intestine warrs, of setting up themselves on the ruines of all; but God, who hes drawn us out of many desperate dangers, is like to turn this dangerous mischiefe on the heads of the contryvers. I hope it shall breake the farr more supposed than reall strength of that partie, and unite us more stronglie; but we are yet wrestling with them. By the next yow may have more. Whether the King will send Lennox and Southampton, we cannot yet say; for in our answer we have putt, we think, the thorne in their foot. By a letter from our Generall to their Generall, we have signified, that a safe-conduct shall be sent to Lennox and Southampton, if so be the King will send them to the Houses of Parliament, with his answer to the Propositions sent to him by the Parliaments of both Kingdomes. Things on neither hands seeme yet mature for any reall pacification; but the Lord knows what he is doing.

London, December 6th 1644.

PUBLICK LETTER. DECEMBER 26TH 1644.

THE last week I wrote at length how all went. What is more since, yow may see in the three printed and two written papers.

⁽³⁾ William Apollonius, minister of Middleburgh, in Zealand, and author of a work, "Jus Majestatis circa Sacra," published at Mediob.-Zeland. 1642, 8vo. His "Consideratio quarundam Controversiarum ad Regimen Ecclesiae spectantium, quæ in Angliæ Regno hodie agitantur," Lond. 1644, 8vo. is the work to which Baillie refers.

It seems there will be a present entrie in a treatie for peace. There is very great need and desyre of it on both fydes ; but the difficulties are yet insuperable to humane reason, albeit there be a fairer beginning on both sides than was expected : for though the hope of either partie of a peace, such as they can accept, be yet but small ; yet both stryve be all means, in the prosecuting of it, to approve themselves to the people as men who are most desyrus thereof. The safe-conduct from this is sent to Oxford ; so one of these dayes we expect Richmond and Southampton. The Holland ambassadors and French agent are also busied with the Parliament to put themselves in a way of furthering that treatie ; but the thing which now is most spoken of here, is the sudden and unexpected work of yesterday. The House of Commons, in one houre, has ended all the quarrells which was betwixt Manchester and Cromwell, all the obloquies against the Generall, the grumblings against the proceedings of many members of their House. They have taken all office from all the members of both Houses. This done on a sudden, in one session, with great unanimity, is still more and more admired by some, as a most wise, necessary, and heroick action ; by others, as the most rash, hazardous, and unjust action, as ever Parliament did. Much may be said on both hands, but as yet it seems a dream, and the bottom of it is not understood : we pray God it may have a good successe. We daily now make good progresse in the Assemblie. We have sent up our Directorie for marriage and thanksgiving ; we have also gotten through buriall. We have some little thing to say of fasting, and visiting of the sick ; and so our long-looked for Directorie will be closed : it's exceedingly lyked by all who sees it. Every piece of it passes the Houses as fast as we send it. Our answers to the Independents reasons are now readie, and I hope this week may be sent up to the House. We have also putt together all our votes of Government, and sends them up to-morrow to both Houses. The Independents have entered their dissent only to three propositions : " That in Ephesus was a classical Presbytrie ; That there is a subordination of Assemblies ; That a single congregation has not all and sole power of ordination." Their reasons against these three propositions we expect to-morrow. Against the end of the next week we hope our Committees will have answers ready to all they will say ; and after all is sent up to the House, by God's help, we expect shortly an erection of Presbyteries and Synods here ; for there appears a good forwardness to

expede all things of that kind in both Houses since the taking of Newcastle. If the Directorie and Government were once out of our hands, as a few days will put them, then we will fall on our great question of Excommunication, the Catechise, and Confession. There is here matter to hold us long enough, if the wrangling humour which long predomined in many here did continue; but, thanks to God, that is much abated, and all inclines toward a conclusion. We have drawn up a directorie for church-censures and excommunication; wherein we keep the practise of our Church, but decline speculative questions. This, we hope, will please all who are not Independents; yea, I think even they needed not differ with us here; but it yet appears they will to separation, and are not so carefull to accomodat, as conscience would command peaceable men to be. However, we hope to gett the debates of these things we most feared either eschewed or shortened. We have near also agreed in private on a draught of Catechise; whereupon, when it comes in publick, we expect little debate. I think we must either passe the Confession to another season, or, if God will help us, the heads of it being distribute among many able hands, it may in a short time be so drawn up, as the debates of it may cost little time. All this chalking is on the supposition of God's singular assistance, continuing such a disposition in the Assemblie and Parliament as hes appeared this moneth or two bypast. On this supposition, two moneth, or three at most, may doe much to putt on the cope-stone of our wonderfull great work. For this end, we had much need of all your earnest prayers to God; for, we trust, many living, and many more yett not borne, shall eat with delight, and blesse the Lord for the sweet fruit of our very toilsome, and sometime heavie and bitter labours. But of all these things much more, if it please God I may be permitted to come doune to that Generall Assemblie, which, according to our late advyce, I hope before this be indicted in our Church.

I trust this shall be the last which I shall wryte from this; for Mr. Gillespie and I being appointed to attend the Generall Assemblie, purposes, if God will, shortlie to take journie. We hope this day to close in the Assemblie, the remainder of our Directorie, and to send it up to-morrow to the Houses; so the next week we expect an ordinance of Parliament for the whole Directorie. We have transmitted our answers to the Independents reasons against our Presbyterie: they are well taken, and now upon the presse. We hope, in the beginning of the next week, to send up also our

answer to their reasons against our Synods. We make no question but shortly thereafter the Houses will passe an ordinance for the Government; what is behind, a good part will be ended, and follow us to our Generall Assemblie; and all the rest, by all appearance, will be closed a moneth or two thereafter; for all men now inclines to a conclusion. God, in his good providence, has made many things, especiallie the counsels of our enemies and retarders, to co-operate for his ends.

The King's commissioners, Lennox and Southampton, are gone. We can say little yet. If any that comes from Oxford might be trusted, we might have some little hope, but truly I dare say nothing yet; for the great hopes they put us in at first, by their confident assurances of the King's willingness to give us satisfaction, in the hardest of the propositions, concerning the church and militia, before their departure they somewhat blasted, by their needless lingerings here, and using, as we suspected, such courses as favoured of their old unhappie and unprofitable way of hen-wiles, to make and increase parties among us: But this will not doe it. They resolve here quickly to put the matter of the treaty to a point; to have it in a midd place betwixt this and Oxford; to limit it to a nineteen or twentieth days, in the which, if two or three prime articles cannot pass, they mind not to dally more. They are now on a fair and probable way to gett a good sum of money to our army for the present, and to have them better payed hereafter; so that quickly in February they may come south to better quarters. If it please God to assist, this evill faction here may be broken, and cast out of England, in some moneths: a course also will be taken both for sea and land, that will give the Irish rebels some other work than to run over, in any considerable number, either to England or Scotland. No appearance as yet of any forces or great sommes of money from France. Good appearance here of a more vigorous proceeding, and greater correspondence with us in all things, both of Church and State, both of peace and warr, then hitherto has been. Might it please the Lord to be gracious to you there, to humble your hearts under the rod that lyes on you, that unanimously you might joyne to sling that handfull of vermine in the sea, we would quickly expect a glorious conclusion of the great work in hand. Our most earnest prayers are for this.

London, December 26th 1644.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG. DECEMBER 27TH, 1644.

DEAR COUSIN,

YOUR'S with Collonell Fullerton I receaved, and three books. The reason I write not weeklie to yow, is not only the multitude of our affaires here, but also a maxim I had resolved to keep, not to deliver to the Dunkirkers two of my letters in end. For these three moneths we have heard noyse of intercepting of letters, or opening of them: however, we have not felt any such thing in truth, but only the last week, when the packet-boat going from this to yow was taken by a knave: Yet it was my resolution to wryte none to yow till I had found my former had been delivered safelie: but hereafter yow shall have no such cause of complaint; for I purpose to wryte to yow the next week, and no more at this time from this place, for the Monday thereafter at fardest, January the 6th, Mr. Gillespie and I must take journie for Scotland, to give an accompt of our labors here to the Generall Assemblie, which, at our desyre, they have called to meet at Edinburgh January the 22d.

We have ended this day the Directorie in the Assemblie: the Houses are through the most of it alreadie; before we go they will pass all. What remains of the Government, concerning the hard questions of excommunication, Mr. Henderson has drawne it up, by way of a practicall directorie, so calmlie, that we trust to gett it all past the Assemblie the next week, without much debate. The men whom most we feared, professes their satisfaction with that draught. It's certainlie true what yow wrote, of the impossibilitie ever to have gotten England reformed by humane means, as things here stood, without their brethrens help: The learndest and most considerable part of them were fullie Episcopall; of these who joyned with the Parliament, the greatest and most countenanced part were much Episcopall; the Independents had brought the people to such a confusion, that was insuperable by all the witt and strength which was here; but God hes so guided it, that all hes contribute for the maine work. The wickedness of the Popish and Prelaticall faction still continuing and encreasing; the horrible extravagancies of the sectaries; the unreasonable obstinacy of the Independents; the strange confusions by this long annarchie; and, most of all, God's good hand on us here in the

Affemblie, and on our Armies in the fields, hes contribute to dispose this land to a very fair reformation above all their hopes. If their treatie bring us not to the substance of our Propositions, we will earlie goe to a more vigorous warr, and hopes in God, before harvest, to putt these evill men out of Brittain. The continuance of our troubles in Scotland, from a most naughty and despicable enemy, is from God, to humble our pride, and to prepare us for greater service. The means of it was, and is, some improvidence in some of our guides; but, well I know, no crime. The envy and emulation of some, and, as some thinks, the idleness and perverseness of some late Covenanters, made Argyle to be almost deserted in his pursuit; but I hope all these things are, or shortly will be helped. My Lord Warriston and Mr. Barklay went from this yesterday to our Parliament, that fitts January the 7th. If God will be pleased to remember his mercy, we are in a fair way of prospering.

As to Gomarus and Rivet, I wrote to the College to receive them. Rivet, I have it all before in parcells. I thank you that at last ye have sent me my accompt, yet you must close it, for I understand not guilders and stivers. Rutherford's last book was sent to you by the author. Edwards's book was the author's gift to me; so it's gratis *accepistis*. Diodati I gave to Mr. Garret. I shall gett the prices of the other. That any of my "Canterburians" or "Paralells" sells, it's well; for neither here nor in Scotland they give monie, they are out of date. I am sorry I cannot come ver too see your wife, to whom I pray you remember me. Your advice about the boy I will communicate with my wife, and after consult with you farther. Try what new sturrs are these which the divines of Somer [Saumur] and Paris, Cameron's scholars, are moving. Write no more to me hither. When it pleases God I retire to my old corner, keep promise of paying me your debt of intelligence with great increase, for I cannot deny my creed. The Lord be with you. Pardon my evill hand; for usually I am in haste. You have a double here of my last two to Scotland. Farewell.

Your Cousin,

JAMESON.

December 27th 1644.

FOR MR. BUCHANAN.

MONSEIGNEUR,

AT my first fight of your Paper, if I mistake not the sense, I remark fundry passages which I conceive would much prejudice our cause, if the wryte went abroad without some alteration.

1. In the 12th, 13th, and 14th propositions, however the Divine right and tyrrannie of Episcopacie be disclaimed, yet the lawfulness [of] a moderate Episcopacie, established upon an ecclesiastick right, is plainly avowed. This assertion our Church judges both wrong in it self, and extreamlie prejudiciall to our present affaires.

2. In the 5th, 7th, 8th, and 9th, the Divine right of our Ruling Elders is everted; they are made only the deputies of the people, and they alone also are called the Church-representative; the preachers and deacons, exclusive and opposite to ruling elders, are made to be the only divine and apostolick officers in the Church. We admitt of no officers in the house of God, on ane humane and ecclesiastick right.

3. In the 6th, the Divine right of the whole Congregation to give voice and suffrage in matters of government, is avowed. This is one of the greatest grounds of the Independents. What the word of God grants to the people we may not deny to them, and no posterior cannon of the Church can take from them.

4. Of all that here is said against the Independents, there is very little to the point; for they will grant it all, and deny they maintaine any such independencie as here is impugned. They avow a dependencie, and that by Divine command, on all the neighbour churches; only denies a superioritie of jurisdiction of any church or synod over another church.

In my judgement, these and such like grounds, gives much more advantage to the Prelaticall and Independent party against us, than we can gett of all the rest of the wryte against them. I could not communicat it to Mr. Henderfone as yet; but ye will consider of these my extemporall and possibly misgrounded thoughts. So till meeting; and ever, I rest your Servant,

R. BAYLIE.

Since, I have conferred with Mr. Henderfone. We are both in opinion, that yow in your own way, the best yow can, would assay

to gett your friends so informed, that they, in forenamed points, would write according to the mind of our Church; or if this cannot be obtained, with all thankfullness to themselfe, for their heartie affection to our cause, yow will so guide it, that they may be silent till they see what it may be the will of God to doe with these poor distressed Churches.

FOR MR. BUCHANAN.

MONSEIGNEUR,

It were good that our friends at Paris were made to understand our hearty and very kind resentment of their demonstration of zeall and affection towards the common cause of all the Reformed Churches now in our poor weak hands; that since they offer to take Information of the points in question from us on the place, to whom they intend this brotherly and very timeous assistance, we present to their wise considerations:—

1. That the Covenant of Scotland rejects absolutelie all kinds of Episcopacie: That the Covenant of the three Kingdomes, is expresse for rooting out of all Prelacy, not the tyrannie alone of that office: That the Royalists would be well content to keep in any imaginable kind of Episcopacie, being assured, in their own time, to break in pieces and rend all the caveats we can put on it; so it's necessary to hold to that ground, wherein all here does agree, and to which the Royalists themselves are on the point of yielding, That no Episcopacie here is tollerable, as being a meer humane invention, without the word of God, which, where-ever it lodged, has been a very unhappie guest. The totall extirpation of it would be applauded and congratulate without any distractions or any reservations, or else nothing would be spoken of that point.

2. That Ruleing Elders are conceived here, on the old French grounds, by all of our side, to stand on a Divine right; and that an Ecclesiastick right alone is no just foundation for any officer in the house of God.

3. That the Independents common tenets are these: 1. That the power of Ecclesiastick censures is alone in the Congregationall presbyteries. They grant the Divine right, and many excellent uses, of Synods, lesser and greater; only denies their power of jurisdiction over any congregation. Ordination of all officers, also

their deposition, and excommunication of all members, they give to the congregationall consistorie. They give so much authoritie to a Synod, and to every neighbour congregation, when they receive no satisfaction from any scandalous congregation, to abstaine from communion with it, and to pronounce their sentence of that non-communion with it. 2. They will admitt of none to be members of their congregations of whose true grace and regeneration they have no good evidences. By this means they would keep out all the Christian church, fourty for one of the members of the best Reformed churches. 3. They make it necessary to have all the men who are communicants, present at every act of jurisdiction of the consistorie: though they give them not suffrages, yet nothing must be done without their consent. 4. They give libertie to any man who is able, though he never intend the ministrie, to professe and preach publickly, in the face of the Church. 5. They doe not censure, in their churches, the deniall of pædobaptisme, though they professe their dislike of that error. 6. Many of them preach, and some print, a libertie of conscience, at least the great equitie of a tolleration for all religions; that every man should be permitted, without any feare so much as of discountenance from the magistrate, to professe publickly his conscience, were he never so erroneous, and also live according thereunto, if he trouble not the publick peace by any seditious or wicked practise. They have a number of more singularities, which I have no time to relate. They professe to regard nothing at all, what all the Reformed, or all the world, say, if their sayings be not backed with convincing scriptures or reason: all humane testimonies they declaime against, as a Popish argument. So farr as yet we perceive, they will separate from all the Reformed, and will essay, by all they can either doe or suffer, to have their new way advanced. The sooner all the Reformed declare against them, it will be the better.

FOR MY LORD WARRISTONE. NEWCASTLE, JANUARY 1645.

MY LORD,

I am sorie for the hurt of your foot I have heard of here; I hope ere now it's weell. God be thanked, Mr. Gillespie and I came hither yesternight, without one fall or any misaccident to any of our companie. It's a pitie the officers should not be with the

army ; the mutinie here wes dangerous and great. Yow must look to your army in England above all things. God helped me to speak my mind frelie this day in Nicolas church, and I trust shall help Mr. Gillespie to doe the same presentlie, in the same place. We are very wearie and fashed with a long evill way ; we will not be able to be in Edinburgh before Thursday at noone. Yow must be doeing your best to entertain the Assemblie till then, and a day or two more, with private businefs. It's necessar Mr. Robert Douglas be Moderator, and that you have sett your Committees of weell-affected wise men. The Lord be with you.

Your Brother,

R. BAYLIE.

I left your wife and daughter very weell ; but, after the old fashon, in great langour for yow and Scotland.

MY ASSEMBLY SPEECH :

[AT EDINBURGH, THURSDAY THE 23D OF JANUARY, 1645.]

RIGHT HONOURABLE, RIGHT REVEREND FATHERS AND BRETHREN,

It is the joy of our heart, and the refreshing of our weariness, after a long and toylefome journey, to behold the cheerfull face of this most Venerable Assemblie ; whom we pray God to bleffe, and all these honourable companies we are come from, does heartily salute in the Lord.

Our maine eirand hither at this time is, as yow all know, to give some account, as God shall enable our weaknes, of the imployment of your servants and Commiffioners, our Honourable and Reverend brethren at London, who now a whole year and diverse moneths have, with all care, attended the Assemblie and Parliament there, for the furthering and advancement of that uniformitie in Divine Worship and Church Government, which both nations have sworn in their solemn League and Covenant. The succeffe which God, according to your prayers, hath been pleased to grant to our labours, yow will better see than we can report, in the papers which we have brought from the Honourable Houses of Parliament, to be communicat when your wisdom shall think it feasonable to call for them. The fumm of all, as we conceive, is weell expressed in the letter of our dear Colleagues to this Vene-

nable meeting,⁽⁴⁾ which here we offer ; as also in that other letter of that Reverend Affembly at London to that same meeting,⁽⁵⁾ which here likewise we present.

We can add nothing to that which from these letters yow will hear read ; only with your Reverences permiffion and favour, we are bold to professe, that God hes done great things for poor Scotland, wherein our hearts doth rejoyce ; and we are confident, that the hearts of the godly posterity will not only rejoyce, but wonder, when they look back on the footsteps of the Lord in his glorious work. When the Bishops of England had put upon the neck of our Church and nation the yoke, first of their Episcopacie, then of their Ceremonies, thirdly, the whole masse of a Service-book, and with it the body of Popery : when both our Church and State did groan under ane unsupportable slaverie ; to have been freed of these burdens ; to have been restored unto the puritie of our first Reformation, and the ancient libertie of our Kingdom ; to have had Bishops, Ceremonies, Books and States slaverie reformed, we would latelie have esteemed it a mercie above all our praises : but now beholding the progress of the Lord, how he hes led us be the hand, and marched before us to the homes and holds of our injurious oppressors ; how there he hes made bare his holy arme, and brought the wheel of his vengeance upon the whole race and order of Prelates in England, and hes pluckt up the root, and all the branches of Episcopacie in all the King's dominions ; that ane Affembly and Parliament of England unanimouſlie (which is their word) abolished, not only these ceremonies which troubled us, but the whole Service-book, as a very idoll, (so speak they also,) and a vessell full of much mischief ; that in place of Episcopacie a Scotts Presbytrie should be concluded in ane English Affembly, and ordained in ane English Parliament ; as it is already ordained in the House of Commons, that the practise of the Church of Scotland, sett down in a most wholesome, pious, and prudent Directorie, should come in the place of a Liturgie in all the three dominions ; such stories latelie told, would have been counted fancies, dreams, meer impossibilities : yet this day we tell them as truths, and deeds done, for the great honour of

(⁴) The Letter from the Scottish Commissioners at London, dated January 6th, and the Assembly's Answer, February 13th, 1645, are printed in the Acts of the General Assembly, for that year.

(⁵) The letter from the Synod of Divines at Westminster, of the same date, is also printed in the Acts of Assembly.

our God, and, we are persuaded, the joy of many a godlie soull. If any will not believe our report, let them trust their own eyes; for behold here the warrant of our words, written and subscribed by the hands of the clerks of the Parliament of England, and the scribes of the Assemblie there.

We will not descend into any particulars; for that were to take up more of your precious time than now yow can spare; and it were needlessly to anticipate by discourse these things which presently, in particular and length, must be read unto yow. Only it is our earnest desyre, that the mercies whereof we are speaking, may be matter of thankfulness to all, a doore of hope to fainting and feeble minds, who are oft miscaryed with feare what yet may be the event; a certain ground of clear despaire to all the enemies of Sion, that they may give over their vaine labour, and cease to oppose the work of God, whether by their secret obstructions, or open hostilitie; knowing that it will be hard for them to kick against pricks, and that there is neither wisdom nor strength against the Lord. Since the beginning of this work to this present moment, an observing and faithfull eye may clearly remark the Lord still advanceing like the morning sun, ever advancing towards the meridian. It is great folly to fear, that any man, that all the worms of the earth, can stopp the progress of the sun in the firmament; clouds may arise from the earth, and thick mists may darken the face of the sky; but the sun goes on in his course, and at last by his strength will dispell these vapours, and make them fall to the ground, not without the benefit of the earth. This doubtless will be the end of these clouds that now fill our aire: let them yet further breake out in more stormie winds, in greater fyres and clapps of thunder than ever; yet at last this must be their destinie, to the ground they must fall, and fill the ditches and pitts of God's vengeance. Our sun will shyne, and our aire will cleare againe: this we must believe, and, according to our faith, we shall certainly find it. It was indeed very needfull that we should be humbled; our nation lately was advanced to a high pitch of honour; we might have perished worse, if we had not perished thus. We judge truly, that all our present troubles are not so much interruptions of the work, as very fitt and seasonable preparatives to make us capable of more honour than yet we have attained; to fitt us to be instrumentall in greater works and services than yet we have been employed into. We all hope, that the chariot of the Lord will not here stand, nor be arrested within the compass of this Isle.

FROM LONDON, TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

APRIL 25TH 1645.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

YOUR's, with my coufigne James Baillie, I gott, and thank yow for it. This is the first I wrote to yow since I come from London. It pleased God to give us a very prosperous journey: however, the wayes were very deep, and the excursions of the enemy from Newark hazardous; yea, much more than we knew; for we learned thereafter that we were persewed, and escaped scarcely one houre. The pest also was in many places of our way; yet God brought us both to Edinburgh safe, without a fall or great weariness, on the Wednesday at night, the first day of the Assemblie. I wanted not my feares of opposition in the Assemblie to fundry things we had brought doune. I would gladly [have] had time to have informed privatelie our friends of all things before we had brought them in publick. As for the changes in our Church, I had laboured with my Colleagues to have eschewed them all, and found Mr. Henderson not much from my mind; bot others were passionate for them, and at last carried, first Mr. Hendersone, and then me, to their mind. The Belief in baptisme wes never said in England, and they would not undergoe that yoke. When they urged, we could not deny, but the saying by many wes a fruitless and meer formalitie, and to others a needles weight; and that the saying of the Commands wes no less necessar. We gott the Assemblie to equivalent interrogatories, much against the mind of the Independents, and we were assured to have the Creed a part of the Catechisme. All, both they and we, would gladly have been at the keeping still of Readers; for we foresaw the burthen which the removeall would bring on the Ministers back: but, after all our studie, we could find no warrand for such ane officer in the Church; and to bring in the Church a man to be the congregation's mouth to God, and God's mouth to the congregation, without a clear warrand of the word, we saw the intollerable consequents of such a maxime. For Bowing in the pulpitt, whether by custome, or because of the late consequent abuse of it by the Prelaticall party to bow to the east and the altar, it wes universallie, by all sorts of men, so unanimousslie disused, that we were not able to make

them alter. I think they would have taken our difference here in good enough part; but the conveniencie of uniformitie in this point, and our willingness to have that matter of debate removed out of our Church, made us the more condescending to their desyre of our coming to them here. Also about the Conclusion of the Psalme, we had no debate with them; without scruple, Independents and all sang it, so farr as I know, where it was printed at the end of two or three psalmes. But in the new translation of the Psalmes, resolving to keep punctuallie to the originall text, without any addition, we and they were content to omitt that whereupon we saw both the Popish and Prelaticall partie did so much dote, as to put it to the end of the most of their lessons, and all their psalmes. Of the last two there was nothing in the Directorie; only in the letter of the English Assemblie, also in our Colleagues letter to the Assemblie, there was a desyre of them in a generall courteous clause, which we were instructed to make particular. I pressed much, that this desyre should be delayed till Mr. Henderson had come home, fearing we had more burthen already than our weak backs would beare; yet such was the importunitie of others, fearing not to gett so good a season afterward, that we behoooved to venture.

On Thursday we were brought to the Assemblie. I spoke what yow have in the inclosed. Mr. Gillespie spoke thereafter much to the same purpose. Because of the longing desire of all to know what we brought, and to deliver the minds of some from their fears, lest we had other things than we at first would bring forth, all wes presentlie read; the letters of the English Assemblie, our Commissioners letters, the Directorie from end to end, the Directorie for Ordination, the votes of Government so farr as had past the Assemblie, and some other papers. All wes heard with great applause, and contentment of all. It wes one of the fairest Assemblies I had seen; the choise of the Ministrie and Elders of all Scotland well conveyed; almost the whole Parliament, Nobles, Barrons, Burrowes, and all the considerable persons who were in towne. Our message to all wes exceeding opportune and welcome: It wes a great refreshing to them in a tyme of languishing and discouragement. A numerous committee wes appointed to examine all punctuallie, which we were desired to attend. In five or six dayes we went through, and, by God's assistance, gave all men satisfaction in every thing. The brethren, from whom we expected most fasherie, were easilie satisfied; all did

lovinglie condescend to the alterations I had so much opposed, whereof I was very glad: only Mr. And. R[amsay] was oft exceeding impertinent with his ostentation of antiquitie, and Mr. D. Cald[erwood] was oft fashious with his very rude and humorous opposition: yett we gott them also at last contented; and the Act, which Mr. Gillespie drew very well, consented to, in the Committee first, and thereafter in the Assemblie, with a joy unspeakable, blessed be God.

Thereafter we gave to the Committee lyke satisfaction anent the other papers, whereupon they were to have the Assemblie's opinion, but no Act till they had passed the Houses of the English Parliament. When we had this far proceeded, I went to Glasgow, to see my familie and friends, after sixteen moneths absence; where, to my great joy, I found all in health and weelfare as I could wish; your mother also, and fundrie friends whom I saw, blessed be God. I had left with fundrie in the Assemblie to deall for my abode at home: but there wes no remeid; both of us wes ordained with diligence to goe back; so all that concerned my self in private and publick went according to my mind.

But [for] all this, my wine wes incontinent mixed with much wormwood from fundrie sinistrous accidents, both in England and Scotland. The Independents, with Mr. Marshall's help, were very near to have carryed, by canny conveyance of some propositions in the matter of church-censure, a fair and legall tolleration of their way; but their legerdemain being perceived, wes gotten crushed, to their small credite, and to the break-neck of that Accommodation betwixt us and them, which wes farr advanced, but now, by their schismatick practises, is made desperate. Also the division of the Houses about the militia is great; for, however contrare to our expectation, the House of Lords have passed the ordinance for Sir Thomas Fairfax's generallat; yet it is against their mind, and there is great grumblings, both in the Houses and countrie, and speciallie in the armies, that spare not whiles openlie to mutinie. This hes caused the los of Weymouth, and lets Hopton and Goring do in the West what they will. Also Sir Thomas Fairfax leaveing of Yorkshyre, hes given Langdale from Newark occasion to beat his father at Ferrybridge, and raise the siege of Pomfret, and, which is worst, hes broken up the Treatie. We were assured by Richmond and Southampton, that both the King and Queen were so disposed to peace, upon the great extremities wherein their affaires stood, and small hopes from any

place to gett them helped, that they would imbrace the substance of all our propositions, with very small and tollerable modifications. This seemed to us not unlyke. Bot the new divisions at London, and the great alterations in Scotland, hes so farr revived the malignitie of the Court, that they have returned to their old minds on new hopes, which, we trust in God, will shortlie deceave them. The most debate in the treatie was on the point of Episcopacie, wherein, we hear, Mr. Henderfon hes discharged himselfe to his great credit. However nothing could be yielded: Bishops, Books, and all, must stand; our Covenant, Directorie, and all we have been doing, must be abolished; peace with Ireland is justified as honorable: so all must returne to a bitter warr. That which hes been the great snare to the King, is the unhappie successe of Montrose in Scotland. For however there be a beginning of a leavie in France for the Queen, and many Irishes be expected to land in Scotland and England, and the English divisions promise much to them; yet that which hes blown them up most, is the unexpected successe their designs in Scotland have had to this day. It seems to many wise men, that God hes rayned this snare on the Court for to avenge on them their former practises. Matters on all hands were in that posture, that the King was on the point to have been restored to all in reason he could have defyred; but now, on the foolish hopes of a most eminentlie wicked crew, to continue the miseries of all the three Kingdoms, will outrage, and make implacable, these who were panting for peace on any equitable terms. So when God hes cast out these grasshoppers from Scotland, and broken the small remainders of that malignant party in England, what the next propositions may be which shall be treated on, he is wise who can conjecture; only it fears me, they be of a harder digestion than any yet named; or, so farr as I know, yet thought upon.

However, our present posture here is thus: When the canniness of Rothes had brought in Montrose to our party, his more than ordinare and civill pride made him very hard to be guided. His first voyage to Aberdeen made him swallow the certaine hopes of a Generallat over all our armies; when that honour was put on Lesley, he incontinent began to deale with the King; and when we were at Dunse Law had given assurance, and was in a fair way of performance, (had not the honestie and courage of Marischall preveened it,) to have given over the whole North to the enemy. When our voyage to Newburne came in hand, by his

damnable Band⁽⁶⁾ he thought to have fold us to the enemie; thereafter he wes ever on correspondence for our ruine. Allafter M'Donnell wes the smallest string in his bow, and a designe which he least trusted in; bot God resolving to humble us, who were beginning to swell with our great success in England, and, on base partialities, to be filled with emulations and factious heart-burnings, he would not deinye us with no more honorable rod. Some fifteen hundred naked Scots Irishes having lopped from isle to isle, till at last, getting a way through Badyenoch, they brake down on Strathern; the countrie forces of Fyfe and Strathern were three to one, well armed on Tippermoor, had horse and cannon; but the treacherie of Kilpont, and especiallie Sir John Drummond, together with Elcho's rashness, delivered all that tumultuous people, and their armes, in the enemie's hand, without stroak. A great many honest burgeses were killed, twenty-five householders in St. Andrewes only; many were bursten in the flight, and dyed without stroak. At Aberdeen, four hundred of the Fyfe sojourns well near routed the whole enemie; but being ill seconded by the burgeses of Aberdeen, they fled also: Marischall, and the gentrie of the countrie, the Forbesses and Frazers, lay by as malcontent; Gordon, by Argyle's great mistake, having the commandment, whereof, through his own haughtiness, and treacherie of his followers, he made no use at all; a great many Aberdeens-men were killed, and the towne ill plundered. You heard what followed of that strange courseing, as I remember, thryce round about from Spey to Athole, wherein Argyle and Lothian's sojourns were tyred out; the countrie, harraided by both, and no less by friends than foes, did nothing for their own defence.

Whether through envy and emulation, or negligence, or inabilityie, Argyle's armie was not relieved as it should, himself wes much grieved, so that he laid downe his commission, which neither Lothian nor Callander, for any request, would take up; so Baylie wes forced to take it, or it must have lyen. In the meantyme, the enemie, after this long storme, schoreing to fall downe on Glasgowe, turned to Argyle, and came through it all without opposition; burnt Inneraray, killed and spoyled what they pleased. The world believed, that Argyle could have been maintained against the greatest armie, as a countrie unaccessible; but we see there is no strength or re-

⁽⁶⁾ A copy of this Bond, which was signed at Cumbernauld in August 1640 will be given in the Appendix to the present volume.

fuge on earth against the Lord. The Marquefs did his beft to be revenged; with ane armie fufficient overtook the rogues in Loch-quhaber at Innerlochie. We hoped they might have eafilie been defeat; but, behold the indignation of the Lord! Argyle, having a hurt in his arme and face, gotten by a cafuall fall from his horfe fome weeks before, whereby he wes difabled to ufe either fword or piftoll, wes compelled by his friends to goe aboard his barge. His coufine Auchinbreck took the leading of the armie; no appearance but of courage and fucceffe; yett no fooner did the enemy fett on, but all our people, overtaken with a panick fear, without any neceffitie, turned backs, and fled; Auchinbreck,⁽⁷⁾ a ftout fojour, but a very vitious man, and many fpeciall gentlemen of Argyle's friends, were killed. This difafter did extreamlie amaze us. I verilie think had Montrofe come prefentlie from that battell, he fhould have had no great opposition in all the Highlands, in the Lennox, and the fhirreffdome of Aire, Glasgow, Clydefdale, fcarce till he had come to Edinburgh. But God, in mercie to us, put other thoughts in his heart; he went incontinent northward; did what he pleased as far as Murray; gott the Gordouns, Graunts, and many of the clans, to joyne: Seaforth alfo come to his campe. His hopes were, and we had reason to fear it, that having near the one half of Scotland in his power, he would, with a great armie, march the highway fouthward.

Before this time our people did not well awake; our Parliament had trifled much time in needlefes debates; Sir John Smith, and diverfe burgefles, had debaited too much for their own ends upon the excyfe. Lindefay,⁽⁸⁾ by the burrows, to please the Thefaurer, was made Prefident, in Lauderdaill's place, whom the ftone had removed, to our great losf and regrate: He was not fo able to difpatch bufinefs. Emulations, and heart-burnings about particulars, hindered much our affaires in a moft dangerous tyme. The countrie wes exceedinglylie exhaust with burthens; and, which wes worft, a carelefes ftupid lethargie had feafed on the people, fo that we were brought exceedinglylie low. In this lamentable condition, we took ourfelf to our old rock; we turned ourfelfe to God. The Affemblye fent out a printed Warning to the countrie, very well penned by Mr. Gillespie. We wrote a free admonition to the

(7) Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck. This defeat of Argyle's forces, at Inverlochy, took place on the 2d of February 1645.

(8) John, Earl of Crawford and Lindesay, was elected President of the Parliament of Scotland, 20th of January 1645, in the room of John Earl of Lauderdale, then deccased. (Acta Parl. vol. vi. p. 161.)

Parliament, of their jealousies and divisions; which, although it took not away the root, yet did it fneed many of the branches of the evils complained of. Baylie was enabled to move, and written to by the Affembly; Marischall also; all was putt in the best posture might be. The Parliament was adjourned [March 8th] that the warr might the better be followed: And in this case left I Scotland, with a heart full of perplexities.

Yow know how graciouſly the Lord brought me throw the seas. The storme, a little before, had been ſo extraordinarie, that many here thought we had been caſt away. When we come from yow, we were exceeding welcome, but found our affairs in an exceeding evill posture; the credit of our nation impaired; ſenſible neglects, and reall grounds of complaint, daylie offered us in many occurrences, private and publiſh, that would have tempted greater wiſdome and patience than wes nationall to us: yet we reſolved to go on as we might, waiting when God would blenck upon Scotland; for we knew, as God helped us there, our affaires here would amend. It wes a matter of exceeding joy unto us to hear of the great and firſt reall diſaſter that Montroſe gott at Dundee, and of the posture of our countrie at laſt, according to our mind, after the flight of the enemy, the killing of four or five hundred of the beſt of the Iriſhes, the diſſipating of the moſt of the Scotts highlandmen, the loſs of their ammunition, and moſt of their arms, the returning of the remnant to the hills and woods. Baylie, with the one-half of the armie, is gone to Athole, to keep them from that ſtarting hold; Hurrie, with the other half, with Marischall and the North countrey, is towards Aberdeen. Lawers, and the Murray-men, are to keep in ane other turne; Argyle, with an regiment of his own, and one thouſand five hundred from Ireland, is to the Highlands. So, by God's help, in a little time, we hope to gett ſuch order of theſe our troublers, that Scotland ſhall be in peace, and ſend back the ſojourns now it makes uſe of, with ſuch increaſe, that Leſley, with ane better army than yet he has commanded, ſhall march over Trent, and Monro to Connaught and Munſter. The Engliſh look on us allreadie much more cheerfullie than of late. We pitie their unadvyſed and raſh feeble-neſs; and yet, thanks to God, we have been conſtant to doe all duties to them; in the miſt of all their ungratitude and provocations; we reſolve they will, by our actions, ſee at laſt their obligation to us.

Their new modelled armie conſiſts, for the moſt [part] of raw,

unexperienced, pressed sojourns. Few of the officers are thought capable of their places ; many of them are sectaries, or their confident friends : if they doe great service, many will be deceived. Some hes great fears, not only of their design to strengthen the partie of the sectaries, so that it may not safely be displeased ; bot also of componing with the King, to the prejudice of us and all our friends here : yet I hope these fears are groundless. Sundrie wise men, whom I speak with, believes that the new armie is not so full of sectaries as is said, and, however, are assured of their honestie and obedience to the Parliament ; also, if any disaster should befall them, which we, with our daylie prayers, doe heartily deprecate, they hope that our armie, well recruited with forces from Scotland, and much strengthened by a multitude of good officers, which partly have left, partly are putt out of the English army, shall, by God's help, be enabled to doe their buisness, and settle peace it be here ere long.

We have great toyle here in the Church-buisness. We are on the point of setting up Presbyteries and Synods in London ; but all the ports of hell are opened upon us. Of these things ye shall hear ane account with the next occasion ; for now I am wearie with writing, though the most of this letter was written before I come from Scotland. What yow write about Mistris Murray, we are all about it with all our power, for we all have a great respect to her ; Mr. Gillespie, her chief agent, will give her a full account. We all love Thomas Cunnyngame, and are doing for him what we can. The Theses of Voetius, yow have besyde yow, and Spanheim against the Anabaptists, send me. It hath been a mightie neglect that no man hath answered Erastus's reply to Beza. The most of the House of Commons are downright Erastians : they are lyke to create us much more woe than all the sectaries of England. If yow would sett Apollonius, or Voetius, or Rivett, or Spanheim, when he has done with Ameraud,⁽⁸⁾ or all of them, to wryte against Erastus, it will be a great service to us and the [Reformed] churches also ; only it would be done well and satisfactorilie, and also speedilie ; both which I feare be impossible. L'Emperour promised to write against Selden, for the Jewish ecclesiastick Sanhedrim, and their excommunication. This man is the head of the Erastians : his glory is most in the Jewish learning ; he avows every where, that the

(8) Moses Amyraud or Amyraldus, a French divine.

Jewish State and Church was all one, and that so in England it must be, that the Parliament is the Church. L'Emperour⁽⁹⁾ is well able to beat down the insolent absurditie of the man, with his own arms; and, if he would doe it quicklie, it were a very good office to us and to all the Reformed churches. Doe what yow can, by your friends, to put him on. Send me no books by the post, as John Henderfone did the last week; for the pamphlet I coft in Rotterdam for fix ftivers, Mr. Gillespie behooved to give to the post for it five shillings. My service to your good wife, and to Apollonius. My only regrate, and Mr. Gillespie's both, is, that we saw him not in Middleburgh: it was only Mr. Gillespie's wilfullness, which he acknowledges out of time. At last farewell, so I rest,

Your Cousin,

JAMESON.

[PUBLICK LETTER.] LONDON, APRIL 25TH 1645.

AFFAIRES here stand thus, so far as I understand. The Assemblie hath now, I may say, ended the whole body of the Church Government, and that according to the doctrine and practice of the Church of Scotland, in every thing materiall. We have been these two or three weeks on additionall propositions, which seemed to be wanting, for the making of the rest practicable and perfect; these also we have ended, except one or two, which I trust at our next session we shall passe. There will then remain no more for the Government, bot the methodiseing and wording of these matters, ttha they may be transmitted to the Houses of Parliament for their authoritie. The Catechise and Confession of Faith are put in the hands of severall committees, and some reports are made to the Assemblie concerning both. We expect not so much debate upon these, as we have had in the Directorie and Government. The Independents, these fix weeks, have not much troubled the Assemblie; for after we had been long time troubled with their opposition to all things, it was found meet to put them to declare their mind positive[ly] what they would be at. This they have shifted to this day, as it was thought, not fully agreeing among themselves; but now being peremptorie putt to it, they could

(⁹) Constantinus L'Empereur, a celebrated Orientalist.

not gett it declyned. Since, they have been about that task, and we expect daily when they shall present to us their platforme of Church Government. The Assemblie purposes not to take it into publick debate, bot to give it to some committee, that they may frame ane answer to it, if so it be found convenient. The Parliament have passed many of our votes of Government, purposing quicklie to erect the Ecclesiastick courts, of Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods, and thereafter to pass so much of our government as they think neccessare. We will have much to doe with them to make fundrie of our votes pass; for most of their lawyers are strong Eraftians, and would have all the Church Government depend absolutelie on the Parliament: for this end they have past a vote in the House of Commons, for appeals from Sessions to Presbyteries, from these to Synods, from these to Nationall Assemblies, and from these to the Parliament. We mind to be silent for some tyme in this, least we marr the erection of the Ecclesiastick courts; bot when we find it seasonable, we mind to make much adoe before it goe so. We are hopefull to make them declare, they meane no other thing, by their appeals from the Nationall Assemblie to a Parliament, than a complaint of an injurious proceeding; which we did never deny.

As for other busines, this long tyme, the reputation of our nation hath been much lower than before. The lasting troubles, which a handfull of Irishe hath brought upon our whole land, wes the beginning of our disgrace. The much-talked of weaknes of our army in England did add unto it; our neccessitie to ly upon the northern shyres, almost exhausted by the King's armies before, and their daylie outcryes of our oppression, made it to increase. But that which highlie advanced it, is our delay to march southward, after all their importunate calls. These things have made us here almost contemptible, and this contempt hath occasioned jealousy and provocations, which may (if not provyded for) prove dangerous. Upon their jealousy they did cast their old armies in a new mould, and left out the most, both of our nation, and of our friends in their own nation, and put in diverse sectaries, which did much increase our malcontentment. Our Commissioners have not been wanting in all that diligence, prudence, and patience could work. All who are wise, finds the Union of the nations neccessare for both their subsistence, and who ever would brangle it are most unhappie instruments: but there is no humane means for us, were we all angells, to keep our reputation, and the heart

of this people, but by strengthening our army. Many advertisements heirof hath been given from time to time to Scotland, bot all in vaine hitherto. Had it been provyded that we might have marched with one twenty thousand men, we might quicklie have gotten here all we desyred. If it hath been the designe of any, to keep the enemy at home on foote, that so our army in England might be made weak and for little service, I vow they have been the basest traitors that ever Scotland bred. Beside all that is come out of Ireland, and all raised in the countrie, there are, we hear, eight foot regiments, and some of horse, brought home out of England, and not one man sent in their place. All who loves either the honour or safetie of our nation, wishes this amended. None needs to talk of any fickleness or ungratitude of the English towards us, of any advancement of the Independent party; for no man here doubts, bot if once our army were in such a condition as easilie, if we were diligent, it might be, all these clouds would evanish, and we would regaine this peoples heart, and doe with all sectaries, and all things else, what we would: but if quicklie we take no course to send back the English regiments, and recruite what is wanting of their due number, our hazards are great and present. The King, with Rupert and Maurice, are north by this alse farr as Chester. Many suspects his intention is for our armie, knowing its weakness, and the malevolence of the shyres wherein it lyes. Our officers are doing what they can to prepare for the worst, and the commissioners here are doing their utmost endeavours to gett provisions and forces also sent to them; but the only remeid, under God, is forces from Scotland. We have men in abundance: they will be allowed intertainment on the countrie, and in tyme they will not want a groat of their pay, though for the present it cannot be had. We hear also, that by no means ministers will come to the army; that in two and twenty regiments there is not one minister: so our dayes letters bear. This is a wonderfull lethargie, and if God help it not, it prognosticats strange things; but our eyes are towards God, waiting when he will arise for us. We know many godlie hearts there joynes with us in daylie prayer that God would crush that unhappie enemy at home, and give us wisdom in tyme to supply our English army, to send up to it the best of our ministers, and a strong honest committee; for in these dayes there is great need of faithfull and uncorruptible men. In many discouragements we have here, we are comforted with the good progresse we make in the matters of

God, and good appearance we see to gett the naughtie enemie at home shortly crushed: if we could, in faith, draw near to God, he would make his worke runne apace, and hasten the confusion of all its opposers, in whatever way, whether secret or open, and discover villanous undermyners.

The Turke still menaces Italy. The Swedes and Transilvanians are like to undoe the Emperour. Denmark is plagued with the Swedes; their treaty is broken. The Bavarians victorie over the French was great; but now the French are sett on their feet againe by the help of the Hesses, and a new army from France. The French on the one side, and the Hollanders on the other, are on their march against Flanders. The French Ambassadour, and most of the nation, at the King's command, have left Rome, to declare their discontent with the Pope for his siding with Spaine.

You see, in my publique, the best side of our affaires. The Church-matters goe well, blessed be God; but truly our State-matters are in a very dangerous posture. This people's jealousie, contempt, and injurious provocations, daily encrease. The King is bending toward our army, which is called exceeding weake, evill provyded, and discontent. Yow there have been wonderfull ill-advysed, that what sojourns yow took from it, yow sent not plowmen or others in their roome. If quickly yow reinforce them not with men and honest ministers, in a clap yow may have the King and all the north of England on your back. If it should be so, there is no help to be expected from this: for here they are so wise, as to let all their army lye downe before Oxford, when the King is going where he will: in this they are peremptor. Our strait is great, and we had never more need to run to God. If matters be not past helping before this come to yow, there is great need to hasten supplie to the English army. It were much better fighting the King in Yorkshire than in Lothian. However Montrose, and the Independents have brought us to this passe; yet if it be God's pleasure to make yow able and willing, after all your neglects, to supplie the armie in England, all in a short time will flow according to our mind; but if yow be unable or unwilling, for whatsoever cause, to doe this, we were never in a greater and more present hazard. Our feares here, who knows how things doe go, are great; yet we dare not thinke that God will desert his people and cause: too much glory hath been spent on us these seven last years to be so easily lost. We must runn to our old rock.

FOR MR. R. RAMSAY. MAY 4TH 1645.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

I long to heare from yow : I have gotten some from Mr. David and Mr. George, but none from yow. Your memorandum I shall have a care of it. How matters goes with yow in the Towne I know not. The lamentable losses yow have still by the hand of that wicked enemy, and the encrease of the pestilence, together with the great securitie we heare yet to lie on the hearts of the most, makes clear such a measure of the wrath and desertion of God, that oft times fads our hearts exceedingly : And however the affaires of the Church, which is our taske, goe according to our mind ; yet the great danger of the State, wherein the foolish and malicious counsells of some few here has cast it, and whether the not marching of our army, upon what causes we much yet doubt, hes contribute not a little ; these things have made our life here for a time very bitter to us. We see no remeed but in God's mercie, and blessing of our armie. If this people had prospered in their way of exceeding folly and ingratitude, it might have proved shortly very hurtfull to themselves and us both ; but now a little discipline makes them begin to enquire about the authors of these disasters and fearfull dangers wherein they stand, and look back on their old deliveries, whom they were begun too much to forgett. If the Lord will be pleased to uphold our armie, I believe we shall close all Church-affaires shortly according to our mind, and easily call in the wantonness of the Sectaries ; but the Lord save us from the rage of the roaring Malignants, and their crafty counsells, for which we are much afraid. God save our army, and make all therein so pious, and honest, and wise, as our present dangers requires. Collkittoch and Montrose's troubles are little to these that are coming, if God should not bless this much decreased and enfeebled armie. Prayer, counsell, and activitie, were never more requisite among yow. We have done the utmost of our endeavours, both here, and to our friends at Edinburgh, and with the armie, to give warning and advyce. Remember my service to your two colleagues, also to the Principall, to Mr. Edward [Wright], and Mr. Hugh [Blair], to the Regents, and the brethren of the Presbytrie, and whoever minds in their prayers the work in hand, [with] your good neighbour Mr. Zacharie [Boyd] and his wife :

but I must break off. Diodati yow shall gett ; neither the English nor Dutch Notes are yet come out. Pamphlets I will send you none, there are so many, and I cannot choise ; for I have some hundreds to myself, all which shall be for yow and your brethren.

Our hearts are much grieved for the great troubles of Scotland, that the Lord is yet pleased to strike us so sore both with the sword and pestilence. Oh ! if at last we could awake, and return to him, who by all these means is seeking our repentance and sanctification ; we cannot but see the loving countenance of a father in the midst of all that wrath. Church-work here, blessed be God, goes on with less difficultie than it was wont. The Assemblie having put the Independents to shew what positively is their judgment in things controverted, we have been quyte of their cumber these fix or seven weeks. Every day this moneth we have been expecting their positive tenets, but as yet we have heard nothing of them ; only in their sermons in the City they are deviating more and more towards old and new errors, especiallie libertie of conscience : Their wayes are daylie more and more dislyked. The Directorie is so farr from being cryed downe, as fooles say there, that there is an ordinance of Parliament coming out for the practise of it, (the draught whereof I saw,) of that severitie, if it be not changed, that I will be caution few shall dare to contemne, either that whole book, or any part of it. We have this fourteen dayes been upon our advyce to a sub-committee of the House of Commons, anent the execution of our votes of Government : for it is the work of that sub-committee to draw two ordinances ; the one, for the practise of the Directorie, wherein their punishment is as rigorous, if it be not mitigate, for the contemners of any part of that book, as it was before to the contemners of their religion. For preachers, or wryters, or publishers, against it, were they dukes and peers, their third fault is the loss of all their goods, and perpetuall imprisonment. The other ordinance is for the erection of Ecclesiastick courts over the whole Kingdom. For their help herein, they called the ministers of London to advyse them for their city, and they sent to the Assemblie for their advyce anent the rest of the kingdome. The city-ministers have sent them their unanimous advyce (for of one hundred and twenty-one city-ministers, there are not three Independents) for planting, just after our Scottish fashion, an eldership in every congregation ; of fourteen Presbyteries within the lines of communication, every one consisting of ministers betwixt twelve and sixteen, and as many

ruling elders ; and of a provinciall Synod for London and ten miles round about. The Affembly have presented their advyce this day. We went throw this forenoon-session unanimooslie what concerns provinciall and nationall Affemblies, as yesterday what concerned Presbyteries, and the days before, congregationall Elderships. They have concluded provinciall Synods twice a-year, Presbyteries once a moneth, and nationall Affemblies once a-year, and oftener [oftener], every one of these, as it shall be needfull. Herein the greatnes of this nation forces them to differ from us with our good lyking. Their provinciall Affemblies cannot consist of all the ministers, but of so many delegat from every Presbyterie ; for in fundrie of their provinces will be above fix hundred churches, which would make at least one thousand two hundred members in a provinciall Synod : also their nationall Affembly is constitute of three ministers and two ruleing elders, deputed, not from every Presbyterie, but as it is in France and Holland, from every provinciall Synod, whereof there will be at least sixty. We shortly expect an ordinance according to our advice, and the execution presentlie upon the back of it. Our next work will be the Confession and Catechisme, upon both which we have allreadie made some entrance.

The matters of the Estate were in a worse condition ; but now I hope they are recovering. These that guides here, having easily raised the siege of [Taunton,] they thought meet to besiege Oxford ; making account, that our army, with the forces to be joyned with them, were more than able to have marred the King's progresse whithersoever he should turn. But our army not being accommodat in provisions for a long march ; and also not very well content that their chief army should, in the time of action, lye down before Oxford, which was impossible to be taken for many moneths ; and being informed by Sir William Brereton, that the King's purpose was to come to Lancashyre, and from thence to send Prince Maurice to Scotland with a partie of horse, himself and Prince Rupert haveing recruited his army in Lancashyre and Yorkshyre to come back on the affociations : on these and the like motives, our army thought it meet to march back towards Westmorland, to be in the King's way at the foot of Lancashyre, for the safeguard of Scotland and the besiegers of Carlisle. This our march, and that their siege of Oxford, gave the King fair libertie to march where he would, to raise the siege of Chester, to take the towne of Leicester by storme, and to become terrible both to

Yorkshire and the affociations, or whithersoever he should goe. Hence a great clamor of all here, first against our army, and then more against the authors of the modell, and of the unhappie siege at Oxford. We excused our army the best we could: we obtained to it all it could desyre; free quarters on billet wherever it came; ane ordinance for pay as to any of their own armies; ane ordinance for all the northern forces to joyn with them, and of four thousand horse and dragoons to be constantlie with them, and under their command; also the besiegers of Oxford to rise and follow the King; and intreaties to us to march south in so great a need, with assurance to send a party of English and Scots horse stronger than any the King could send towards Carlisle or Scotland. Hereupon we sent Daniell Carmichaell post to our army, to haste them back from Westmoreland; and tomorrow we sent downe Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Gillespie for that same end. We hear they are allreadie on their way toward Yorkshire to our great joy; for truely we have had eight days alse sad hearts as any living men. Upon the successe of that army, all here thinks the whole affaires of Brittain doth depend: It's all the pities of the world, that it should have been so much neglected; that for so many moneths there should not have been three able ministers into it; not a committee at all; that besyde the seven regiments which wes in Scotland, the rest were decreased to shamefull numbers, without any recruits at all. If any love the cause in hand, or desyres either Scotland or England to be preserved from quick ruine, let that army be provided for with all diligence; for if it be but a little neglected, this people will soon faint, and be over-mastered. The King's whole strength will be upon that army, and their weakness quickly will draw the heat of the warr into Scotland. As yet the Parliament's forces are intire. If our army march quickly, they will have four or five thousand horse to joyne with them, and a great army to follow the King's rear; if they delay, they must stand alone. However, yow cannot be answerable to God, if yow doe not your best quickly to send up ane able minister to every regiment, and at least one-half doffan of the most gracious, wyse, and couragious ministers of the kingdome: for that is the head of the busines; and wherever that army is, Scotland, and the Protestant party of this isle, must be saved or lost. Also a full, able, and honest Committee of nobles, gentry, and burrowes, must be there: Their absence hes been extreamlie prejudiciall; and if it continue, it may prove fatall. Also it were exceeding requisite,

that the regiments were recruited with five or fix thousand foot. I believe, upon the touk of drum, men would be gotten, if the great neceffitie were remonstrate ; alfo if it were believed, which is verily truth, that every fojour will gett meat his fill, much more than at home, and for the present fome money monethly ; and if God blefs bot a litle, very fair rewards. If by any means we would gett thefe our regiments, which are called near thirty, to fixteen thousand marching men, by the bleffing of God, in a fhort tyme, we might ruine both the Malignant party and the Sectaries. The only ftrengh of both thefe is the weaknefs of our army. The ftrengh, motion, and fucceffe of that army, in the opinion of all here, is their certain and quick ruine ; wherefore we muft testify before God and the world, that if any among yow, of what degree foever, either upon private defigns and emulation, or on fottifh carelefs ftupiditie, or backward thrawart malcontentment, does contribute for the keeping the army of England in a weak condition, that they are curfed traitors to God and their poor fuffering countrie, and to the whole Proteftant caufe, that is on the very point of great fucceffe, if God be with us ; and of a great difafter, if God be tempted by mens either treacherie, or fottifh negligence, to leave that poor army. Thefe that can doe no more, I hope will pray ; and that truely is much, and the moft ; for it is the Lord that puts wifdome and courage in the hearts of foolifh people, and who takes away, when he is not fought, wifdome and courage from the moft valiant and wife. Any discourtefie that hes been put on any of our nation, or any clamor hes been made againft us, we need not care for it : for if it please God to affift us bot a little, to be at this time ferviceable, not fo much to defend this people in their prefent danger, as to fight for Scotland in the midft of their land, at their charge, and with all the affiftance they can make us, we may be affured of fatiffaction for any wrong in word or deed that any of our friends pretends to have received, and the full payment of all any can crave, befide all the contentment we can defyre of them in any matter either in Church or State. But if at this tyme we draw back, or if it fhould be God's will not to affift us, all our bygone labours are loft : bot this we will not feare. The rash and imprudent courfes of thefe who hes mifcarried matters for a time, becomes now palpable when they come to be execute. Some loffes gotten already, and more feared, are likely to prove happy, by opening the eyes of many to fee their errour, and to returne, albeit a little too late, to a wifer way. It's our

only desire to have the favour of God, and to hear of the speedie march of our army. The enimie is more wicked and cruell than ever. It's a wonder if God revenge not their barbarous inhumanities. If their carriage have been as we hear, at Leiceſter, they cannot go long unpuniſhed.

[TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

COUSIN,

WHAT yow ſent me with Miſtriſs Murray I receaved. I thank yow for your Theſes. The book yow wrote for, I cannot find it but in one ſhop, and there not to be ſold bot with another volume of the ſame author, at too dear a pryce, fourteen ſhillings for both. I would not buy it till yow advertiſed againe. Why did yow ſend me money, that am ſo much in your debt? Thomafius and Rivet I have ſent to the Colledge. I have put yow oft to the ſaſcherie to write my accompt: I intreat let me know, once more only, what Engliſh money I am reſting, and then, I pray yow, ſend over for ſomething here, that once yow may be in my debt.

The condition of our Church-affaires here is good. We are at a point with the Government; and beginning to take the Confeſſion of Faith and Catechiſe to our conſideration. Theſe eight dayes we have been on our advyce for the manner of choyiſing of elders in every congregation, and diviſion of the country into Preſbyteries and provinciall Synods. We hope now ſhortlie, by God's help, to ſee a ſynod, and fourteen preſbyteries, in London, and a ſeſſion in every church, juſt after the [Scotiſh] faſhion. Bot other matters are in a dangerous poſture. Hurry and Montroſe have foughten a moſt bloodie battell; we have, they ſay, a thouſand killed on the place, and he near alſe many of the beſt of his men: bot he had the beſt, ſo farr as yet we hear. Baylie, with the body of our armie, came ſhortlie after to Spey. Our feare is, that Montroſe eſcape to the hills, and ſtill keep our country in trouble. The peſt increaſes in Edinburgh, and diverſe other places. Our armie here is in a preſent diſorder. The King went from Oxford northward; it wes our much-preſſed advyce, that their army might follow him, and our's might meet him. The authors of the new modell were peremptor to lay their army downe before Oxford, and have our army, with a good part of their horſe,

joyned, to march againſt the King. While this is expected, and our army in their way ſouthward, as farr as Rippon, on a ſudden, upon a letter from Sir William Brereton, that the King was to march throw Lancaſhire, and ſo into Scotland, either himſelf or Prince Maurice with a partie of horſe, [they] aroſe with diligence, turned backwards to Weſtmoreland, to ſtop the King's paſſage. They here, (conſcious to themſelves of manifold needleſs provocations given both to that army, and to many perſons of our nation,) fear this march to have ſomewhat of malcontentment into it: we hope it is nothing ſo, for, indeed, we have no ſcruple from any of them what they mean by it, bot to-morrow they are to ſend ane expreſſe to try how all goes: however this putts all their affaires in a great perplexitie. The King hes turned from Lancaſhire towards Newark: ſome fears the Affociations, and ſome Yorkſhire; in neither is any ſufficient ſtrength to oppoſe him. The hudge imprudence and raſhneſs of the new modell is now viſible: All that it can attain to, when the beſiegers of Oxford, and Cromwell, and the partie in the weſt, and [Vermeuden] with his northern partie, are joyned, will be within fourteen thouſand horſe and foot, many of them new levied, and ill commanded. They wiſh now they had made more of us, and they are now on wayes of amending former neglects. If it pleaſe God to bring up our army in time, all will be well; however, their long delay is much regrated, and marvelled at.

For Mr. Eleazar Gilbert, what we wrote, wes on our beſt information, and ſome experience of the man, whom we have heard preach, and have been ſatiſfied with his conference, and ſome of his printed treatiſes, both Latine and Engliſh. We never heard of any ſuch thing as yow are informed of; but howſoever, ſince yow are ſo informed, we think it no wayes expedient to ſend him over to yow. If that regiment vaike, I think Mr. David Dickſon could ſend yow one of his ſchollars, who would ſerve yow well; one Mr. Robert Auld, if he be not yet provided, would, in my mind be very fitt for ſuch a condition. Mr. Henderſon did recommend Mr. Hume to Mr. Forbes bot moſt upon your couſigne, Mr. David Buchanan, a moſt honeſt and worthie man's teſtimonie, whom I ſhall cauſe wryte to yow; the next week what he knows of the man; to me he is a meer ſtranger. It's certain your two Ambaſſadors did, all the time of their abode here, carry themſelves as induſtrious agents for the King. I hear there is come to your Eſtates before this, a publick declaration of the proceed-

ings with us : I fear we cannot send ane ambassage so soon over as we would. The Eraftian partie in the Parliament is stronger than the Independent, and is lyke to work us much woe : Selden is their head. If L'Empereur would beat downe this man's arrogancie, as he very well can, to shew out, of the Rabbins, that the Jewish state wes diverse from their church, and that they had the censure of excommunication among them, and a double Sanhedrim, ane civill, ane other ecclesiastick : if he would confound him with Hebrew testimonies, it would lay Selden's vanitie, who is very insolent for his Orientall literature. Also if any of yow would meddle with Eraftus, who, Beza, they say, durst never answer, it would doe us a great deall of good. I have sent yow over one of Mr. David's books ; if yow can make a bargane for him there, it will be a great encouragement to him. Mr. Ruthford hes sent yow over fix of his books, to be distributed according to his letter.

This far I had written the last week, bot it missed the post ; yow have for recompence, here inclosed, what I wrote to Scotland this week. We are still in perplexitie for the not marching of our army. In the taking of Leicester our losse wes not so great as we supposed at first ; only the half of our officers were there, few of them were killed, the rest gott quarter, whereof we are glad. The King is marching thitherward : he is thought to be alfe farr as Northampton.

FOR MR. D. D[ICKSON]. JUNE 10TH 1645.

1. Yow would remonstrate, that the Independents treating with Oxford is under tryall ; and that it's suspected it flowes from their practise with the Queen, by Harie Percy, of which we have been oft advertised.

2. Yow would remonstrate, that this is the partie whose principles, and known constant carriage, is to settle the state, without any King at all ; and so they are for the ruine of the whole Royall familie.

3. Befyde, their dealing is utterlie mislyked by the body of the English, and the whole Scotts : The Queen's entertaining of them will make her the more irreconcilable with the rest of both nations.

4. Yow would assure, the Queen's dealing with that partie is, to put the King in his old posture, to be guided by Digby and the Spanish faction; to have dependence on the Papists and Sectaries, who have need of libertie; to be in a perpetuall jealousy with the rest of his subjects who mynd the ruine of the Austrians, the setting up of the Palatine, and the interest of France.

5. That the discoverie of the Independents negociation at Paris or Oxford [will be] a great furtherance to settle a firme peace, in a more solide way than the Independents intend, or can attain, for the good of the King and his allyes; and above all, for the interest of France against Austria and Spaine.

6. That William Murray cannot doe better service, than to search and communicat what can be found of these Negotiations; that whoever of the French can contribute any thing for this, they will further much the conjunction of these Kingdoms among themselves and with France; otherwise these unhappie men may deceave the King, and, for their own ends alone, draw him to particular treaties, which may ruine his Kingdomes, or destroy his family, to which they are no friends; or at least put him in his old condition, to reigne, but hated by his people, and necessitate to be guided by the counsells of the Popish and Spanish partie.

FOR MR. CRANFORD. JUNE 17TH 1645.

1. INFORME where our army is? See what they will doe if Fairfax be beaten? or what if Cromwell be victor, if at this nick of extreame danger they should not put the rest of their forces in a posture?

2. Only Essex is able, and may gett officers: Our three Majors are going, and on small conditions, (if loveing) may be kept; they will gett abundance of officers: By this means yow joyne the hearts of the nations, which, by the Independents craft, yow have near broke afunder; yow make your selfe able to stand till the Scotts armie come up and joyne, or yow may be considerable for treating; also yow put your selfe in that case, that yow may not be enslaved by the Independents, but may be their masters; yow may capitulat so with Essex, that he be not able to betray yow.

3. How will yow put on the ordinance for Government, that

elfe will linger? How will yow provide Burton's and Goodwin's church? And if there be any more Independents, good they were removed by the Parliament before the Presbyteries be erected?

4. What encouragement is there for Bastwick? And how can Edwards⁽¹⁾ be hastened to print Burroughs's Sermons, and his own Tractats? also the other books against Libertines?

5. How this Plot, of capitulating with Oxford, may be found out?

FOR MY LORD L[AUDERDALE.]

MY LORD,

WE were all glad of your safe arryvall. We have had great missing of yow here already. Your presence was never more necessary here than at this tyme. How all goes, yow may see in the enclosed packet, which I have left open for your Lordship's reading. Yow will close it, and send it to Glasgow with the first clean hand. We have been in a peck of troubles, many of us, these dayes by gone. Mr. Henderson kept his chamber from Thursday to this day: a languishing but not sharp paine of the gravell troubled him. Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Gillespie are not yet returned from the armie: I hope their labors there has been happy. A pitié they had not gone a moneth agoe, that some part of the late victorie might have been ours. How little are we obliged to the unhappiness of some men!

I have also been much fashed in my mind upon this occasion: Ane intercepted letter of my Lord Digby's bore expressly the offer of Propositions to the King; as my custome was, I made a visite to Mr. Cranford⁽²⁾; in the end, we fell to speak of that letter in a free and friendly way: I was not well gone from him, till in the Exchange he falls out very rashly and imprudentlie to comment upon that letter, and to say little less than some Members of both Houses were banqueting [trinketting] with the King. Some of the Independents overhearing it, presently complains of it to the committee of both Kingdoms. Harrie Vaine and the Solicitor exaggerates the matter, and reports it to the House of Commons. They sent for poor Mr. Cranford, and examined him

(¹) Some words are here supplied: The MS. reads,—“What encouragement so Bastwick Edwards hastned,” &c.

(²) The Rev. James Cranford, Minister of St. Christopher's Church, London.

at their barr for some houres, and referred him after to a committee of Lords and Commons to free himselfe. He gives me up as informer of much in his discourse, in a paper under his hand; which the Committee gave to our Commissioners, not requyring any answer. Yet, in duty, I thought meet to give this inclosed answer to our Commissioners, which, at my desyre, wes this afternoon given in to the Committee of both Kingdomes; and I think it will satisfie, and no more will be of this matter. Yet when yow read my paper, yow may see what need there is of yow here. Keep it to your selfe, for I desyre no speech of it there. A second part of my persecution is come out this day worse than the first. My Lord Fairfax sent up, the last week, ane horrible Antitrian; the whole Assemblie went in a body to the Houses to complaine of his blasphemies. It wes the will of Cromwell, in the letter of his victorie, to desyre the House not to discourage these who had ventured their life for them, and to come out expressely with their much-desyred libertie of conscience. Yow will see the letter in print, by order, as I think, of the Houses. Yow have here also the last fifty of Mr. Rouse his Psalmes. They would be sent to Edinburgh to the committee for the Psalmes: Mr. Andrew Ker will deliver them. When your Lordship goes hither, yow would stirr up that committee to diligence; for now the want of the Psalmes will lye upon them alone; for if once their animadversions were come up, I believe the book would quickly be printed and practised here. I know how lazy soever, and tediouslie longsome, they be here, yet that they will be impatient of any long delay there in this work. If ever ye did God or your countrie, or the whole isle, service in your life, haste up these recruits to our army. There is no other way to make the King take reason in patience, also to bridle the insolencie of wicked men. If we settle affaires here, Montrose will melt lyke a snail. Let them be marked with infamie to all posteritie, who are not honest to their heart-roots at this time. I avow he is not worthie to breath in Scots air who hes not compassion on that much-distressed countrie. Your Lordship will not only be a witness to men, bot also a physitian to the diseased, and a pedagogue to these that will not be schooled by others. All withdrawing of heart or hand now, upon whatever provocation, is villanous treacherie, and a betraying of their poor dying mother-countrie. No imaginable meane so good for attaining all intentions as reall honestie; all pultrons will be discovered and perish.

My Lord, make hafte hither, for I tell yow there is great need of yow here. We muft wrestle a fall with fome kind of creatures before our Covenant be abolifhed. But truely, if we could make hafte to doe our dutie, I believe with little adoe, we fhould perfwade many to be reasonable. Yow may fee My Lord, I am the old man. My fervice to your kind Lady, and to your felf, fo long as yow remaine honeft, but not ane hour longer. So I reft,

[R. BAILLIE.]

Worcefter Houfe, 17th June 1645.

My Lord Irvine⁽³⁾, this day, took a fitt of ane apoplexie : it's thought he cannot live long.

MR. CRANFORD'S INFORMATION OF MY SPEECHES TO HIM.⁽⁴⁾

[10TH OF JUNE 1645.]

HE [Mr. BAILLIE] told me, there wes a letter intercepted, intimating fome Propositions fent to the King, and a committee of feven Lords and fourteen Commons appointed to examine and fearch out the author ; and faid, that if the matter were throughlie examined, much might be done ; and faid, that fufpition fell very hard upon three Lords and fome Commons, whom he named ; and that one of the Lords had named ane other of the Houfe of Commons as to be fufpected to have hand in fuch Propositions ; bot he more fufpected the former, as haveing more opportunitie to fend and receave intelligence from Oxford than any other, becaufe they were a fub-committee ; unto which, though the Lord Warriftone, and ane other of their Commiffioners, and Mr. John Crux [Crew ?], were added, they were never yet called to any bufinefs. He defyred thefe things might be imparted to fome citizens ; for it was convenient that petition fhould be made, that this bufinefs might be throughlie examined.

⁽³⁾ The Hon. James Campbell, half-brother of the Marquess of Argyle, was created Earl of Irvine, 28th of March 1642. As he died without issue, the title became extinct.

⁽⁴⁾ Some other papers contained in Baillie's MSS. relating to Lord Digby's Letter, and " Lord Savile's Business," will be given in the Appendix.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE KING-
DOME OF SCOTLAND. [FROM MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.]

YOUR Lordships having communicat to me a paper concerning some passages of a late discourse of myne, with a Reverend minister of the city, I have thought meet to acquitt myselfe, by giving yow the simple and true account thereof, to be made use of as yow shall find most expedient.

I acknowledge, that on Tuesday the tenth of June, I made a visit to Mr. Cranford, as often we had mutually done before, being very confident and intyme friends ever since our first acquaintance. I profess I did not consult with any living man about that my visit, neither did I acquaint any man with the purposes we discoursed upon, till I had heard he was publickly challenged. I also profess, that notwithstanding of any importance might be in the matters we were to speak of, which oft was great enough, yet I had no particular designe with him at that more than at other times; for it wes ever our custome, when we mett, to discourse frelie, as familiar friends, and lovers of the publick, of the affaires of Church and State, according as our particular occasions gave us intelligence. At that time our meeting was but about ane hour; for before I entered his house, I told eleven, and when I returned, I told (upon the water) twelve from some clocks.

We spent more than the first half-hour upon the wayes of settling the Church Government, which now at last, by God's mercy, was well-nigh fully and finally agreed upon in the Assemblie. This, in all our meetings, was the principall part of our discourse; for the continuance so many years of a totall anarchie in the Church did burden both our spirits, we conceaving it to be a fountain evill, and ane evident cause of the losse of many thousand souls, seduced, so far as we could judge, irrecoverable, to pernicious heresies and schismes.

Thereafter we fell to speak of ane other poynt, which I confess wes the chiefe cause of my visit that day. The week before, my Reverend brother had called me out of the Assemblie, to understand if your Lordships had disclaimed the late printed paper, intituled "The Scots Manifesto." I told him, though ye understood nothing either of the preface, or title, or printing of it, yet the paper itselfe yow did not disclaime, being the same, word by

word, which yow had lately given in to the Houses; I said also, that in my judgement no good man could be discontent with that paper; for it did reflect upon no man's persone, neither did it contain any thing bot a mere vindication of the Scots Army from the injurious aspersions, which, for a long time, without all cause, had lyen upon it.

I did also communicate unto him the anxiety of my mind for the present posture of affaires; Goring and Hopton appearing to be the stronger in the west; the King marching southward with ane advantage from Leicester; I thought our danger very great if any crosse accident should befall Sir Thomas Fairfax, which in my most earnest prayers I entreated God to avert. My Reverend brother told me, that the County of Essex and the City of London were upon wayes for raising great forces for our defence if any unexpected accident should require them; my chiefe errand therefore with him, that following Tuesday, wes, to understand the fruit of these consultations, for the quyeting of my own perplexed mind. He told me, that these counsells were still on foot, albeit now they seemed not so necessarie as before; for he had learned from some who had lately come from the armie, that the King wes neither in a condition nor mind to fight, untill he had gott more forces from the west. Of this I wes very joyfull; trusting, that before any considerable pairty could come to the King from the west, the Scots army might be upon his back; and so, by God's blessing, that wicked army of Malignants should easily be brought to ane end; the English and Scots army making it their only stryfe who should be most forward, first to bring down the common enemy, and thereafter to embrace one another in love, for the settling of these much-troubled Kingdomes in a solid and everlasting amitie.

Haveing spoken of these, and fundrie other purposes at length, a little, and but a little, before my Reverend brother wes called to dinner, we come to speak of the purpose in the paper. Finding that he had not heard of my Lord Digby's letter, I told him what I knew of it, and withall my opinion, that it deserved ane accurate tryall; for to me it seemed to hold out clearlie, that there wes some here that kept such correspondence wth the King as to offer him Propositions: I conceived none would dare to take so much on them, who were not either very powerfull amongst us, or very foolish.

Hereupon, as oft at other times, being intime friends, in a private

conference, we took the libertie, (which is known to be ordinarie in these tymes among such as affect the publick,) to speak of diverse names, who, as many thousands doe know, though they agree in the end, the wellfare of the Church and Kingdome, as lines in the centre, yet they differ in their opinion about the midfes to that end, as the same lines in the circumference: but that I did lay the frameing of the Propositions upon any of the persons named, I doe utterlie deny, neither doth the paper lay so much upon me. I said, indeed, that I heard a noble Lord of the House of Peers had said, that my Lord Savill had averred to a certain lady, that a noble gentlemen of the House of Commons did keep weeklie correspondence with my Lord Digby, which I took for a great untruth. I said also, that I heard of a sub-committee appointed by the committee of both Kingdomes, to treat concerning the rendering of garrifones to the Parliament, and bringing over any of the enemies forces, which at first was not observed by any of the Scotts Commiffioners, and for a tyme none of them were named to be of that sub-committee; and afterwards, when some of them were added to it, they were never called to any meeting, nor acquainted with the proceedings of that sub-committee, till after my Lord Digby's letter was intercepted, and brought to the committee of both Kingdoms; though the rendering of Oxford, and the coming over of Goring, with his forces, were in agitation, betwixt one of that sub-committee and my Lord Savill, whom many doe thinke to have kept soe great correspondence with Oxford, all the time since his coming hither, that I did esteem all privacie with him not to be so fair as I could have wished: but that I did fasten the suspition of frameing the foresaid Propositions on that honourable member of the sub-committee, or that I required any one word of what I had spoken concerning that sub-committee to be communicate to any living soul, I do expressly deny, neither doth the paper assert it. I grant, indeed, it was my desyre to have Digby's letter tryed to the uttermost, conceaving it to containe matters very dangerous to both nations; but for the particular wayes of furthering that tryall, I being a stranger, could not but be ignorant of them. I heard of the City's frequent petitioning the Houses for matters that seemed to me of lesse importance; therefore, if in a convenient way, they could have been moved to petition for this, I thought it would not be amiss. My Reverend brother told me, that in the afternoon some of the Common counsell were to meet with a committee of the House

of Commons, about moneys for Taunton; and that he would informe some of them about Digby's letter, that they might defyre the gentlemen of the House, with whom they mett, to look after that buſſineſs. To this I acquieſced: and that Captain Jones, or any other whom my Reverend brother thought fitt, ſhould be ſpoken to for this end, I did not diſallow; but that any other part of our diſcourſe, except that of my Lord Digby's letter, which wes then the talk of thouſands, ſhould be communicat to any whoſoever, or that even this much ſhould goe to any as from me, and in my name, to my beſt memorie I heard nothing at all; but truely, had I ſuſpected any ſuch thing, I know that very earneſtly I would have deprecate it by all the lawes of friendſhip.

Thus have I ſet down, as my memorie can furniſh, the chiefe matters that paſt betwixt us; but the formall end and poſitive words, as in a familiar conference, whereof I did not expect to be called to ane accompt, I cannot confidentlie report.

I confeſs to me it ſeems very ſtrange, that at theſe times of ſo great libertie, when ſo many goe away without the leaſt cenſure, with their horrible railings againſt whole churches and nations, and them of our deareſt brethren; yet my private diſcourſe to my boſom-friend being all very true and innocent, and, as I conceive, containing nothing but what wes my duty to ſpeak, and which any man who had a ſparke of zeale to the common cauſe, and preſervation of the Nations ingaged in the brotherly Covenant, from the bloodie plotts of malignants, could not bot have ſpoken upon the lyke occaſion, ſhould be thus ſearched after; this to my mynd hath been the more heavie, becauſe of my utter unacquaintance hitherto with all Apologeticks for any part of my converſation; for it hath been the great mercy of God towards me, that to this day I wes never called by any authoritie, civill or eccleſiaſtick, to the leaſt queſtion, for any of my words or deeds. Yet all this I ſhall digeſt with the greater contentment, if it may pleaſe God to bleſs it with this double fruit, whereof I am in good hope; firſt, that my Lord Digby's letter be ſoe exactly urged as the authors of the Propositions he ſpeaks of may be found out, and ſo the whole iſland delivered from the danger of that treacherous deſigne; next, that hereafter (if with permiſſion I may ſay ſo much) more notice may be taken of all, of whatſoever qualitie, who ſhall take the boldneſs to aſperſe either the Parliament or the Aſſembly, or the neighbour churches and nations, without cauſe, as too many for a

long time have done too freebie, without so much as any reall enquirie after their misdemeanour.

[PUBLICK LETTER,] FOR GLASGOW.

SINCE my last, June 3d, there is, by God's mercy, a great change of affaires here. Our progress in the Assemblie is but small. We fell in a labyrinth of a catalogue of sins for which people must be kept from the sacrament, and ministers be deposed. When we had spent many dayes upon this, we found it wes neccessare to have ane [preface] and a generall cause, whereby the Presbyteries and Synods behooved to be intrusted with many more cases than possiblie could be enumerat. This retarded us so much, that yet it will be some dayes before the body of our Government goe up to the Houses. We have sent down the last fifty of the Psalmes; we wish they may be well examined there, that we may have your animadversions and approbation: doubtless these new Psalmes will be a great deall better than the old.

The King is turning his head southward, to my great joy; for I was much affraid, that the north of England should have joyned with him, and fallen first on our armie, and then on Scotland. He took Leicester by storme; and much rapine, and ravishing of women, was committed there; which wes, in my judgement, the last and most immediate cause of God's vengeance on that armie. After he had for a week fortified a part of that towne, he marched towards Northampton: it wes uncertain whether he intended. However Sir Thomas Fairfax gathered together all he could, to the number of eleven or twelve thousand horse and foot. The King wes much weaker in foot, yet we were exceedinglie afraid for the Parliament's armie: albeit lustie, well-armed, and well-payd men; yet without officers of experience. The King finding them stronger, after three or four dayes lying near together, began to draw off towards Oxford, to wait for Goring from the west; bot Sir Thomas followed so closs, that on Saturday morning both drew up for battell. About twelve they ingaged. Rupert, on the King's right wing carried downe the Parliament's left wing, and made the Independent Collonells Pickering and Montague flee lyke men; but Cromwell, on our right wing, carried doune Prince Maurice; and while

Rupert, in his furie, pursues too farr, Cromwell comes on the back of the King's foot, and Fairfax on their face, and quicklie makes them lay downe their armes. Rupert, with difficultie, did charge through our armie. The King, in persone, did rally againe the body of his horse; bot they were again put to flight. The victory was intire: the whole foot killed or taken: the horse routed: all the cannon and bagadge loft: some of ours hurt; but few killed. We have a publick thanksgiving on Thursday. This accident is lyke to change much the face of affaires here. We hope the back of the malignant partie is broken. Some feares the insolence of others, to whom alone the Lord hes given the victory of that day. It wes never more neceffare to hafte up all possible recruits to our army: what next shall be done it is not yet certain. The City will be carefull to send one moneths pay to our army: I am sure our army will be in better condition by much in the south, than it wes in the north. Lyklie there may once again be sent to the King, to accept the three propositions agreed on by his Parliaments, about Religion, and the Militia, and Ireland. If these, without delay, be yielded to, the rest may be treated on: bot if this offer, which I hope may be made, be refused, I am feared of the sequell.

We hear the French got Dunkirk the last Thursday, by surprize: this shorthlie will confyne the Spaniard to the south side of the Pyrennees. The Swedes and Transilvanians are lying in Hungarie, before Presburg. After the taking of Brin, the Danes will force their old wilfull King to a peace: he must demolish Elfinore, and give over toll, and leave all he hes on the north of the Baltick for a pledge to the Swedes. All would goe well if it might please God to blenk upon Scotland, to remove the three great plagues we hear there yet doe continue, hardnes of heart, the pestilence, and the sword. Our fascheries here are great and many; we wish, from our heart, to see a happy end, and to be at home. My Lord Chancellor takes journey the next week.

June 17th 1645.

[TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

COUSINE,

THOUGH in your last ye complaine of my not writing for three posts; yet before this come to yow, yow will find your error. I

wrote at length, which I hope before this yow have receaved. It is not my purpose to write with every post, for fear of intercepting, but to be sure yow have receaved the former, least two at once be intercepted: yet your earnestness makes me at this tyme break that order. Yow see what this week I wrote to Glasgou; also what I wrote to my Lord Lauderdale; also yow have a copy of the paper I gave in to be transmitted to the Houses. I hear it hes given good satisfaction: I know it hes been a great means to make the tryell of Digby's letter more accurate than else it wes lyke to have been. We have gotten Leicester back by composition. Our army is come up to Nottingham. What way we shall prosecute the enemy is now in deliberation. It will be hard for the King to stand any more in the fields. This day the Chancellor took his leave with the Assemblie, and exhorted them to expedition. They are in hopes to putt the Government off their hands one of these dayes. It is exceeding false, that there hes ever been the least appearance of discord betwixt our Commissioners and the Parliament, neither I hope ever shall be. What use the Independent partie may make of this very great and entire victorie, where-with God hes been pleased to bless these counsells which they took against the mind of most here, and by appearance against all reason, we cannot yet say. However, our danger was very great, and God now hes made us secure from the malignant partie; for their strength seems to be broken, except God, contrary to appearance, as oft he hes done, raise them yet againe to scourge us more, who truly are not in our hearts humbled in either nation.

I doe not love Mr. Dane's motion: if it be his mind to draw from the professors a declaration for our behoove, I think he would have proponed farr other questions. I pray yow see he doe us no evill. Advetise Doctor Stewart to keep his colleagues silent, if they be not willing to declare flatlie against all the branches of Independencie, as Apollonius and Spanheim hes done, and for the rooting out of all kinde of Episcopacie, according to our Covenant: Why else should they trouble us with their untymous declarations, who have trouble enough allreadie, in our great and dangerous wrestlings with the common enemy? See yow answer my former letter. In it, and before, I wrote to yow about Mr. David [Dickson]'s book, that, as ye would not have him discouraged in a very good work, ye would do your best to see how the impression of that book, which hath been dear to him, may

be gotten fold there ; by the imprudence of the merchants who bought them from him at 3s. 6d. a piece unbound, and the roguishness of the coofining stationers here, no more could be gotten than a half-a-crown for the piece of them ; so the merchants hes cast their closed bargaine with Mr. David, and eight hundred of the books are lying here, in a feller, ever since I wes with yow : befyde the losf, the discredite will grieve him. Yow will try what yow can doe : I think truely they may fell at 4s. the piece, else they will not defray their charge ; however, doe your best, and fend me word.

TO THE PRINCIPALL.⁽⁵⁾ JULY THE 1ST 1645.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I RECEIVED two or three of your letters. I shall doe what I can for John Herbertsone and Robert Barr, but I think I shall come no speed ; for Mr. Rolles, when John Herbertsone wes here, did assure me, he wes neither able nor willing for any request to pay his son's debt, having so farr played the prodigall. Yow have here what yow required of the doctors : I think he will bear me witness of my diligence for him, albeit yet I have not come speed. It were my earnest desyre to be at home at my charge ; and I hope, by God's help, of a dimission ere long.

Since my last there is little more news here. The King's Cabinet being taken in the battell is sent up here. Yesterday all day the House of Commons wes reading his Letters :⁽⁶⁾ a world of things are there, under the King's hand, to encrease his disgrace. I am feared for the consequence of these secrets ; many foull things are found which cannot but much encrease our distrust, which before was great enough. How all things else goe, yow will see in my publick letter, and the printed paper which I send to yow all in common.

Yow will be at the paines to remember my service to all the Regents my colleagues. I am forrie for the miscarriage of Mr. David Forfyth : I have both to himself and nearest friends often

⁽⁵⁾ Dr. John Strang, Principal of the University of Glasgow.

⁽⁶⁾ These Letters of Charles the First were soon after this printed by order of Parliament, under the title of, "The King's Cabinet Opened : or certain Packets of Secret Letters and Papers, written with the King's own hand, and taken in his Cabinet at Nasby-Field, June 14, 1645, by Victorious Sir Thomas Fairfax," &c. London, 1645, 4to, pp. 56.

given my friendlie admonition of all I heard wes wrong into him : I with his censure may doe him good. If I were befyde Mr. William Semple, I would upon that occasion tell him my mind. I think it were his best to have a fair dimission, for if he be removed by censure from his place, he cannot then gett a testimoniall of his good behaviour, and will be kept from all places in the three kingdomes. But if he dimitt before censure, and gett a testimonie, how slender soever, I think he may gett places here much better than that he hes. This much, if I were befyde him, I would tell him out of love and friendship, for truely I fear if his carriage be not much altered, he will not be permitted long to live there. It were all the pities in the world that any man should have such places, who were not exemplar both in pietie, wisdom, temperance, and learning. The charge of provyding these places lyes on your conscience and credit above all men, and I doubt not of your sufficient care of it, *detur digniori suprema lex*. However I know my own infirmitie to be overcome with bye-respects of friendship, as much as any man else, yet I am sure this is a sin, and hurtfull to the place where a man is put above his merit, and [to] the man himself also at last. I had a great conceit of Mr. John Young, and if I had been there I think I would have solisted yow for him to the first vacant place, before any man comes in my mind. But in so farr a distance I can say nothing, and am glad that I am free of the burthen which, at such occasion, will lye on yow and all who hes the least interest in these matters.

If yow have a mind for books send me word of particulars. Tanner, a late Jesuit's four volumes on [St.] Thomas, is lyked here ; also Buckstorfie's [Buxtorff's] great Rabbinick Dictionary, at 33s. : the late edition of Atlas, Vol. 4, seems needfull for your Library ; some good Herball as that of Parkinsone, better than Gerard's ; or what yow please else. What Mr. William Spang long agoe sent to me for yow, I delyvered to John Herbertsone, Gomarus, and Rivet's Works Vol. 3, folio : the pryce I know not.

I rest your loving Brother,

[R. BAILLIE.]

Daniell Rolles is now a souldier in Sir Thomas Fairfax's army : I am doing what I can about John Herbertsone, both about Rolles and the Braynes ; I hope to gett some course for poor Barr's horses : I shall doe my best however.

[PUBLICK LETTER.] LONDON, JULY 1ST 1645.

How this fortnight bygone affaires have gone here, the two inclosed diurnalls will shew. Little more progresse is made in Church-affaires. The Assemblie hes been forced to adjourne on fyve diverse occasions of fastings and thanksgiving lately, every one whereof took from us almost two dayes. When we did sitt we had no reall controverfie; only petty debates for alteration of words, and transposition of propositions, in the whole body of Government, took up our time. Our luck will be very evill, if once this week, by God's help, we doe not at last put out of our hands to the Houses all that we have to say of Government, the whole platforme there really according to the practise of our Church. Farther, order for the Directorie, after many debates, at last is past the House of Commons; very near as severe as their ordinance against the neglect of the service-book. Wednesdays and Frydays are sett apart by the House for Church-affaires, so we hope very shortly to see Presbyteries and Synods erected: yet what retardment we may have from this great victorie, obtained most by the Independent partie, and what that modell of government, whereupon Thomas Goodwin and his brethren these three moneths hes been fitting so close, that they very rarely, and he never at all hes yet appeared, we doe not know; only we expect a very great assault, how soone we know not, for a tolleration to we wot not what. This we know, that we had never more neede of your prayers for wisdom and grace, to gett the dangerous and evill designs of very craftie and diligent men overthrown, and turned on the head of the contrivers. For our own parts, we have strong enough mutuall affections to be at our own homes in so stormie tymes; yet we were unworthie of the trust is put upon us, if we did not declare, that the necessitie of men here for our Church, and the cause of God, wes never so palpable as at this houre. The King, since the battell, hes been in Worcestershire, and now in Haryford and Monmouth shires, on the borders of Wales, recruiting his foot; bot comes small speed. Our forces in Taunton were in hazard to have been overmastered by Goring; bot Massey gott near four thousand horse together for their releif. Goring is thought yet to be the stronger. Sir Thomas Fairfax is marching

with all the speed he can to joyne with Mafley. It's much feared Goring fight before Sir Thomas Fairfax can come up. This is a day of prayer in the city for help from God to Mafley: If Goring were broken, it's thought that pairtie were undone. The King expects forces from Ireland to land in Wales. Bot that which now is most spoken of, is the King's Cabinet, sent up hither by Sir Thomas Fairfax after the battell. Some makes it of alse great value as the victorie; I pray God it may prove so. It doth discover under the King's hand many great secrets, which I fear will make all peace with him, and hopes of him, more desperate. Our Commiffioners gave in ane paper before the Chancellor went, to make three uses of the victorie; the present settling of the Church, the active prosecution of the warr, the sending to the King in his low condition for peace on the former propositions. We expect to morrow ane answer to these important motions. Our armie, blessed be God, is well, and hes rested itselfe at leasure about Notingham: I hope they are now on their march for Worcester and Haryford. Their quarters there will be good, and their service for the time not hard. It's exceeding necessary, that the promised recruits should come up with all diligence. All that loves either God or Scotland would bestirr themselves in the places where they live to haste up these men. If they be put in garrison in Newcastle, their labor is not great; if they come up to Worcester, though the journey be farr, yet the way is safe; no enemy by the way, and they are sure of good maintainance. If it might please God to make yow there so wyse as to strengthen this armie to fourteen or fifteen thousand foot, that the whole might be eighteen or twentieth thousand men, horse and foot, then we would be so looked upon as to be revered by our friends, feared by our foes, be well entertained of all, and be able to keep all here in Church and State right, according to our mind. Bot will we sitt still, and neglect the armie here; it will be contemned, and our whole nation with it: the consequents will be deplorable to both the kingdomes. Now a little wisdom and diligence will help all. Our hearts here are oft exceeding forrie to think, that it is God's will to continue his plagues on our dear countrie; that not only these bloody miscreants are permitted to rage among us, but that God immediatlie should strike the chief parts of our land with the pestilence, and that under both these plagues a stupid, blind, lethargick stupidity should be upon us. For these things we mourne, and oft our eyes trickle doune with water: bot if, with all

these evils, there be any unmercifull men among us, who now will follow private interests, and be for emulations and factions, for the upholding of the common enemy, and casting of this whole island back in the gulf of deeper misery than yet we have seen, at this very time when God's mercy has brought us very near to the shore and end of all our troubles; I cannot deny but my heart does detest and curse the wickedness of all such men; and I am confident God will discover, and make their base designs so visible, that their names shall rot and stink to the generations following. I hope many honest ministers, and others, will countenance this Session of Parliament. My Lord Chancellor and my Lord Lauderdale will there fully inform the posture of affairs here. I hope there will be none there so evil a countryman as to be upon any designe which evidently may put things either here or there in a confusion. Private ends are ever base; but at this nick of time, men's self-interests may be destructive both to themselves and to the publick. Time will not fail to reveal many secrets. If God may be pleased to make you there wise and unanimous, and a little active, we are likely ere long to have all settled in the whole island according to our mind; otherwise our miseries in all the isle are but beginning. What I wrote about the surprize of Dunkirk was reported here confidently for four or five dayes; but it's false. Duke de Orleans is lying about Mardick, and has burnt the suburbs of Dunkirk. Torstenson has not yet gotten Brin. The Prince of Orange with all his army, is in Flanders, but yet not lyen down before any towne. The States fleet is joyned with the Swedish: the straits of Denmark are great. They say Harcourt has gotten a great victorie in Arragon.

[TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.] LONDON, JULY 1ST 1645.

MY LORD,

I FORGIVE your first fault in not answering mine, though you may fall the reader in the next. I hope you gott the last fifty Psalmes, and have sent them to the Committee. There is longing here already for your animadversions: Mr. Rouse has twice in this short time been speaking to me about it. You will not fail to putt the Committee in mind to use what diligence conveniently they may. Your Lordship may see what I wryte to my wife:

close all, and fend all away with the first occasion. If yow be a good Scotsman, remonstrate what necessitie there is to make our armie here strong in men and ministers and a committee. For the tyme it's lyke to have little adoe; for the Independents and Cromwell are lyke to putt a quick end to all here without any other help. What will be next, if we, by our eternallie unanswerable fottishness, will make our selfe unconsiderable but for a little time longer, who can tell? Our Church-busines dryves on wonderfull heavilie, and is lyke to goe on more and more heavilie if this world last. The Letters of the Cabinet have been strangelie shuffled. It's said now they were riffled by the sojourns, and cast here and there, and hardly ane gotten gathered together. Howsoever, the box was in some hands at furthest on the Sunday. The Committee of both Kingdoms had leasure to wryte for them to Sir Thomas Fairfax; bot no answer at all was returned to that letter; only the letters came all open here, on the Friday, to Mr. Whyte, who did with them what he pleased till Monday at morning; at which tyme they were given in as a hudge great secret to the House of Commons, and there all the forenoon and afternoon, and the day following, read over in the audience of the House. They are this day, as I think, bot to be read in the House of Lords, and on Thursday by a great Committee of Lords and Commons to be read in a common council at London; thereafter we will have the favour to see them. It's very lyke that new advysements here will be taken upon them. What they who loves ane anarchie in the Church, as it is feared in State also, doe intend, we will shortly know: Only, who has any love to God, or their Covenant, or Britaine, among yow, let them at this dyett of Parliament, or never, see to our army here, [and] to our London Commiffion. Are there any pedantick fooles now talking of removeing of the Commiffion? The necessitie of continewing and encreasing it was never halfe so apparent as now. If there be any fitter men than the former, let them in God's name have their turne; bot a lamentable pitie it is, that men should so farre minde their own open interests, as to hazard the publick safetie, for to revenge the just miscarriage of their unreasonable desires. If there was any trinketting here with the King, it seems the evidence of it was in that box; bot, by canny conveyance, these men in whose hand so long the open box remained, might destroy whatever concerned their friends. This is done in such a way as cannot be gotten questioned. Savill and Say have oft been before the committee of examination; bot all is lyke to turne

to nothing. Except yow be unanimous, this poor Isle is farder from peace and happinefs than ever. When we have put the King to Wales and Cornwall, and printed all his shamefull secrets, as it is lyke shortly we will, what then shall we doe next? the lyke of this consultation never yet come above your table.

Make hafte hither, yow and the Chancellour, except yow also love to drown your selfe in your private affairs, till both yow and they be loft with us all in the publick. Ane agent for the army is most needlesse; we are at charges enough allready. That needles office will finde us all faggots to heat our waters more than we can suffer: fuppreffe that motion in tyme, or it will hurt us all, and most the first movers. I am alse bufie as I may with our Sectaries: iff I had some time, readily I may give ane account to the publick of my studies, under your Lordship's patronage,⁽⁷⁾ iff yow continue honest, (a great iff in these dayes of motion;) but my progres yet is but small. Mr. Henderson feared me much the other day by stopping of his water; bot now, blessed be God, he is well. We expected George [Gillespie] and Mr. Kennedy this night from the army at furthest; bot we have heard nothing of them, or it, since Fryday. We fend to the army to-morrow twenty thousand pounds. Remembering my service to your good kind Lady, and her glowming sonne,⁽⁸⁾ whom I pray God to blefs, and make father-better, I rest,

Your Lordship's servant.

[To MR. GEORGE YOUNG.] LONDON, JULY 8TH 1645.

WITH the last post all I would say besyde what wes in my publick letter, yow and Mr. Robert did see in my letter to Mr. David. Let me know if yow receaved what I wrote to yow with James Neisbitt. I gott Mr. Robert's and Mr. Zacharie's. Yow had great need to further up recruits to our army. It may shortly have much to doe. If yow will fend to it what yow ought and may, it will have little or nought to doe. I see by Mr. Robert's letter, yow are misinformed of our numbers. The King and

(7) Baillie, in 1646, dedicated to the Earl of Lauderdale his "Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time;" and also in 1647, "Anabaptism," &c. or the Second part of the Dissuasive.

(8) Lauderdale's son probably died young: he is not mentioned in any Peerage.

Goring together will have triple our number of horse, and double of foot. The Parliament, if they labour it, can make Sir Thomas Fairfax double our number in foot as he is already double in horse: under God the welfare of Scotland depends on this army. The Chancellor can informe how necessary it is to have a strong Committee and Presbyterie there to keep better discipline than has been: ravishing, and plundering of friends, unpunished, will make God to punish all for a few. Men of suspect faith are very dangerous to be here: The Parliament is wise to make, in a canny and safe way, a wholesome purgation, that it may be tymous.

Yow will remember me to the Magistrates of the Towne, and have a care that my publick letters, and printed papers, be communicated to them and to my colleagues. If this be neglected, I pray yow let them know it's not my fault. However our opposition is mighty, yet daily, blessed be God, we gett ground. All the ministers in London now without exception, are for our Presbyterie. Thomas Goodwin and Burton, that were against it, are put by the Parliament from their places; some other few preachers are but lecturers. The Independents yet presents not their modell. We suspect their domestick divisions, or their perplexitie, whether to take in or hold out from amongst themselves the rest of the Sectaries. If our army were in good case, by God's blessing, all would quickly settle in peace; else, we are but in the beginning of confusions and troubles. The troubles in Scotland are but secundarie evils. Your right eye would be on the affaires here, if yow have either wisdom, or any love to your selfe. Mr. Henderson is much tenderer than he wont: he and Mr. Rutherford are gone this day to Epfom waters: so long as any thing is to doe here, he cannot be away. I hope the rest of us may ere long be well spared, if once we had through the Catechise and a part of the Confession. If I write not the next two posts, the cause will be my imployment to preach to the House of Lords the next fast-day. What our consultation about sending of articles to the King will produce, we cannot tell as yet; only we expect great events: I pray God they may be good, and for ending of our troubles. I think yow and Mr. David both will be at Stirling. Let it be your care, that Lauderdale be sent back to us with all expedition. No living man fitter to doe Scotland service against the plotting Independent partie, which, for the time, has a great hand in the State.

Also, if the affaires of Scotland may any way permitt, it were verie neccessare the Chancellor returned: he is very much regarded and loved here. Take heed, as ye love our affaires either of Church or State, that my Lord Warristone be not called back: Whoever and whatever pretence will offer it, they, for private and corrupt designes, would disgrace one of the most faithfull, and diligent, and able servants that our Church and Kingdome hes had all the tymes of our troubles. There is no need at all of ane agent for the army, if there be any Commiffioners for our State here. It's not only a needles office, bot it's fought merely for private ends, and will be occasion of evill. In all these things misken me, and all information from this.

[TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.]

MY LORD,

So long as the plague is in Edinburgh, yow must be content to be our Post Master-Generall. How all goes here, yow will gett it from many hands. If yow please to read what I have sent to my friends, yow may close the utmost cover, and send it to some Glasgow man there. Mr. Henderfon went this day to Epfom: he is better than he was, bot not yet well. Many here stumble at our offer of Propositions to the King; bot to me the offer seems very neccessare. Yow know the temper of our army, and I think of the Parliament also. If they be offered and receaved, we attain our end; if rejected, all will be the more encouraged to go on. Bot if they should not be offered, and yet, upon the letters a summonds, a certification go to the King, what should be next? The Prince and Yorke are with their father; Gloucester is put in Northumberland's keeping. The Kingdomes behooved to be guided by the Parliaments, and so England by these who now prevails; whose government how sweet it would be either to Church or State, no man knows better than yow. And what would Scotland's condition be, if, besyde Montrose, they had any other factions to deall with, striving for the government, and possibly a rupture with England, besyde an immortall warr so long as the King or Prince had any friends either at home or abroad? I would therefore think it simplie neccessare for the good of Brittain to send offers of peace to the King, bot withall that they may be reall. Many here that can condescend to send them, minds no

more than a bare paper to be accepted or refused, not only without any treaty, but without any words. If we desire to deal truly with the heart of a man obstinate near to induration, we would use some probable means of persuasion. If you condescend to send propositions, by all means let Mr. Henderson be one to go with them, with an express to him, and all whom ye will send, to deal to the uttermost of their power to persuade the King's conscience to go on no further to his own evident ruine, and possible ours also. No man on our side so meet as Mr. Henderson, and you know he will not go without express commands both from Church and State. This much, remember, I forewarned you of, albeit possibly for little purpose; for if Goring gett over the Severne with his seven thousand horse and three of foot, as they call him, the King and he will make a powerful army, and in reason they will march directly on us at Worcester. There we are our alone. The English forces which were promised to joine, I hear not of them. Sir Thomas Fairfax, appointed to follow Goring, it's feared shall ly still to refresh his wearie foot; and the present condition of our army I doubt it much. By all means haste up our recruits to ly still in the northern garisons, that the old sojourns may come to our army. O! if you could gett one sound blow of Montrose, that the body of that army might come up to England. We are hated and despised daily by many here: no means, but by a miracle, either of safety or reputation, but the strengthening of this army much above what it is. If you take not a course in the Parliament, that justice may be done on unclean, drunken, blasphemous, plundering officers, noblemen, as well as others, we will stink in the nose of this people deservedly, and God will plague us; and if any thing should befall this army, what were Scotland's condition? The face of affaires convinces you, that there is a necessity you should lay by your private affaires, and haste up hither so soone as the English Commissioners are dismissed; for before, I think, you must not stirr. Wharton is the leader of this negotiation; you know his metall. He is as fully as ever for that party, who daily growes in hopes and insolencie against all that are in their way. Their designs are very high; yet pride dwells in the brink of ruine. I thought but to have written six lines at most, yet old freedome with you has made my pen runne thus farr. Please your Lordship, Farewell. Your Servant,

R. B.

[TO THE EARL OF EGLINTON.] WORCESTER-HOUSE,
JULY 8TH 1645.

MY LORD,

I THANK your Lordship for your kind letter by Hugh Kennedy. I saw no other of your letters this twelve months at least. All the news I have ever sent to Scotland, it was my direction they should goe from Glasgow to your Lordship's house at Kilwinning. How all goes here, our secretarie wrytes to your committee. Yesterday we sent up to both Houses the whole body of the Church-government; so it is once out of the Assemblie's hands. Blessed be God, all the ministers of London are for us. Burton and Goodwin, the only two that were Independent, are by the Parliament removed from their places. Seven or eight preachers that are against our way are only lecturers in the city, but not ministers. We hope shortly to gett the Independents put to it to declare themselves either to be for the rest of the Sectaries, or against them. If they declare against them, they will be but a small inconsiderable companie; if for them, all honest men will cry out upon them for separating from all the Reformed Churches, to joyne with Anabaptists and Libertines. The Lords this day named Rutland and Wharton for their commissioners to our Parliament, as the Commons before had done Sir Hary Vane elder, Sir William Armyne, Mr. Hatcher, and Goodwin. I hope their friendlie debate with our Parliament about Carlisle shall end in a straiter union betwixt the nations, and shall be a means to remeed many of our grievances; but the only hope we have to prevaile in any thing, either in Church or State, is God's blessing on that your army. We feare that Goring crosse the Severne, and joyn with the King; yow then will be nearest the danger. I doubt not but yow presse with all diligence to have your recruits frae Scotland, and what yow can draw from your northern garisons. That which affrayes us most is, your neglect of discipline, if it be true, which very many have told us, that ravishers of women, and plunderers of people, that blasphemers, and prophaners of the Sabbath, and such like enormities, are unpunished among yow; [and] that fundry new Covenanters have places. These things will make God to withdraw his assistance from yow. Your Lordship wes wont to have the best ordered and most pious sojors in the army; if this be not still your Lord-

ship's care, yow will losse much of that honor which before your Lordship did enjoy upon just desert. I must here abruptlie break off. Our prayers here are for all your prosperities. We trust God will honor yow all by notable services to God and both the Kingdomes. When you have seen the copy of the King's writes, yow will believe your own eyes, that our hopes of peace, by any treaty, can be but small so long as the King hes any army on the fields. But I must say, Adieu.

Your Lordship's, to be commanded after the old fashon,

R. BAYLIE.

My service to the Colonell, of whom I hear much good.

[PUBLICK LETTER.] LONDON, JULY 8TH 1645.

SINCE my last, with our former post, July 1st, we have, thanks be to God, at last finished the whole body of Government, and after all our reviews, did send it up to both Houses on Monday; so it is once out of our hands. We expect the Parliament, when it lyes on them alone, will, with expedition, see much of our advyce put in practise. Since, we have entered on the Confession of Faith; as yet I cannot pronounce of the length or shortness of our proceedings therein. If God be pleased to assist us, as sometimes he does, we may, ere long, be at an end of our whole work.

So soon as Sir Thomas Fairfax had overtaken Maffey, the clubmen that made so great noyse, did shrink away. Goring drew off from Taunton; and, as it is thought, is gone towards Bristol. The King is beyond the Severne, gathering in Wales what recruits he is able. It seems he and Goring will joyne, and so make up a great army betwixt them. If Goring goe over the Severne to the King, it seems they will fall upon our army, who now, as we think, are about Worcester; but if the King come over the Severne, it seems they will fall on Sir Thomas Fairfax, who is following Goring so fast as his wearied foot are able. There is great need, that with all the speed may be, those fix thousand foot we hear of be sent up from Scotland, and with them some gracious ministers. If our armie were so much strengthened with men and ministers, and a committee, as easily by a little care it might be,

it would be a pregnant mean to end the troubles of Scotland, to settle all these dominions according to our mind; but if diligence for this end be not used, and that quicklie, we hurt the common cause, we much indanger both the honor and safetie of our own nation. Montrose will be cheaper and more easily defeat here than he can be there. The placing of a Scots garison in Carlisle is taken ill here by the most part. The Parliament hes named two Lords and four Commons to goe to Stirling to require reason in this poynt. They who are seeking division betwixt the nations, blowes much at this coale. I am hopefull our Parliament will be able to satisfie the English commissioners in any thing they will demand, and that Carlisle, which many feares, and some expects, shall be the apple of strife, will be the band of a straiter union betwixt us, after a little reckoning and friendly debate betwixt the Parliaments. Union hes been, and is our subsistence; it must be entertained at whatever rate; all divisive motions are destructive, and never more than now.

The King's wrytes ⁽⁹⁾ I saw the other day, for the Parliament sent them to us to be all seen, and so many of them copied as we thought meet. In diverse letters under his hand, he presses Ormond to make a firme peace with the Irish, gives him full power to recall all lawes against Papists, also Poynings statutes, which they say are for the dependence of Ireland on the Parliament of England; lykewise to joyne with the Irishe for casting the Scotts out of Ireland. All this he presses may be done quicklie, that so powerfull supplies might be sent over to him against the rebells of England, and ane army to Scotland to land in Cumberland before the end of March last past. There be many letters to the Queen, that she may procure, from Popish princes, help to him on very favourable conditions to Papists. In one of her letters, all in cyphers, but deciphered by the King's hand, she assures him of the Duke of Loraine's service with ten thousand men. Thanks be to God, all these designs have been crushed by God's hand.

Before the Chancellor went, we had given in a paper, as for other things, so for sending to the King, after his overthrow at Naseby, the former three propositions for peace. The Parliament returned a civill ansuer, that after the consideration of the King's wrytes, they and we behooved to advyse how to proceed. We are to presse again the sending of the propositions so much the more of

⁽⁹⁾ The Letters of Charles contained in "The King's Cabinet Opened," Vide *supra*, p. 289, note 5.

the wrytes, for we think they will contribute to the humbling of the King's mind, and disposing him to doe reason both to us and to himselfe. Some feares the King's obstinacie; others wishes it to encrease; bot the best and the most here thinks it exceeding necessarie to assay if we can have peace on the former propositions. If the Lord harden his heart, that our offers be refused, one other stroke may break his partie without recoverie. But when that is done, and we freed from all feares of them, we see a new sea of troubles, wherein we must enter. Though in it we feell no bot-tome, and can see no shoare, however, we must doe our dutie, and trust in the Lord. Our hearts are exceedingly grieved that yet the wicked enemy there doth subsist, and that the Lord is pleased to strike us so sore with the pestilence. O that his hand were not heavy on our hearts! that many were not stupified and hardened! We cannot bot expect a glorious issue out of all these troubles, whatever be the personall sinns of thousands, and so our just deserving of worse than yet has befallen us; yet truly we must take God to witness, in the midst of the flames of his wrath, that the publick intentions of the godly in the land have been and are for the glory of his name, for the advancement of pietie, truth, and righteousness, without the hurt of any flesh, except so far as our necessarie defence does compell; see we cannot bot confidentlie hope of the Lord's glorious salvation in the end, and we hope it is near.

The Lords this day have nominate their Commissioners, Rutland and Wharton: The Commons, the other day, named theirs, Sir Harie Vane elder, Sir William Armyne, Mr. Hatcher, and Mr. Goodwin. My Lord Chancellor and Lauderdale knows all the men well. I hope their message may strengthen the union of the Kingdomes, and help to redress many of our grievances, if God give yow grace to manage well.

FOR [THE EARL OF] LAUDERDALE.

MY LORD,

WE think the dolorous condition of Scotland has hindered yow and others to wryte unto us with the last post. Our hearts are deeply wounded with Baylie's defeat.⁽¹⁾ As yet our armie here

(1) At Alford, in Aberdeenshire, by the Marquis of Montrose, July 2d 1645.

hes done nothing : If its credit be not relieved with some successfull action quicklie, the clamors of this people will aryse against it. Cromwell's extraordinar success, makes that partie here triumph.

I wrote to yow of my Lord Digby's intercepted letter, intimating the sending of Propositions from some peere to the King, and my discourse with Mr. Cranford thereupon. It wes the Independents studie to cast all the odium of trinketing with Oxford on Hollis, while Savile refuses to decipher the letter wherein he said it wes written to him, from Oxford, that Hollis kept weekly correspondence with Digby : he is sent prisoner to the Tower. So soone as he comes there, he sends his daughter-in-law, the Lady Temple, with a letter to Mr. Gordon, (bot first to be communicat to my Lord Say,) requiring him to declare to the House of Commons, that when yow were last at Oxford, Hollis had given a paper of propositions to Lindsay and him, to be communicat to the King, according to which the King had framed his answer to your demands : this made dinne enough. Some would have had Hollis removed the House presentlie. He declared ingenuously what the matter wes, That all of yow having conceived the expedience of receaving and returning visits, he, with Mr. Whitlock, had visite Lindsay, with whom Savill wes ; that in discourse he had said, it wes in vaine to speak of a treatie, unlesse the three propositions were granted by the King ; that Lindsay required him to sett downe in what tearms he could wishe the King to passe these propositions : he did soe in presence of the whole company ; and when Lindsay had taken a copy of it, he took back his paper, and acquainted Wenman and Denbigh thereafter with all. The House appointed a Committee to enquire into this action, how innocent soever it wes. Hollis's friends hes been in great feare for his undoeing by it : his only reliefe wes apprehended to stand in bringing forth the Independents reall trinketting with Oxford by Savill. They who were able to demonstrate this, were the [sub-]committee, your good friends. The one, whose hatred is perfyte, wes for some dayes very willing to witness ; the Brussean would not come on the stage, yet at last wes perswaded ; but then the other refused. While Mr. Hollis is resolute to ruine, before he will bring any of them forth against their minds, behold a strange providence put in our hands three wryts of Savill's hand, which evidences his trafficking with Oxford, by my Lord Say and the Independent parties advyce. These we sent to the House of Commons, offering to declare what we knew further

to that purpose. The House presentlie appointed a committee for to examine Savill on these wryts. He has acknowledged his hand ; bot be strange jugling evasions. Our fault of yow, at such a tyme, is great. The matter is foe clear, that if it had been rightly tyled, a little either sooner or latter, by all appearance it had removed that partie, which long hes obstructed the Reformation both of Church and Kingdome ; but their present favour with the citie, and all, on their double victorie, and our neafeance is so great, that all that can be brought against them will not prejudice them. And indeed, it seems they have altered a principle, that, as before Leicester, their secret trafficking wes to bring back the King on very dangerous tearms, so now, after their great successe, it is to cast him clean away. Whatever miserie may follow, yet this conclusion would for once put all power in their friends hands ; bot the God of justice and truth will not permitt them to turne states at their pleasure. Since Mr. Marshall is appointed, and willing, to go with the Commiffioners to Scotland, I am apprehending they must have some other businefs than Carlisle with yow.

Yow have now enough of my evill hand. The great God give yow courage, wisdome, and successe in this your great strait. So I rest.

London, July 15th 1645.

[PUBLICK LETTER.]

WHEN the singular favours of God doe lift up our hearts in praises here, and in confidence of a happie issue of this troublesome work, our spirits are deeplie wounded within us, and broken, by what we hear from tyme to tyme from dear Scotland. We are amazed that it should be the pleasure of our God to make us fall thus the fifth time, before a company of the worst men in the earth ; and besyde all the calamitie which the sword of these barbarous men does bring, that our angry God should send upon us a more furious pestilence than I ever heard of in our land : For these things we weep ; our eyes runne doune with water : we cannot bot think there is love at the bottome of all this bitterness : the cause here and there is one ; if there be any odds, surelie the enemy in Scotland, for all kind of wickedness, hes it. That the Lord should cast them doune here, and sett them up there, it is one of the

deeps of divyne wifdome, which we will adore. The constant practife here, on the leaft appearance of any publick danger, is to flee both to publick and private fasting. Truely the godly here are a praying people, and the Parliament is very ready to further this difpofition. If the godly there have the like care, and if the magiftrate be alyke induftrious, to crave the affiftance of gracious people's fasting and praying, I know not; only it is my wifhe that God would make clear, what the caufe may be that fo long he deferts us. Whatever the matter may be, were I this night to die, my heart does not fmite me for any wrong I know our Nation hes done in lifting armes againft the Malignant partie, either the firft, fecond, or third tyme: for dayly more and more it appears to the world, that the defigne of the mifled Court wes, and is, by all means out of hell, to faften the yoke of tyranny on the necks both of our bodies and foules, for our tymes, and the dayes of our pofteritie; and therefore, what we have done we were abfolutlie neceffitate to it; and whatever troubles God hes caft upon us for our prefent tryell, we expect, ere long, a comfortable conclufion; albeit no thanks to them, be who they will, who either by their treacherie, or cowardice, or untymous divifions, or groundlefs jealousies, or neglect of the publick, are the inftruments of Scotland's woe. If yet they will not waken, they will perifh, not only without any wife man's compaffion, bot with a mark of infamy on their perfons and families for ever. This my great heavinefs for the report of my unhappie Coufin's defeat hes drawn from me: yet let our friends there know for their comfort, that the enemy here is going downe the wind apace.

Goring's army, in the weft, the King's greateft hope, is totallie routed by Sir Thomas Fairfax. The remainder of that armie, we hope, will not be able to keep the fields in the Weft long. Wales then only will remayne to the King. Our army, bleffed be God, is in good cafe. They are now making over the Severne; for they think it not fitt to lye downe before Worcester, or any other toune, for a long fiede, fo long as the enemy hes any armie. We hope the few forces which are with the King in Herefordfhire, fhall not ftay for them. If thefe, and Hopton in the weft, were diffipate, the next care will be of the garifones, if offers of any equitable peace from the King prevent not. It feemes Montrofe fhall prove fatal to the King: his victories hitherto hes been powerfull fnares to his hard heart: a little more continuance in this difpofition is lyke to undoe him. We proceed in

our church-busines also ; only the affaires of Scotland torment us. We hope the Lord will not forgett to be mercifull for ever, and will doe it for his name's sake, whatever be our deservings. We are looking when he will be pleased to draw us out of that fiery furnace, as gold tryed in the fire, and silver purged more than seven tymes. We will lye still at his feet; our petitions are nailed to the throne of his mercy ; we will wait patientlie for our answer.

We have sent downe to this meeting of the Commiffion, the whole body of the Government, as it is sent up to the Parliament from the Affemblie. Yow will find few confiderable differences from the practife of our church. The other day ane order paff the Houfe of Commons, for the erection of twelve Presbyteries within the lines of communication.

London, August 10th 1645.

[PUBLICK LETTER.]

IN the Affemblie we have gone through a part of the Catechisme, and a part of the Confession of Faith ; but as many [hindrances,] when leaft we expect them, comes in our way, fo the other week we were diverted by ane occasion which may doe us great harme, if God provyde not for it. Since Apryle we have not been much troubled with the Independents ; for fince that time they have been about the modell of their way, and have not fince much minded the Affemblie ; and what they have done, all yet is fecret. Many think they cannot agree among themselves : bot if we should be quite of them, we have no fcant of enemies to the common caufe. Paul Best, the Antitrinitarian, he took up some of our dayes. Mr. Archer's blasphemous book, called⁽²⁾ the Author of the very Sinfullnefs of Sinne, took up more of our time before we gott it burnt by the hand of the hangman. Mr. Colman's fermon to the Houfe of Commons, the first fast-day, exhorting them to keep all the Church-government in their own hand, and to give churchmen none of it, took some days also ; the Lords preffing to have their chaplaines and families exeemed, as before, from Ecclesiastick jurifdiction, fuch things are a little fashious to us : bot that which is like to vex us, is another matter wherein

(²) It is entitled " Comfort for Believers, about their Sins and Troubles, by John Archer, A. M. sometime preacher," &c. *Vide Journals of the House of Lords, July 12th, and of the Commons, July 14th, 1645.*

we have need of your earnest prayers to God ; for a far less matter may be occasion of great evil. The most part of the House of Commons, especially the lawyers, whereof they are many, and divers of them very able men, are either half or whole Eraſtians, believing no Church-government to be of divine right, but all to be a humane constitution, depending on the will of the magistrates. About this matter we have had, at diverse tymes, much bickering with them : now it is come to a shock. Ever since the Directorie come out, we have been pressing for a power to hold all ignorant and scandalous persons from the table : with much adoe this was granted ; but soe as we behoooved to sett down the poynts of knowledge, the want whereof should make one ignorant : upon this we agreed. Bot for the scandalous, when we had long essayed, we could not make such an enumeration, but allwayes we found more of the lyke nature, which could not be expressed ; therefore we required to have power to exclude all scandalous, als weell as some. The generall they would not grant, as including ane arbitrarie and illimitat power. Our advyce wes, that they would goe on to sett up their Presbyteries and Synods with so much power as they could gett ; and after they were once settled, then they might strive to obtain their full due power. Bot the Synod wes in ane other mind ; and after diverse fair papers, at last they framed a most zealous, clear, and peremptor one, wherein they held out plainly the Church's divyne right to keep off from the Sacrament all who are scandalous ; and if they cannot obtaine the free exercise of that power which Christ hath given them, they will lay downe their charges, and rather choyse all afflictions than to sinne by prophaning the Holy table. The House is highly inflamed with this petition, and seems resolute to refuse it. The Assemblie is also peremptor to have it granted ; for upon this point, they say, depends their standing, all the godly being resolved to separate from them, if there be not a power, and care, to keep the prophane from the Sacraments. If the Lord assist us not in this difficultie, it may be the cause of great confusion among us. The House hes appointed a conference with us to-morrow afternoon, and we purpose to require a grand Committee thereafter, that we may press our interest of Uniformity : We are hopefull, by God's help, to obtaine our poynt, if this jarr delay it not. We expect this week, that over all London, elders and deacons shall be chosen for every congregation ; and then, in a week or two, that the thirteen Presbyteries, and the Provinciaall Synod, within the lynes,

shall be sett up; and so without delay in the other shires; for orders are drawne already for this effect. All here are full of hope, that with the settling of these orders, the heresies, the schismes, the ignorance, and profanitie, which doe exceedingly everywhere here abound, shall quicklie, if not evanish, yet be diminished.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, after the taking of Bridgewater, and of Bath and Wells, lyes about Sherborne, waiting for his recruits. It's thought Massey and he will make a great armie. The Prince, Hopton, and Goring, are raising what power they can, beyond them, in the West; but it is not lykly they can keep the field, except it be in a piece of Cornwall. Our army is lying in Haryford; and hopes, by God's help, in a few dayes to carry it. The King hath, in Wales, some thousand horse, but few foot. They say he is gone to Chester, and from thence intends, as some say, to Ireland, and others to Scotland. If he come to Scotland, I trust we shall be so wise and christian as to remember our Covenant, and remove these wicked instruments from him, that have brought so much evill both on him and all the three Kingdomes. If God would dispose his heart to accept of these necessary Propositions whereupon both Parliaments did agree, we might yet have peace; but if these wicked men will put him upon new designs, our troubles will yet for a tyme continue. If it might please God to look upon Scotland, all here goes very well, blessed be the Lord.

We hear that the Great Turke is fallen, with his naval army, upon Creta, and, with his land-armie, upon the other territories of the Venetians. They speak of a peace at last betwixt the Swedes and the Danes, to the Danes great prejudice. The Prince of Orange lyeth still in the fields, and yet hath enterprised nothing. After Linken, the Frenches have taken in Borborough; so there remaineth nothing now betwixt them and Dunkirk. Duke D'Anguien and the Bavarians are near one another; but yet have not foughten. It yet holds that Torstenson and Ragotsky are joined; but have done nothing more of importance against the Emperor. All they in Italy joyns with the Venetians against the Turke. Affaires in Europe, these many ages, were not in a greater and more dangerous confusion than at this hour. Our thoughts are, that the Lord is shaking the foundations of Kingdomes and States, to make way for the great propagation of the Gospell, which the godly here and elsewhere are expecting shortlie, according to the Lord's promise.

[PUBLICK LETTER.]

SINCE my last, on Monday by sea, I can add nothing for the matters of our Church. All this week, both publickly in the Assemblie, and more privatly in our Committees, we have been preparing our papers, for the satisfaction of the House of our divine right to keep scandalous persons from the Holy table, and of our necessity to stand to a generall rule for scandals, a particular enumeration being in itselfe impossible, and never required in any Church in any tyme. Blessed be God, we gaine ground on the minds of sundry of the Parliament; yet, how long we may stick here, we know not.

Sir Thomas Fairfax is yet before Sherburne. We heard little or nothing of the King for two or three weeks; but behold, for one twenty-four hours, and no longer, he put us all aghast. By very swift long marches he came from Wales to Newark, with two or three thousand horse. We were much afayed he would goe to Yorkshyre from Newark, with four thousand good horse. We saw no opposition to him till he had gone through all the north: our armie being so engaged at Hereford that it could not ryse; Sir Thomas Fairfax being far in the west, and haveing a strong enemy on his hand, might not for the time look north. All our intelligence assured the King's intention was for Scotland, where we feared his opposition should be small, haveing Montrose, and the pest, and many false-hearted men there to joyne with him. While yesterday all day we were tormented with these thoughts, and saw no help but in God; behold, at nyne o'clock a post from our army did fully consent, for they knowing of the King's motion, had presently sent after him the most of their horse. David Lesley and Middleton, with near four thousand horse and dragoones, were, on Wednesday, within twenty myles of him. The English have order to joyne also many to them, all to be under David Lesley's command; so our feares are secured on that syde, blessed be the gracious name of the Lord. We hope a few dayes shall putt Hereford in our hands. Allreadie four of the best shyres of Wales have sent to our Generall to offer their submission to the Parliament. We are pressing to send the Propositions of peace to the King, hoping, when all things conjoyns to crosse his designes, it may be the will of God to soften his heart, to pitie himselfe and

his suffering people. I hope the Lord will give you courage and patience for a little time ; for we trust it shall be the pleasure of God to answer our prayers, and to remove from us his sore rods of war and pestilence. O ! if it may be his pleasure to bring us as gold out of the fyre, and to make all our sad afflictions be means of sanctifieing the land : we cannot think that the Lord will destroy Scotland : I hope there is more of the spirit of grace and supplication upon us than before did appear. We gott fundrie advertisements from France, of Colonell Cochran's sending of a ship of armes to Montrose, from the Queen, from Nants in Britanie, to Murray firth, and that now himselfe is followed :⁽³⁾ Whether may not apostacie carry men of the fairest hopes.

God hath given the Bavarians a terrible blow, blessed be God, and that by the hand of the Protestants ; for when Coningsmark, with the Swedes, had left the French army, and when D'Anguien was well near routed and defeat, Turrain, with the Weymarish horse and the Hefsen foot, restored the battell, killed Merci, took Gleen [Glefne], put Vent [Wert] to the flight, got the [field] with a hudge great slaughter, and the cannon and baggage, with the towne of [Nordlingen ; the Bavarians taking the way] to Municken, having gained the bridge of Donaverd. They [these things] make a strange alteration in Germanie.

[FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

I HAVE not written for some weeks. My sermon to the Lords the last fast-day, the prepareing and printing of it wes a fischerie to me, being added to our ordinarie taske. Bot the chiefe cause of not writing wes feare of intercepting. Savill's buifness for a tyme made a fell sturr among us. Cranford had overlashed, I suspect, something in the matter, bot much in forme ; however, the witness deponed against him, words that indeed were false and scandalous, bot which he peremptorie denyes that ever he spoke. Your friend's part wes well taken by all ; the most malicious had nothing to reprove in it. He gott his desyre, that the matter wes put to a

⁽³⁾ Col. Sir John Cochrane, (the elder brother of Sir William Cochrane of Cowdoun, afterwards Earl of Dundonald :) After he had joined the Royalists, he was employed by Charles the First, in various missions to Foreign Courts. *Vide* Vol. i. pp. 190, 392, &c. Vol. ii, p. 9.

more accurate tryall than ever it would else have been. Savill and Say brought Hollis on the stage; but he did acquit himselfe with a great deall of credite, both to himself and his friends, and of discontent to his opposites. By that occasion our Commissioners gave in to the House fundrie papers, which to our minde evidences Savill's trinketting with Oxford, by the advyce and knowledge, as he writes with his hand, of the Independent partie; and names my Lord Say; but with strange juggling would elude it. The most of the House being gone to the countrie for their health, it wes thought fitt to adjourne that committee of examinations for five weeks. We resolve to doe our best to find out the truth. Mr. Cranford's sentence did sleep, without so much as any intimation of it to him, till Fryday last, when on a sudden he wes commanded to the Tower. We think it wes for his neglect to petition: we are hopeful within a day or two to gett him free. "The Ryse and Reigne of the Antinomians in New England," yow shall have with the first occasion: I pray yow wryte for so much as may once put me out of your debt. I think Mr. Rutherford and I may goe home within a moneth; for our work here is drawing near a period. I gott my Scotts letters: commend me to Harry. John Henderfone wrytes to me, that yow had written to me of his designe; but surely I know nothing of it: his brother hes written twyce to me to understand it; but I cannot ansuer bot by conjectures: send this letter to him. Eraustus is the book vexes us most. None of the Assemblie, for their life, can doe any thing of moment: were we free, there is above a dozen would beat him to dust. If yow would move Apollonius or Cabellarius to give him a succinct and nervose answer, it would be a seasonable service both to us and to Holland. They are both ingaged, and well versed in that cause. See what yow can doe with both, and with Vossius, if he have any leasure: I wish he had never medled with the Independents. If Spanheim's book were come out, I wish he were entreated to goe on with his Anabaptists. Vossius said to me he had a large treatise against them, and would put it out: It's the prevailing sect here. I have written to Dr. Stewart, to put Spanheim and Vossius on the Anabaptists, and L'Emperour on Eraustus. My hearty service to your wife. I rest.

London, August 15th 1645.

FOR MR. CRANFORD.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

YOUR affliction hes been one of the heaviest burthens that ever come upon my mind, and will be so still till yow be fullie delivered. The reason of my not visiting yow wes from no unkyndness, for that is very far from me; but from ane informatione of a wise and good friend to us both, who told me, that my visiting of yow was against your lawes, and would be evill taken; However, so soon as I heard of your imprisonment, I resolved to venture, come of it what might. But yesternight, after I had told so much to some of your friends, and had resolved to have been with yow this day, I went to Mr. [Rous] to enquire the cause of your imprisonment, and the best way of getting yow free. He told me, that after he had thought your buffiness would have sleept and died without any more hearing, it had come in abruptlie; by whom, or which way, he could not tell; that the sentence wes for no words yow had confessed, bot for the words that three or four witnesss had positivelie deponed, which I believe yow never thought, much less spoke, to witt, That the sub-committee had assumed a power to themselves to treat for their own safety, and to delyver over to the King the Parliament's forces and garifones. He told me, that the frameing of the words which the House would require of yow for satisfaction, wes given to a Committee, wherein he and Mr. Selden had a chiefe hand, and that they were agreed to require no more of yow, bot ane generall acknowledgement of your sorrow, that from any thing yow had spoken, any had been offended; something to this purpose, without putting yow to confesse any words which might be against your mind. He wished yow to petition for your freedome so soon as yow can; that he himself will second it, and hopes your desyre will be granted. I told him, that as yet I had not seen yow, for fear of offence; bot wes resolved to see yow, and carie yow his information. He desyred me to wryte it; bot, as I would not doe yow harme, that I should not visite yow; for againe and againe he assured me, that my appearing at this tyme in your cause would make it much the worse. This is the only reason, why, fore against my heart, I doe not this day come to yow, least I should be so unhappy as to be occasion to yow of farther evill. There is nothing that either my-

felfe or any of my friends are able to doe for yow, bot we will be moft willing to doe it, when we know when to apply ourfelves fo as we may trulie help yow, and not procure yow more trouble. What wes given in to the Houfe about my Lord Savill, cannot be communicat by any of us without great offence. I truſt the Lord God, who is witnefs to the honeſty of your heart, will furniſh yow with comfort and ſtrength, and ere long will delyver yow, to all our joy. Soe doe I pray, and reſt,

Your moſt loving Brother and fellow ſufferer,

R. BAYLIE.

FOR MR. SPANG. SEPTEMBER 5TH 1645.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

I GOT your's with Apollonius and . . . (⁵): I hope both will teſtifie our great reſpects to them ſo far as yow could wiſh. Send me the reſt of Forbes: I like the book (⁶) very well, and the man much the better for the book's cauſe. I marvell I can find nothing in its index againſt the Millenaries: I cannot think the author a Millenarie. I cannot dream why he ſhould have omitted ane errour ſo famous in antiquitie, and ſo troubleſome among us; for the moſt of the chiefe divines here, not only Independents, bot others, ſuch as Twifs, Marſhall, Palmer, and many more, are expreſs Chiliaſts. It's needfull, if his judgement be right, that he ſhould amend that omiſſion, by ane expreſs and large Appendix. I like Croius's learning paſſing well. But I pray put to the pryce to theſe eight; let me know once my debt; how oft ſhall I call fori t? If Harry be there, tell him it's not my advyce he ſhould goe home till he hear further from Glaſgow. The caſe of that land is wonderfull evill. This day we had a publick faſt, in all the churches within the lines, for the miſeries of Scotland. I confeſſe I am amazed, and cannot ſee to my mind's ſatiffaction, the reaſons of the Lord's dealing with that land. The finns of all ranks there I know to be great, and the late mercies of God, ſpirituell and temporall, towards them to have been many; but

(⁵) The name in the M.S. is left blank by Baillie's amanuensis.

(⁶) He evidently refers to the "Inſtructiones Historico-Theologicæ," by Dr. John Forbes, (formerly Profeſſor of Divinity in King's College, Aberdeen,) printed at Amſterdam, 1645, folio.

what means the Lord, so farr against the expectation of the most clear-fighted, to humble us so low, and by his own immediate hand, I confesse I know not. I never expected the clear and solide fruit of our Reformation, till we had sometye to work in our churches without distractions and fear, which these seven years we never had. Of the causes which some casts in our teeth, our consciences absolve us. We have not opposed the King, nor Bishops, nor Sects, farther than was our duty. We were necessitate, in pietie, charitie, and prudence, to assist England. I have not yet seen the grounds of that which some exaggerat so much, of the divisions, much less of the treacherie of our Nobles. I hear of a great deall of impenitencie and hardness of heart in the best, and a world of backwardness, terrour, and cowardice, in the most. I hope the Lord will not destroy that nation in the very act of maintainance of so good a cause. However, I believe, since William Wallace's dayes, or rather since Fergus the Second, our land wes never in the present condition. The pest hath laid Leith and Edinburgh desolate, and rages in many more places : never such a pest seen in Scotland. That this should have trysted the enemy at that tyme and place, when we had most to do with Leith and Edinburgh, is evidentlie God's hand.

The particulars of this sext victorie⁽⁷⁾ I yet have not fully heard : the slaughter, captivitie, and flight, wes most shamefull. Glasgow came out, and componed, as some say, for eighteen thousand pounds ; as others, for 100,000 merks. Some say, that after he [Montrose] gott the money, he plundered the towne, fortified the castle, took with him five hundred of their men, and left five hundred of his. For my bookes, and all I have, I care not much ; bot I long much to know what is become of my wife and children, and my dear colleagues and friends. After Glasgow, the most of Clydesdale and Lithgowshire componed. Edinburgh sent him out Crawford and Ogilvie, and all the prisoners, and, they say, thirty thousand pounds. Marques of Dowglas, Queensberrie, Hartfield, Annandale, took commissions to raise men ; the sherrifdome of Ayr keeps together in a body of four or five thousand men ; they expect assistance from Galloway ; [Hamilton of] Barncleugh hes two or three thousand together in the south ; and Seaforth some in the north.

But our first hopes are from David Lesley's horse. On Tuesday

(7) The victory gained by Montrose, at Kilsyth, August 15th 1645.

was eight dayes, when we had spoiled the King's northern exceeding dangerous designe, and chased him back to Newark and Oxford, where in his way the King spoiled much the affociations; upon letters from Scotland, he [Lesley] rose presentlie from Nottingham, with his four thousand horse, and went in haste towards Carlisle and Scotland. If the Lord be with him, he may put Montrose again to the hills: yet his rashness has been very great; for he has left our foot-armie naked about Hereford, and now the King has gone hither; albeit it seems it had been much more needfull for him to have gone and joyned with Goring for the raising of the siege of Bristoll, which is in hazard of being taken, and Rupert in it. Our armie having resolved their march to Scotland, did excuse yesterday their not storming of Hereford. That is but a small disgrace, in respect of the rest that the Lord has heaped upon us. We pray God, give wisdom, and courage, and continue fidelitie in our officers, if the King should pursue them with his large five thousand horse. If the King misken them, and joyne with Goring, he will be large as strong as Sir Thomas Fairfax; and if he should beat him, which the Lord God avert, he should in a trace overturne our affaires; and if he be beaten again, Montrose will not be able to support him.

Yet all here is in the ballance. In the Assemblie we are going on languidlie with the Confession of Faith and Catechisme. The mindes of the Divines are much infeebled by the House their delay to grant the petition, a power to seclude from the table all scandalous persons, as well as some. Mr. Prin [Prynne] and the Eraastian lawyers are now our *remora*. The Independents and sects are quiet, injoying peaceably all their desires, and increasing daily their partie: They speak no more of bringing their modell in the Assemblie. We are afraid that this shamefull and monstrous delay of building the Lord's house, and their ingratitude and unkindness to us in our deep sufferings for them, will provoke God against them, which we oft earnestlie deprecate; for their miserie will be ours, and their weelfare will profite all the Reformed Churches: I believe in tyme they will doe all we desire. Yow shall get some of my sermons with Apollonius. I thought to have been going home about this time; but now whether to goe I know not. The greatest mischeif is, that Montrose puts people to a new oath: This will be a seed of great trouble when he is

away. I am afraid for our friends miscarriage. Farewell. The Committee at the armie hes sent us order to answer Thomas Cunynghame five thousand pounds sterling, whereof I am glad. My service to your wife.

London, September 5th [1645.]

Mr. Cranford, on his first motion to the House, wes let free, without any word of acknowledgement. If our Scotts affaires had not put such things out of our heads, we might have putt Savill and others hard to it. The recruiting of the House, procured by the cunning and diligence of that partie, what it will produce, we are yet in doubt. Some thinks it will bring many favourers of Sectaries and Malignants into the House; some think otherwise.

A PUBLICK LETTER. LONDON, OCTOBER 14TH 1645.

FOR the great and seasonable mercies of God to desolate Scotland,⁽⁸⁾ our afflicted spirits doe rejoyce in God. Since he hes begun to stretch out his arme for our deliverance, we hope he will not draw it back till he give us more matter of praise. We trust he will call back the destroying angell, and will persecute the cruell enemy till he be no more. We hope the Lord will give repentance to that land, that after all these troubles we may be a holy and sanctified people; also, that those who ever have been but false-hearted, and now are discovered, and taken in the snare, will be so disposed upon, that they be no more able to serve the enemy. How matters goe here, the last three diurnalls will shew. The warr here seems to be near an end. The taking of Bristoll brought in to us severall other places about it, and hes lost Prince Rupert to the King. Whether the flagrant reports of his deliverance of Bristoll to us be true or not, yet it is lyke he is so farre in disgrace at Court, that he will serve no more. The King's totall rout at Chester, at Pains [by Pointz], wherein the Duke of Lennox's brother, Bernard, the captaine of the guard, wes killed, and Sir Thomas Glenham taken, hes put the King in that condition,

⁽⁸⁾ This refers to the total rout of Montrose's troops, by General David Lesley, at Philiphaugh, on the 13th of September 1645.

that he neither hes, nor is like to have, any more the face of ane armie in England. Goring's forces in a corner of the west are decreased. Sir Thomas Fairfax, with the most of his armie, is goeing towards him. Cromwell, with the rest, is taking the places about Winchester. It seems, the field being cleared, they intend Massey to block up Exeter, and Fairfax to lye about Oxford, and our armie about Newark. It's hoped, by God's blessing, these places will be gotten, all hope of relief being desperat. It's thought Chester before this is gotten. Poins purposes to attend the King. The Prince's letter to the Parliament is not yet taken into consideration; yet we think, that it and our earnest desyre will bring on a Treatie of peace.

Great wrestling have we for the erecting of our Presbyterie. It must be a divine thing to which so much resistance is made by men of all sorts; yet, by God's help, we will very speedilie see it sett up, in spight of the devill. We have great difficulties on all hands; yet, if the Lord continue to blenck in mercy upon Scotland, they will diminish. I long extreamly to hear of the condition of Glasgow, what the enemy hes done into it, and how now it fares; what is become of my dear brethren and colleagues, and their families; and what of my owne. We hear particularlie from almost all parts of Scotland weeklie; but since that black day at Kilfyth, we have nothing particularlie from Glasgow. I hope some good friend will satisfie my desyre, in letting me know the condition of that towne, which, whatever the world speaks of some persons in it, I must love while I live, and pray for its weelfare. Yow have here a copie of the papers which we gave this day into the House, October 14th.

Affaires here goe, by God's blessing, so prosperousslie, that there is no more fear of the Malignant partie. Many now leaves Oxford daylie: the Marquess of Hereford, the Lord Lovelace, and others, came hither the last week; also the Lord Abercorne, Sir James Hamilton of Priestfield, Sir James Galloway. The Governour of Oxford, Legg, is laid fast, and Glenham put in his place. The commission of Generallat is taken from Prince Rupert. Cromwell hes taken Winchester castle, and Bazing also. Sir Thomas Fairfax is not yet come up to Goring. We expect Chester daily. Poins waits about Newark on the King's motions. There is here very great exceptions taken, at our Army's doeing nothing all this year but plundering the countrey as they marched through it: some exaggerats this very much. If we come not up ere long to quarter

about Newark, and when we come, if our army be not more considerable, and better disciplined, it will not be possible to keep matters long here faire. It is like they will not enter seriously on any Treaty for peace till the time of action be past, and the armies goe to their winter-quarters; then, I believe, they will try the King if he will accept of the Propositions. We fear much his obstinacie.

We were in a long expectation of a modell from the Independents; but yesterday, after seven months waiting, they have scorned us. The Assemblie haveing put them to it, to make a report of their diligence, they gave us in a sheet or two of injurious reasons why they would not give us any declaration of their tenets. We have appointed a committee to answer that lybell. We think they agree not among themselves, and that there is many things among them which they are loathe to professe, which, by God's helpe, ere long, I mind to doe for them in their own words. But our greatest trouble for the time is from the Eraſtians in the House of Commons. They are at last content to erect Presbyteries and Synods in all the land, and have given out their orders for that end; yet they give to the ecclesiastick courts so little power, that the Assemblie finding their petitions not granted, are in great doubt whether to sett up any thing, till, by some powerfull petition of many thousand hands, they obtaine some more of their just desyres. The only meane to obtaine this, and all else we desyre, is our recruited army about Newark: the inlaikes of that army is the earthlie fountain of all our difficulties here. If our distressed land be able to remead it, it would be done quicklie; else evils will grow both here and with yow at home.

FOR MR. GEORGE YOUNG. OCTOBER 1645.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

IF I should be silent, I might be excused by your example. We heard weekly from all parts of Scotland; only I, in all our companie, have no friends. I pray yow amend this fault: I write at least with every other post. Think yow not that I have reason to desyre to know, and yow to satisfie me, in the estate of my friends after so fearfull a storme? Let me know who are your Magistrates, and how? What is become of the Commisſar, the Prin-

cipall, Sir Robert Dowglas, the old Magistrats, the Ministers of the town and presbyterie, and Regents, and other my friends? What have been their actions and sufferings in the tyme of great tryall? The packet runs weeklie. Strange! not so much witt among yow as to gett a letter convoyed to the packet. If yow would send to Barwicke to my Lady Argyle, or the Lady Loudoun, I would not misse them; but yow are forgetfull of your friends, who hes too much mind of yow.

Our hearts here are oft much weighted and wounded by many hands: Our wrestlings with devills and men are great. However the body of this people be alse good as any people, yet they that rules all are much opposite to our desyres. Some very few guides all now at their pleasure, only through the default of our armie. For this long time they have not trusted us; but have had their secret fear of our colluding with the King. Our doing nothing since the taking of Newcastle; our lying still in the north too long; and when we moved, our running back to Carlisle; when we were drawn up to Hereford, our lying there for no purpose; and when we returned, our plunderings all the way, are much exaggerat. We answer for all the best we can: but truely the letter sent by Digby to the Generall, and by him to us this night, importing the King's desyre of ane answer of a former letter; in confidence of the good effect whereof, he wes come with a body of horse to Newark through many difficulties; which former letter the Generall professes he never saw, makes us feare there hes been some designe with some in our army which is not honest. However, the army's want of success, by the miseries of our countrie hindering their recruits, by the injustice of this people to furnishe them with pay, hes put all our affaires out of frame. The faction that here prevails, mynding liberty of conscience, and finding it impossible to gain us to oversee that so [great] a fault, hes made that their work to be quitt of us. They have occasioned many provocations, to vex us, and make us vex others. I cannot wryte the halfe of their unjust, proud, and imprudent dealings: The miscarriage of our army they exaggerat. We say, by their withdrawing of all the promised pay the seven last months, not giving one month's pay, have forced us to take by violence for our subsistence, and disabled us to doe any service, of purpose to make us odious; that their own army, which they have put in the hand only of sectaries, or their confident friends, they have furnished with men and moneys every fourth night, and

were sure in all enterprizes to have it ever the stronger; so that it wes an easie matter for them to doe all their services, and be cryed up.

The Assemblie is much discouraged; they find their advyce altogether flighted; a kind of [nominall] Presbyterie sett up; sects daily spreading over all the land without any care at all to restraine them; a clear aime in the prevailling partie to have a liberty universall; an utter dislyke of our nation for opposeing their designs, and dryving it so high, that wayes are studied, if no better may be, to break the union of the nations, and have us, for the carriage of our armie, declared the first breakers to them, and dealt with as such. We doe what we are able to prevent mischiefe. We cry to God, who knows the honestie of our hearts, and the dishonestie of theirs; the cause of our ingagement, and our hudge suffering therein; their great ingratitude to us, and our great patience to them. It is gone already very high. We fear that they make Digbie seem to deall with us, while they in truth know how to gett the King from us to themselves in their own tearmes; and if we be not willing to compone in what tearmes, both for religion and state, they please, to cast us off; and for the recompence of all our labors, to turne on our poor, broken, distressed countrey, the armies of both. The best way we know to prevent this, is to haste up our army, well recruited and disciplined, to Newark, haveing casheired all who are the known instruments of debosherie, or can be proven to have kept correspondence with the enemy. This, in despite of the Independent plotts, would help all: for the bodie of the Parliament, City, and Countrey, are for the Presbyterie, and love us, and hate the Sectaries; but are all overwitted and overpowered by a few, whom the service and activeness of our army would undoe. Thrice unhappy are these men who hes disabled that army from service: they have sacrificed the honour of their countrey, and prospering of religion in these dominions, to their own base designs; they have put us on the brinke of loseing all our intentions, and bringing a worse war on our kingdome than ever we feared: yet God will help all, if we can clear the honestie of our army, by finding out some few ill persons, and laying them aside; if we will, by after diligence, help former negligence; if we will govern well the garrisons we find necessar to keep, as it will be necessar for a time to keep three. But of these things much more than I purposed; only I thought good to let yow know the insyde of our

affaires. If we be able to send up to Newark a reasonable army, we will be very wellcome to this people; we will without difficultie, in my mind, gett that strong place; for all relief being desperate, they will not long stand out. Whatever be to doe, either for the Presbyterians here, who are incomparablie the strongest, or at home, we will allwayes have that army ready; but if we for any reason be unable or unwilling to send up that army, this people's jealousies and angers against us will increase; they will give us nothing; the Presbyterians here will succumbe and faint; our army will disband and evanish, and a long and &c. will follow. Thir things to yow only, and Mr. David, and to whom yow think expedient. Remember what I wrote about the Psalmes: haste up the Committee's animadversions. Mr. Samuell and Mr. George are busie with the presse, and I will be so for one five or six weeks; thereafter I could wish to be at home, not before, except I would losse my former labors.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG. OCTOBER 17TH 1645.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

Not only incident affaires sometyme by expectation on the post-day, but especiallie grieve of mind for the state of affaires, makes me more spareing to write than otherwise I could wish. Yow have here a double of my last three to Scotland. I can add little. However, the Lord hes shewne us a great mercy there; yet the miseries of that land are great, and the dangers greater. The Lord made these men so madd as to stay for our army's coming to them in a plaine field. Above a thousand were buried in the place; whereof scarce fifteen were ours.⁽⁹⁾ Mr. MacDonald, with four or five hundred, some dayes before, was gone to Argyle; for his friends in the Isles were wracked by a partie of the Marquess of Argyle. Montrose, with two or three hundred horse, got to Athole: Gordon was before in the North. David Lesley went straight to Glasgow, where he borrowed from that people twenty thousand lib. as the annuallrent of the fifty thousand merks they gave to Montrose. Neither the one nor other army did any violence in that towne, to my great joy. Mr. David [Dickson] and Mr. Robert Ramsay did flee to Houstone, and there remained

⁽⁹⁾ At Philiphaugh, *vide supra*, p. 316 note 8.

safe; all the rest stayed. The Commisſar wes too buſſie for Montroſe; for which, they ſay, he is now ſaſt, and it's thought will not come off while he leave his place, and a great fyne behind. I fear the Principall's caſe ſhall be little better. It's good to be honeſt at the heart. It's marvellous how few handfulls of the enemie went, after the fight of Kilſyth, through Fyfe, Lothian, Shirreffdome of Aire, without any oppoſition but a generall ſubmiſſion of all who did not flee. This ſhame for ane age will not be putt off us. The Engliſhes contemn us much the more. They have ſent Commiſſioners to crave Newcastle and Carlile from us, and all our places of garrifon but Berwick. They are angry, that yet we have not given them a meeting. At this very time we are treating with them at St. Andrewes: What to doe with them we know not. If we now give up theſe places, it will make them the more insolent; if we reſuſe them on never ſo fair terms, it will encrease the occaſion of them who are ſeeking a quarrell. Yet I hope God will direct. To cleare our reputation, we have printed ſome of our late Papers to ſatiffie the ignorance of the people. In anſwer to our laſt paper, the Houſe of Commons have paſt fundrie very ſtrange and unkind votes, wherewith the Lords yet hes reſuſed to concurr. The King's partie is taken here for irrecoverable. They ſpeak of Pirno and Montbaſon leavying of ten thouſand French underhand, to be ſent over to Falmouth by a convoy of the Prince of Orange's ſhipps: We take this for fables. Fairfax is expected daily to be at Goring, and ſo to gett back all the weſt, but Exeter, at one ſtroke.

Give one of my Sermons to Apollonius, one to Thomas Cunynghame, and one to Mr. Strickland, with my ſervice. At St. Andrewes now they will advyſe how to recruite and reforme our Engliſh army. It's thought Sinclaire, Montgomerie, Levingſtone, and others, have had ſome dealing with William Fleming for the King. Very great profanitie has been in that army. God will never bleſs it as it is; it hes never been attended with miniſters: many would have attended that ſervice; but they could gett no maintainance. It's thought Johnſtone, Ogilbie, Sir John Hay, Spotſwood, and diverſe others of the priſoners, will, at that meeting, loſſe their heads, that once ſome juſtice may be done on ſome for example; albeit to this day no man in England hes been executed for bearing armes againſt the Parliament. David Leſley muſt go quicklie back with the moſt of the army to England; for Scotland is overburdened with them long agoe, and cannot

maintaine them ; so we fear that Montrose, Gordone, and Macdonald, runne yet againe over ane extreamlie weakened and divided countrie. The pest continues yet to rage. The divisions of our people are not yet cured : the hearts of our people are not yet softened with all our plagues. The Lord be mercifull to us. I must end. Your Cousine,

JAMISONE.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG. OCTOBER 24TH 1645.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

WITH the last post I wrote to yow at length. I can tell yow little more since. I think we cannot presentlie give over all our garisons in England : and upon our refusall, or but delay to the [meeting] of our Parliament in December, what evill course this people may take with us, I know not ; for fundrie of the leading men are not well disposed towards us. It's true, our army's fruitlessnes this whole year, and their too great plunder in their marches, irritates them ; and that which is worse, the great appearances that the King hes been tampering with them, gives them great jealousies of us ; and their extraordinar succeffes, with our extraordinar present weakning by the pest, sword, and want of trade, blows them up to a great contempt of us, so that our union with them is not so infrangible as need were : yet the most and best of them will be loath to forgett our kindness to them in their distrefs, and our recovering them from their miseries by casting ourselfes in the pitt of all our present woes. That we may remead and remove the present matter of their irritation, we have sent my Lord Warristone and Mr. Barclay away post this day to the army, and thereafter to Scotland, to cause our army come to block up Newark, and take their winter-quarters about it. My Lord Chancellour, the next week, will goe home for that same end. Mr. Henderfon and I are appointed to follow within a fourtnight, to see if we can further a better union and correspondence among our ourselfes at home than hes been this twelve moneths. It seems Digby and Langdale intended to have kept Montrose's Parliament at Glasgowe, but God laid a straw in their way. In their rout, Digbie's coach was taken, and fundrie of his writes, that shews the King's resolution to have no peace but on

his own terms; albeit this people, for all we can say, are yet backward and unreadie to make any such motion to him.

Unhappilie Amiraute's Questions are brought in on our Assemblée. Many more loves these fancies here than I did expect. It falls out ill that Spanheim's book is so long a-coming out, whileas Amiraute's treatise goes in the Assemblée from hand to hand; yet I hope this shall goe right. The City and the Assemblée are on a better way than before, to move the Parliament for more libertie to suspend from the table scandalous persons, than they would willinglie grant. We expect daily to hear of Goring's defeat, and soe the King hes not any face of ane army in England, nor appearance of any possibilitie to keep the fields more for the time. He, Rupert, and Maurice, are almost besieged in Newark: they dare hardlie venture to come out; and if they stay a little longer, they may be besieged close. Shew me if yow desire the English Annotations. I pray yow, without farder delay, in your next letter, let me know what English money I am in your debt. I think I can receive no more of your letters, after this coming to your hands, than one. Only Mr. Henderson, against my mind, is resolved to go by sea. I hope the wind will not the second time miscarrie us. My heartie service to Apollonius, and to your kind wife. So I rest,

Your Cousine,

[R. BAILLIE.]

My piece against the Independents is on the press.

PUBLICK LETTER. NOVEMBER 25TH 1645.

THINGS here goe on prosperously, blessed be God, as yow may see by the inclosed diurnall. The King, with much adoe, is come from Newark to Oxford. He hes no part of ane army for the fields, bot some with Goring in the west, of whom Fairfax hopes shortly to make ane good accompt. My Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Henderson, and I with them, thought, before this, to have been on our jurnie for Scotland; bot with great importunitie the Chancellor yet hes been kept, the greatest affairs coming presentlie in hand that yet we have treated of, and my Lord Balmerinoch's health not permitting him to attend the com-

mittee. The other two, Sir Charles Erskine, and Major Kennedy, being simplie unwilling to take the burthen of so weightie affaires on them;—as the matter of the garrisons, which the English are very instant to have;—the marching of our army to Newark;—the Propositions of peace, which the English are like to alter more than we desyre;—especiallie the renewing of the committee of accommodation, wherein the tolleration of the Independents will come in agitation: no man of our nation, either for abilities, or credite with this people, is so fitt for these great things as the Chancellour. However, the affaires of our Kingdome, and his own private affaires and vehement desyres, doe press his home-goeing; yet all of us, and all that loves us, are earnest for his stay for farder tyme. The same causes I fear may keep Mr. Henderson here also longer than I could wish; for we have resolved all of us, that he should goe down when my Lord Warristone went. But since other emergents hes interveened for the tyme, we are irresolute. We expect an expres from Scotland; for with this post we have no directions.

In the Assemblie, we are going on with the Confession of Faith. We had long and tough debates about the Decrees of election; yet thanks to God all is gone right according to our mind. That which has taken up much of the Assemblie's both time and mind, these fix or seven weeks, is their manifold petitions to the Parliament, for a full libertie to keep from the Holy table all scandalous persons. The Parliament calls this an arbitrary power, and requires the Assemblie to make ane expres enumeration of all the sins for which they intend to censure. After many returns, to-morrow we gave them in ane enumeration of many particulars, but withall craves a generall clause to be added: We have some more hope to attain it by God's help than before. This hes been the only impediment why the Presbyteries and Synods have not been erected; for the ministers refuse to accept of Presbyteries without this power. Had it been God's will that our army this summer had done any service, we had long before this obtained all our desyre; or yet, if we could send any considerable strength to Newark, we would have great influence in their counsells. All good men here desyres the continuance of the union of the Nations, and knows, also well as we, that in that union the happines of both doth consist, and in the breach of it the lasting miseries of both are certaine ruine.

This much I did write to be sent with that post which was taken; but by good luck it fell by, and did not then go. Since, our affaires here for the State are in some better posture. The Chancellour's ⁽¹⁾ labours has been so blessed, that the desyres of these who seemed to be seeking a breach with us, is for the time either broken or laid aside; soe, upon the pressing necessities of our land, he is dismissed, and this day taken journey. No living man is fitter to deall with this people; none of our nation is so much beloved, or of so much credite with them. We are now hott on the committee for accommodation. I tell my mind freely of it in my preface to my "Diffuasive from the Errours of the Tyme," which now is abroad, and whereof I shall send some copies with the first occasion. We never expected any good of it, and less now than ever. The ministers of London sent from their meeting some twentie of their number to intreat, that the Chancellour and Mr. Henderson might stay for some time. After advyement, we thought all that Mr. Henderson's stay was simply necessary, so much the more as the Chancellour behooved to goe. We had never so much need of your prayers. The City, both magistrates and ministers, are now ingadged, blessed be God, in very home and earnest petitions for the erection of Generall and Provinciaall Assemblies, of Presbyteries and Sessions, and all with their full power. The Independents in their last meeting of our grand committee of accommodation have expressed their desyres for tolleration, not only to themselves, but to other Sects. The Parliament has no great inclination to satisfie either. What may come of this, we know not; only it were our heart's desyre that our armie at Newark were recruited. Nothing is better for the good of Scotland, for the weelfare of the whole Isle, and the Protestant religion. If God makes us either unable or unwilling to this, the loss will be great to us and all.

We go on daily in some proposition of the Confession of Faith: till this be ended we will not take in any more of the Catechise. The Psalms are perfyted: the best without all doubt that ever yet were extant. They are on the presse; but not to be perused till they be sent to yow, and your animadversions returned hither, which we wish were so soon as might be. The Lord give our poor land the fruit of their grievous troubles, and haste their deliverance.

(¹) John Earl of Loudoun, Lord Chancellor of Scotland.

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG. NOVEMBER 29TH 1645.

DEAR COUSINE,

I THINK yow were never so farr behind with me as now I am behind with yow: I think these fix or seven posts I have heard nothing from yow. I see the English Annotations and my Sermons, which four or five weeks agoe I gave to Mr. Tirence, are not yet gone. I have sent yow seven of my Diffuatives; only one for yourself; the rest, with my service, to Thomas Cunninghame, Mr. Strickland, Apollonius, Spanheim, Dr. Stewart, and Voetius. As yow have occasion to send them, send allwayes a Sermon with a Diffuative. I expect a showre of Independents about my ears; but I am not feared: I have a reserve of more stories, and I think they will have more to doe shorthlie: for their elusory denyall to the Affemblie of their modell they caused print under the name of a Remonstrance, to which the Affemblie hes made a large and sharpe answer, which layes them more open; also their rejecting of all accomodation, and pleading for a tolleration, not only of their separate churches, but for the other Sects, gives great offence, and will draw out bitter writes quicklie against them. The City continues zealous for to press their petition; more hopes we have from them than ever. The Parliament is laying the Affemblie and City's petition more to heart. Our condition in Scotland is not good; but yow know all there alse weell as I.

Upon the City ministers earnest desyres, and some other considerations, Mr. Henderson's voyage to Scotland and myne is stayed. I pray yow let me once be out of your debt, and wryte to me what English moneys I am resting: Gomarus and Rivet goes to the Colledge-count. Yow would doe weell to sett Dr. Forbes⁽²⁾ on a Supplement, wherein he may handle Anabaptisme, Antinomianisme, the Eraftian, and the rest of the modern sects. Will yow intreat him to press his friend Voffius to print that he told me he had readie against the Anabaptists, the greatest and most prevalent sect here. In tumultuous wayes they provoke our chieff ministers to publick disputations, for Pedobaptisme. I thank yow for Cloppenburge. I wish Spanheim made this his [principal] work. The Lord be with yow.

(²) *Vide supra*, p. 313: In the MS. the transcriber has here written "Dr. Fooles."

[PUBLICK LETTER.] LONDON, DECEMBER 2D 1645.

SINCE my last there is no more news here to count of. Our army is come to Newark : I hope before the spring you will recruit it. Generall Goring is to France. They speak of the Prince's intention to follow. This will doe no good to the King's affaires : it may help much to destroy the hope that wes remaining. They [also] speak of Admirall Dorpe's hyreing some thirty-fix warre-shippes in Holland for the King of France's service ; but the last week's accidents will blow up that designe. [Gaston, Duke of Orleans] hes regained Mardik, the greatest conquest the French made this summer in Flanders ; and the Hollanders are so circumveined by the Portugalls, that they are on the point to losse many years great labours, to be cast out of all Brazilia. All their thoughts now are turned hither. If God would take order with Montrose, the trouble in this Isle might quicklie be at ane end. We make good progres in our Confession of Faith : It will be very satisfactorie when the Lord gives it a conclusion. Our two great hye busines for the tyme, are the obtaining from the House a power to exclude all scandalous persons from the Communion. We have stuck some moneths on that work. The city, both ministers and magistrates, hes come down to put off our (a blank in the MS.) We expect, by God's help, satisfaction in this. The other is our committee of accommodation, which will be a mightie busines. The Independents here plead for a tolleration both for themselves and other sects. My Diffusive is come in time to doe service here. We hope God will assist us to remonstrate the wickedness of such an tolleration. Yet the Assemblie and city doe cordiallie joyne with us in opposition to all such motion ; and we hope the House shall never approve it. An accommodation in just tearms we were well content with ; bot the Independents allwayes scorned it : yet ere long I think they will beg it when it will not be granted. Bot of this more afterward. [Since] this will be our great [remora], we had great need here of the help of your prayers. We hope ere long to gett Chester : Exeter, Newark, Oxford, are blocked up. The King hes no more considerable in England. The propositions of peace, and a declaration, in answer to many of our late papers,

we expect this week, which, with ane exprefs, we will fend downe to the Parliament.

FOR MR. JOHN ROW.⁽³⁾

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

YOUR animadverfiones upon the Pfalmes fent down by us from the Affembly here, were fent up to us: We liked them very well, and made ufe of them. We would earneftly intreat that ye would be pleafed to be at fome farder pains in this kind; it concerns us much to have the tranflation of the Pfalmes made fo perfyfte as may be. We know, and have found your abilities to further this work. We have written to the Agent for the Church to fend to yow copies of all the Pfalmes we have fent, or fhall fend hereafter. We earneftly intreat yow to mind ferioufly the review of them, what words or lynes yow think ought to be amended; and your amendments of them yow may fend either to us, or to the committee there, appointed for the work, to be tranfmitted to us with diligence, that we in tyme may make ufe of them. Expecting yow will fatisfie this our defyre, we reft,

Your Brethren to ferve yow.

FOR THE LAIRD OF ROWALLAND.⁽⁴⁾

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

WE have thought meet to fignifie unto yow, that the committee appointed by the Affembly here for the revifing of Mr. Rouse his laft tranflation of the Pfalmes, hath given to us now one hundred Pfalmes, fo perfyfte as they have a mind to make them;

⁽³⁾ Row at this time was Minister of Aberdeen—This and the two following letters are evidently from the Scotch Commissioners at London. These letters, including the one to Douglas also relating to the English version of the Psalms, occur in Baillie's MS. among letters of the early part of 1646; but they must have been written between March and May 1645; and should have been inserted in a previous part of this volume.

⁽⁴⁾ Sir William Mure of Rowallane, younger: *Vide supra*, pp. 101, 121, respecting his metrical version of the Psalms. Baillie appears (*infra* p. 322, &c.) to have had a high estimation of its merits.

which we have sent down to the Commissioners of our Generall Assemblie, to be mended in every thing which the Committee appointed there for that end shall find to have need of amendment: the fifty that remains ere long will follow. It is our earnest desire that the Psalter might at this time be put in such a frame that we needed not to be troubled hereafter with any new translation thereof. We acknowledge our distractions have been so many that we have not been able as we would to attend that work. We fear also that, in our committee there, all men who are able be not so carefull to attend that service as the weight of it doth require. We know, Sir, that God hes given yow a great and singular abilitie in this kind, and accordingly hes put it in your heart to mind the Psalmes for many years, more than any man we know in all our land. If yow might be pleased to bestow some pains upon the recognition of these hundred we have sent downe, and of the fifty which shortly will follow, your labour certainly would be spent on that which concerns very nearly the honour of God, the good of the Churches in all the three Kingdomes, both now and in the after ages also, which in some measure may be for the reputation and credit of our Nation and Church. We have written to Mr. Dalgleish, agent for the Church, to provide and send to yow copies. The words or lines yow think may be helped, and your amendments of them, we wish (so soon as may be) were sent either to us, or to some of the committee there, which will transmit them to us, that in tyme we may make use of them. Hoping, Sir, yow will not deny to God and your country and to us, this very necessarie and honourable labour, We rest,

Your much honouring and loving Friends to serve yow.

FOR MR. ROBERT DALGLEISH.

WORTHIE AND WELL-BELOVED,

Yow see what we have written to Rowalland and Mr. John Row; when yow have read and closed the letters, yow will send them as they are directed, with the first occasion. We must intreat you to cause draw two copies of the Psalmes we have sent downe, both of the first forty, which either Mr. Andrew Kerr, or Mr. John Adamson, will tell you where to find, and of the last

fixty, which my Lord Lauderdale⁽⁵⁾ will deliver at his coming to the Committee, as he is here appointed to doe. We think the charges of the copies will be well allowed. See they be correct and fair written, and sent away with so great diligence as may be. We could wish that the Committee appointed for reviseing of the Psalmes might think of any others in any part of our land, whom they know able and willing to labour in this very necessarie work, that to them tymeously copies might be sent. We intreat yow, as yow would advance one very considerable part of the Church's reformation, to be carefull of this our desire. So we rest,

Your loving Friends to serve yow.

FOR MR. ROBERT DOWGLASS.⁽⁶⁾

RIGHT REVEREND,

My purpose wes before I came from Scotland to have conferred with you anent a purpose, which ever the longer the more I think very needfull to be mynded. One very sensible point of the Reformation here, and almost the only thing which requires reformation in our Church, is the Psalme Book. Yow know the course which is taken for that end both here and there. My Lord Lauderdale, who, by God's help, proposes to be at the first fitting of the Commiffion, will present to yow other fifty or fixty of Mr. Rouse his Psalmes; the third fifty which remains, in a short time are like to come to yow, ⁽⁷⁾ so this work ere long will be brought to ane end so farr as concerns us here. The observations which were sent up to us from you were taken in very good part, and all considered, and good use made of fundry of them. But the truth is, we have not leasure to attend that affair so much as the necessitie of it does require; and the English divines who are appointed for its last revise, through manifold divisions are oft hindered from meeting in such a number as themselves could wish. How many in your committee does mind seriously this matter, yow know; my feare is, that yow have but too few to joyne

⁽⁵⁾ Probably in May or the beginning of June, 1645: *vide supra*, pp. 279, 293.

⁽⁶⁾ Robert Douglas, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, was an able and judicious divine, and after Henderson's death, in 1646, regarded as the leading man in the Church.

⁽⁷⁾ The last portion was sent previous to June 17th 1645, *vide infra*, p. 286.

with yourfelfe in that task: this my feare hes made me bold to intreat yow, both for the zeal yow have to the puritie of that tranflation, and to the honour of our Church, to beftow fo much of your time as convenientlie yow may upon that very neceffar fervice. Thefe lines are likely to go up to God from many millions of tongues for many generations: It were a pity but all poffible diligence were ufed to have them framed fo well as might be. I can give affurance that whatever corrections comes up from yow fhall not only be very kindly taken into confideration, but alfo followed, whenever we are able to fhew that they are reafonable; for in this we find both Mr. Roufe and all the committee very tractable. I remember I have feen many years ago a tranflation of fome Pfalmes by the Laird of Rowalland, which then did fo affect my mind that I did ever fince conceive the gentleman to be one of the moft fit instruments for that work I yet have knowne. I wifh from my heart that more means had been ufed to have fett him on that employment than now I know can be. Only, Sir, if fo yow think it convenient, for truely I am deceived if yow mind not this fervice more than any other in that land; I could wifh that either the committee or yourfelf might be pleafed to write to him, and fend him a copy of the Pfalmes which yow receave from us, intreating him that he would be pleafed to return yow his obfervations thereupon. He did promife to me, at my laft meeting with him, that he would be glad, upon a calling, to contribute his beft endeavours for that which he confefled did concern both the honour of God and the good of his Church: By a calling I found he underftood ane invitation from that committee to whole care the Generall Affembly had recommended the review of Mr. Roufe's laft tranflation. It were in my mind very convenient, that this invitation went from yow to him, and that in time; for if once the laft fifty Pfalmes were come to yow from us, I know there will be an impatient expectation here, and a frequent calling upon yow to return your laft obfervations, that the book may goe to the preffe, and prefentlie be put in praftife, fo that after all, corrections will come too late. Thus farr your kind acceptance of all my former addreffes to you, has made me bold to move at this time, being confident yow will be carefull to doe herein what you think convenient. So I reft

Your Brother, much oblided by many courtesies

and favours, to ferve yow to my power,

R. BAYLIE.

FOR MR. ROBERTS.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

Yow have here inclosed some of our grounds whereupon we build congregationall and clafficall Eldershships, and in the other paper our grounds for Synods: make what use of them yow think expedient. Yesterday the Assemblie's petition was frowned upon in both Houses; notwithstanding we purpose, God willing, on Thursday to give in a Remonstrance of a more full and higher straine, to be communicat to both Houses, and the Assemblie, on Fryday, by the hand of the grand Committee. What necessitie there is of hastening your petition also, yow may consider. I did hear yesterday, that Mr. Lilburne hes a petition for the Sectaries, subscribed with the hands of a great many thousands: I doe not believe it; yet it would be tryed. If your city will countenance Mr. Peters's sermon on the day appointed, they doe but goe on as they have begun. Send back this letter with the bearer; for we had need to beware what papers lyes in any of your studies, since the other day it wes earnestly prest in the House, that Mr. Jenkins's, Mr. Cranfurd's, and, as I think, Mr. Fisher's studies, should be presently sealed up, and seached. These be but the beginnings of evils. The other two papers I shall call for thereafter. Thus I rest,

Your Brother to serve yow.

FOR THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL MY NOBLE FRIEND MR. ROUS,
MY HUMBLE ADVYCE CONCERNING THE ERECTION OF CONGREGATIONALL ELDERSHIPS AND CLASSICALL PRESBYTERIES IN THE CITY OF LONDON, AND WITHIN THE LYNES OF COMMUNICATION.

1. THAT with so much speed as may be, the House be moved to appoint a Committee of some few of the most orthodox and conscientious of their members, to prepare ane ordinance for the forsaide end, or to refer that matter to the committee for the Directorie, whereof Mr. Tate wes chairman.

2. That this Committee may be pleased to consider the votes of the Assemblie anent Clafficall Presbytries and Congregationall Eldershships, the chief whereof are contained in this inclosed paper.

3. Because the nomination of persons fittest to governe every congregation will be difficult, the Committee may take the secret advyce of some orthodox, pious, and wise ministers, acquainted with the condition of the city-congregations, especiallie the minister of the congregation to be provyded for, if he may be trusted; that they may first inform themselves, and then the committee, what names are fittest to be put in the ordinance.

4. It seems, that the smallest congregations would have at least four elders and deacons, and that the greatest would not have above twenty of both.

5. It is to be provided, that no man be named for an elder or deacon, against whom any of the congregation can justlie object any scandalous sinne, or disaffection to any part of the reformation in hand. For this end some notice must be given to the congregation of the names, before they be put in the Ordinance.

6. The Ordinance may appoint the meeting of the Eldership to be once a-week, and oftner, upon occasion; to consult and determine, by most votes of the ministers and ruleing elders, the ecclesiastick affaires belonging to that congregation, which the Ordinance committs to them. The deacons ought to be present to give their advice anent the poor, and the ecclesiastick goods.

7. The Ordinance must expresse so many acts of power as the House will think expedient to be put in the hands of that Eldership, with ane clear proviso, that it shall be without prejudice of what power the Parliament, after further consultation with the Assemblie of Divynes, shall find meet to be added thereto.

8. That besydes the power of holding from the Lord's table of any scandalous persone within the bounds of the parochie, it must be enjoyned to the eldership, to take care that all within their bounds may live as it becomes Christians. That for this end they may be appointed to visit the families, and to call before them any who are scandalous either in life or judgment, to instruct, admonish and rebuke them, and to convent whom they find disobedient, before the Presbyterie and Synod, that soe, where need is, in meekness all may be reclaimed from their enormities. But if the church counsells and censures doe not prevaile, then recourse must be made to the Magistrate, to have the obstinate offender, by his civill power, brought, so farr as may be, to doe dutie.

9. The Committee would advyse with the fore-named brethren, how many classieall Presbyteries it is meet to sett up within the

lynes of communication ; whether all the ministers in office may be admitted as members ; and if any of the congregationall elders may be put in the Ordinance to attend the presbyterie for the first year whom the eldership shall choise. It seems that thirty is a great enough number for one presbyterie ; so if there be one hundred and twenty paroches within the lynes, and from every paroch there come at least one minister and one elder to the presbyterie, there must be eight presbyteries ; which might meet ordinarlie once a fourtnight ; and all in a fynod once in a quarter, or at least once in the half-year.

10. The Ordinance may expresse all the acts of power voted by the Assemblie to belong to clafficall Presbyteries, which the House does not much controvert ; with a proviso, that it shall be without prejudice of what farder power the Houses, after consultation with the Assemblie of Divines, shall find meet to be added.

11. It seems needfull that the House would call upon the Assemblie to hasten what remains of Government ; and require them, out of all their votes, to draw up a Directorie for government, wherein the Uniformitie promised in the Covenant may be so farre advanced as may be for the present.

[TO MR. ROBERT RAMSAY. JANUARY 15TH 1646.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

AFTER much longing for your letters, also some anger and much both grief and fear, expresse in fundrie of my letters, that for a whole quarter of a year I could learn from none of yow any thing of my poor wife her estate, at last, yesterday the 14th of January, I receaved yours of the 25th of December, and Mr. George [Young] his, and my wife her owne, which hes removed fully all my anger, grief, and fear. I thank God heartilie for his gracious care of yow all, and his goodnes to all mine, and gives yow thanks for your large kind letter. I thank God my Diffuasive hes done no evill here. I heare no word of any answer for it ; albeit it be on the subject most here in agitation. The whole first impressiion is sold ; the second I expect to-morrow. When Thomas Young comes home, he hes a dozen for friends ; and also many of my late Sermons, and forty of his own, to be sold. He will

give yow and Mr. George the Annotations, which I pray yow accept without any scrupulositie. Mr. Alexander Dickson shall have what he wrote for, with the first conveniencie. My obligation to yow all is great for your comfortableness to my poor wife in this her desolate time. I am rejoyced with the kindness she writes to me God hes poured on her spirit all this time. It is oft my resolution, for all this goodness of God towards unworthie me, to be willinglie (while I live,) serviceable to the meanest of the faints, with gifts, means, person, and whatever God hes given me, and shall give me: blessed be his name. When I compare all our informations from Scotland, Ireland, France, with our knowledge of things here, I assure you our affaires are in a hopefull, yet very dangerous posture; which I will relate to yow, Mr. David, and Mr. George, (and to yow only,) so farr as I conceive of them.

The hearts of the Divines here who are wise, both of the Assemblie, City, and elsewhere, are set only on the point of Government. We are going on in the Assemblie with the Confession, and could, if need were, shortly end it. We are prepareing for the Catechise; but we think all is for little purpose till the Government be set up. The Assemblie hes delivered their full sense of all its parts to the Parliament half a year agoe. The Independent partie, albeit their number in the Parliament be very small, yet being prime men, active and diligent, and making it their great work to retard all till they be first secured of a toleration for their separate congregations; and the body of the Lawyers, who are another strong partie in the House, believing all church-government to be a part of the civill and parliamentary power, which nature and scripture hes placed in them, and to be derived from them to the ministers only so far as they think expedient; a third partie of worldlie profane men, who are extremelie affrighted to come under the yoke of ecclesiastick discipline; these three kinds making up two parts at least of the Parliament, there is no hopes that ever they will settle the Government according to our mind, if they were left to themselves.

The Assemblie hes plyed them with petition upon petition, the City also, both ministers and magistrates; bot all in vaine. They know that schismes and heresies doe daily encrease in all the corners of the land for want of discipline; yet the most of them care for none of these things. Had our army

been bot one 15,000 men in England, our advyce would have been followed quicklie in all things ; bot our lamentable posture at home, and our weaknes here, makes our desyres contemptible. Had the King been of any considerable strength, fear would have made them carefull to doe dutie ; but their great success, the King's extreme weaknes, and our miseries, makes them follow their own naturall humours, to the grief of fundrie gracious men of their own number. In this case our last refuge is to God, and under him to the City. We have gotten it, thanks to God, to this point, that the mayor, aldermen, common counsell, and most of the considerable men, are grieved for the increase of sects and heresies, and want of Government. They have, yesterday, had a publick fast for it, and renewed solemnly their Covenant by oath and subscription ; and this day have given in a strong petition for settling of Church-government, and suppreffing of all sects, without any toleration. No doubt, if they be constant, they will obtain all their desires ; for all know the Parliament here cannot subsist without London : so whatsoever they desyre in earnest, and constantlie, it must be granted. Wherefore, albeit they gave them a baffling answer to their former petition a moneth agoe ; yet considering the addresse of this in all its progresse, they have thanked them for it, and promised a good answer speedilie. The Independents, and all sects, are wakened much upon it, and all will sturre ; which way we doe not know yet : We had much need of your prayers. They are but very few of the city-ministers about the first and secret wheeles of the businesse : I make it a part of my task to give them weekly my best advyce and encouragements ; and, blessed be God, with such success hitherto that is worth my stay here. The King being brought to so low a condition, hes been sending these weeks bygone messege upon messege, for a Treatie of peace. It's true, the leading partie of the Parliament seems much to fear and be averse from all peace for the time, as prejudiciall to their private designs ; yet our affaires in Scotland, yea the state of this land also, calls for peace in any equitable tearms : which hes made our Commissioners have many long and unpleasant debates upon the answers to the King's messages, while they laboured to eschew that which some endeavoured, the impossibilitie of any further treating with the King : yet we did ever at last agree in good tearmes. The sum of the answer was ever the inexpediencies of further treating, and their resolution to send propositions to the King, whereupon they expected his positive answer. But here the despe-

rate case on both hands; the former propositions agreed on by both Kingdoms we have required this half year to be sent, and the King's answer to be required thereupon without treaty. Since Naseby field, their thoughts hes been higher: they professe they will alter and adde to the former propositions. We desire to know what; to this day they have not told us. We know they have altered all which concerned our interest in the Militia of England and Ireland, and that yet they have not concluded their alterations, neither in haste are like to doe it. On the other hand, we see no appearance that the King, for all his desperate condition, is minded to yield what both Kingdoms hes concluded to have; bot is going on in his old plotting way, to destroy the remainder of his subjects: His messengers are still dealing with Denmark, for men to come over; the Queen is dailie agenting with the court and clergy of France, and Prince of Orange, for men, money, shippes, and armes; and we are advertised by many, that she hes gotten from both too great assistance, which shortlie will trouble us, if God prevent it not. Yet the great armie which [Duke] D'Anguein is prepareing for Italie, for Millane, and the Pope, we hope is not to come over to us; albeit, if the three years negotiation at Munster could conclude a peace, there is no doubt but both Spaine and France would send in powerfull armies upon us: but we think that peace impossible for the time, albeit the Turks invasion of the Venetians, and the Swedes success in Saxonie, makes the Emperor and Spaniard willing to it upon any tollerable condition.

But that which troubles us most is Ireland. The Pope, this half-year bygone, hes had a Nuntio there. Both the Spanish and French King hes had their residents at Killkenny. We had a rumor of it before, but this night the copies of the wrytes from the English commissioners in Ireland have been read in the committee of both kingdoms, and to-morrow are to be reported to the Houses, wherein the King gives ample commission to the Earle of Glamorgan to give full libertie to his loyall Catholique subjects of Ireland of their religion, restores to them all the church-lands in Ireland, [and] recalls all the lawes against Poperie there. We fear this shall undoe the King for ever; that no repentance shall ever obtaine a pardon of this act, if it be true, from his Parliaments. The fear is, albeit the rebels be expelled both from Ulster and Connaught, yet that, according to their capitulation, they send over to Allaster M'Donald, ten thousand men, compleatlie armed, half-muskets and half pikes, which are designed first to run through the Lowlands

of Scotland, and then to raise the malignant north of England; while the King of Denmark's sone, Woldemar, bring over to the north of Scotland, some three or four thousand of old Dutch sojourns; and from France they come some eight or ten thousand French, with a convoy of Holland shippes, to joyne with the King's army in Cornewall. These are the present designes, as lykly as any the King yet ever had; but we trust God, who blasted all the other, will blast all these also. However, if God be not with us extraordinarie, they are too lyke to wrack Scotland, considering our weaknes already, our divisions, discouragements, and the great power of the enemy in our bowells. This is a powerfull people; but very feeble. The sectaries are too lyke to stirre; the malignants and malecontents are many. It's God who keeps all right, and I am very hopefull will doe it; for I know there is a great many here and there also of reall faints, and the enemy's designes to this houre is nothing but oppression both of Church and State.

Allwayes I thought myself obliged, for your last verie comfortable letters, to let yow see the inside of our affaires. I am sorrie for the condition of my friends there. I adore the unfearcheable judgements of God, and submits to his righteousness; only, in these times of wrath against the whole land, and dangers, I wish justice may be mixed with mercy towards any of whom there were any ground of hope. The Commisstar is my dear friend; his crimes I doe not know distinctlie, only I wish he were not killed by a prisone, as I am informed he is very near to be. I dare not take upon me to give advyce in such a distance; but I cannot dissemble my griefe, if that man be lost. If any of yow three can save, I doe not say his place, or his fyne, but his life, by procureing him the free aire, it would be to me a great favour, which, if I were present, I would earnestlie begg from any who could procure it. There is another of my speciall friends, who I hear is also in danger, Mr. William Wilkie:⁽⁹⁾ my interest in him is very great since my first acquaintance: though I differed in fundrie things, yet I allwayes did much love him, and I ever found him a verie fast and steadable friend. I knew, in the worst tymes, at my desyre, he helped to keep stormes off my brethren. His father, at the beginning of these troubles, was oft cordiall, and I am witness of fundrie his good services. My cousine, his

⁽⁹⁾ Minister of Govan: See his Letters to Balcanquhall, in 1638 and 1639, Appendix, Vol. I, p. 480, &c.

poore wife, I know hes ever been a good and gracious woman. What his faults are whereupon he is challenged, I doe not know. If they be matters of ane impardonable straine, I am not to say any thing; bot if otherwise, I would intreat all yow three, alse earnestlie as I can doe for any thing of that kind, to doe for him what yow may with a good conscience. I pitie much his mother, who ever loved this cause, and his good-mother, whose grace and virtue for many yeares I have highlie esteemed. Her case is deplorable: she hes lost well near all that belongs to her; and, which makes it the more grievous, through their own default: Mr. Matthew and Mr. David long agoe lost; Mr. James died a banished man; Mr. John deposed, and his sone also; Mr. John Crichton reallie banished; her son Mr. Alexander little better; her husband cast out of his place; the Commiffar wracked; Mr. Gavin and Mr. John Hay, both in hazard. I wish from my heart that she might get some favour in the case of her son-in-law. I am certified, by these whom I think I may trust, that he may be gained so fully to our cause, that I may be caution for him, he shall never publickly nor privatelie oppose (as too oft to my grieve he hes done) any of your desires. I propone to yow, in his behalfe, if his faults be not great, and there be appearance he will amend, as I have assurance of it under the hands of three whom I doe much trust, that yow would consider, if this be a time of putting all from their places who deserves it, when the storme is not yet ended; but, if yow believe all the company wherein I live, the miseries of Scotland, if God work not above all we can see among men, are but beginning. 2dly, If God would settle Scotland, I think the case of that towne is not like in haste to settle. There is there a good but a great change made by violence, otherwise than in any other towns, as yet I hear, whose delinquencie at this tyme wes every way alse great. I think it will be needfull to have some to be good instruments to lenify the ranckled hearts of many there. I know none fittèr to doe service in that kind than the man I am speaking of. I am in opinion his deposition will increase the evill humor of many considerable persons there, alse much as any one thing. 3dly, If my private affections may have any place with yow, I cannot deny but it is my very earnest desyre that he may have favour; and if it go ill with him, I profess it will be a great grief unto me. I understand yow and Mr. David were his foe good friends; both at the first committee in Glasgowe, and thereafter in St. Andrews, yow kept his name from publick hearing;

if yow may think it fitt to do foe still, at least to keep him off the stage for a little time till I may be at home, I will take it for a great obligation. I hope, for my cause, yow will doe in this what yow may with a good conscience. I could have dealt with others for help to him at this time; bot I have thought meet to recommend him to yow three alone, that whatever favour he getts, I may owe it all either to yow only, or else to none other. Pardon the extraordinary importunitie of my affection in this case: I leave to yow; doe as God will direct.

But what doe I think of such toyes, of any man's going in, or out, of any place! These two dayes our hearts are oppressed with diverse passions. The King's last letter for peace is so full of desperate passion, that I feare it haste on his ruine. The prevalent partie hes still harboured jealousye against us, and the other day hes produced, in the Committee of both kingdoms, letters from unknown hands, full of horrible calumnies, both against our nation and commissioners here: our vindication will cost us a peck of troubles. Upon the city's petition for Government, the House of Commons hes gone on to vote a committee in every shyre to cognosce on fundry ecclesiastick causes, which will spoill all our Church Government. This night our sub-committee hes voted foe much tolleration for the Independents, that if to-morrow the grand committee passe it, as it's too like to doe, this Church, will by law be given over to confusion, notwithstanding all we can doe to the contrare. But that which vexes us most of all, is a report that is whispered, of the King's purpose to goe to our armie. What this can mean, we doe not yet know; bot if he be able to deboische it, it will be a fountain of most dangerous and horrible evils: We will be proclaimed the most wicked traitors that ever were borne. All their calumnies will be taken for truths; that unhappie Prince will, without any profite to himselfe, hasten our shamefull ruine; for if we should in so base and treacherous a way joyne with him, we would be able to doe him no reall help at all: bot I hope there is nothing of the report true. However, all these things to yow three alone. We are in a mighty perplexitie; help us with your prayers. The Lord that knows the great sufferings of our nation for their honesty, assist us in this time of our great turmoile.

Your Brother,

London, January 20th 1646.

R. BAYLIE.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG.⁽¹⁾

COUSINE,

YOUR's with the last post I receaved, also your large one with the former: I admitted your reasons for my long want. All that I sent yow is frozen in the Thames; when yow may have them, I know not. I doubt much if my debt be so little as nine shillings: If yow miscount, to your selfe be it said. Josephus yow shall have with the first fresh weather; for now there is here a vehement frost. The first impression of my Diffuasive is away already; it's going again to the press: I gott thanks for it from many. I wish yow might put Forbes to goe on with his Historie, especiallie of the Anabaptists, Libertines, and such as presentlie vex us. I wrote to yow to cause some press Vossius to print what he told me he had beside him against the Anabaptists. When Spanheim is free of Ameraut, I wish he went on with his *Collegium Anabaptisticum*. These are the sectaries who most encrease amongst us. Tombes, a London minister, has printed a large book for them, wherein he dares us all. Doctor Rivet requyred, by Mr. Durie, our Assemblée's testification, that he had not sent to them any write against Ameraut, nor had stirred them up against his tenets, directly nor indirectly: this was granted to him. Bot I think since Ameraut hes been so rashe, as without all occasion to expostulate with Dr. Rivet, he should the more be wakened, to doe that duty which he is obliedged to doe for his love to the truth of God, and care of the churches of France, which Ameraut only by his vanitie and pride has troubled, and will doe more if God be not mercifull. We all commend Spanheim for his diligence and zeale, though yet his writes be not come to us. We hope Dr. Rivet and others there will second him in the defence of the truth against vaine innovators.

Our affaires stand thus: It was resolved that Mr. Henderson should have gone home for doing his endeavour to knitt together the minds of these whose divisions did much trouble our state. He wes the fittest instrument for it on earth; bot the weather fell so ill, and he so unhealthfull, and the business here so great, that

⁽¹⁾ This letter has no date in the MS. and is inserted as if written in December 1645, but the allusion to the King's two letters shews, it must have been about the 20th of January 1646.

he behooved to stay ; and so my voyage, who was appointed to be his convoy, was stopped. Some fix or seven weeks agoe, the humor of the faction who guides here, toward us seemed not to be friendly. The crushing of our nation by the pestilence, and Montrose's victories, made us contemptible to them ; their unexpected successes made us needles to them ; the King and his partie was no more considerable ; with their hearts they wished to be free of our burthen, and rather than to have us ly upon them more, it seems some of them were bent to find a quarrell. Hence their unkynd votes for the disgrace of our army, and the restitutions of their garisons : but the wisdom and diligence of the Chancellor brought them, before his going, to a much better temper ; yet what shall be the issue, I cannot say. We were contented to have the committee for accommodation renewed ; for our opposition to their designs in this was the maine fountaine of their evill talent against us ; albeit we doe not see what also their minde is for matters of the state. We have had fundry meetings with them for accommodation, both in the grand-committee and sub-committees. We would, for peace cause, dispence with them in very many things ; but they are peremptor they will not hear nor speak of any accommodation, but they will by all means have their separate churches. They plead for a tolleration to other sects aswell as to themselves ; and with much adoe could we get them to propone what they desired to themselves. At last they did give us a paper, requiring expresse a full tolleration of congregations in their way every where, separate from ours. In our answer we did flatlie deny such a vast libertie, and backed it with reasons, and withall are begun to shew what indulgence we could, for peace sake, grant. Here Mr. Marshall, our chairman, hes been their most diligent agent, to draw too many of us to grant them much more than my heart can yield to, and which to my power I oppose. As yet we are not come to expresse our rash bounty, and some things have interveened from God, that I hope will stay the precipitancie of some whom I expected should have been more opposite to all tolleration of separate congregations, than when it comes to a chock I found them. 1st. Thomas Goodwin, the last meeting, declared publickly, that he cannot refuse to be members, nor censure when members, any for Anabaptisme, Lutheranisme, or any errors which are not fundamentall, and maintained against knowledge ; according to their principle in the Apologetick. This ingenuous, and most tymous, albeit meerly accidentall profession, hes much allayed the fervour of some to their

tolleration. 2d. Some good friend hes so informed the city-ministers, that they in their meeting at Sion Colledge, have resolved unanimously to petition the Assemblée against all such tollerations. 3d. The other day Say and Wharton moved in the House of Lords to adjourne, that is reallie to dissolve, the Assemblée. 4th. The Independents are sticking too openly to have the Common counsell of London modelled to their mind. 5th. Instead of their long expected modell, they presented a libell of invectives as reasons why they would present no modell to the Assemblée. This, underhand, they caused print; and when the Assemblée had drawn up a sober and true Answer, and gotten an order from the House of Lords to print it, they make their friends in the House of Commons as yet to keep it in.⁽²⁾ All these are alarmes to make us, if we be not demented, as many the best men here are, to be the more wary of their tolleration.

We goe on in the Assemblée with prettie speed now in our Confession of Faith. We have past the heads of Scripture, God, Trinity, Decrees, Providence, Redemption, Covenant, Justification, Sanctification, Free-will, Sacraments in generall, a part of Perseverance, and of the Lord's Supper. It seems the King's partie would now be glad of a peace; bot as yet I see no possibilitie of it. The Prince of Wales's letter for a permission to send two of his counsell to his Father for that end, got no answer. The King, therefore, without farder circumlocution, sent the other week a trumpet, with a letter, requiring a safe-conduct for Commissioners with propositions. While they and we are debaiting on the answer to this letter, behold a second trumpet, bringing a very pathetick and conjuring letter from the King for peace. The truth is, his secret letters written about the last treaty makes them trust him no more, and resolve to treat no more at all with him; only they will send him Propositions, and require his positive answer. We are content that all the former propositions be sent, and that a positive answer be required to them all, without any treaty; but they are altering many of them, and adding more and more hard. These we cannot consent to be sent, till the Parliament of Scotland see them and assent to them, and declare their mind, whether they will deny [or] refuse the King all treaty upon every one of these.

(²) See the Journals of the House of Lords, December 12th and 22d 1645, respecting the Answer by the Assembly of Divines to the Remonstrance of Godwin, and the other Independents; which was finally ordered to be printed by the House of Lords, February 24th 1646.

Alfo it feems to us, that the faction here intends no peace in hafte, and we much doubt the fincerity of them who to this day rules about the King; bot our condition is fuch, that with all our heart we would have a good peace. Allwayes, in profecution of it, we refolve to cleave to our Covenanted union with this people, how ungrate to us foever the bodie of all eftates here are in our mind. But what the fmall handfull which guides all will doe, we yet know not. The City is kind to us, and readily have provided thirty-one thoufand pounds in money, and fix hundred pounds in clothes, for our army. We oft are in great perplexities; bot our eyes are toward God, and we refolve, in all tentations, by his help, to doe our dutie. The condition of Scotland is very hard. Warrifton, with the help of Argyle and the Minifters, hes yet kepted the Parliament right againft a powerfull partie. Sir John Smyth's fecond fault, farr worfe than the firft, albeit a lourden to defend all he had done, and to draw the moft of the Barrons to fide with him, was a very dangerous defigne. I hope it's near broken. If Glafgow be made the only example of the State's feveritie, I fear it will doe no good; bot if the like courfe be taken with Edinburgh, and the reft, whose fault was greater, all will be digefted. When Montrofe the other week came down to Angus, Midletoune was appointed to goe toward him. He quicklie retreated; bot Midletoune in St. Andrewes fell in ane instant in ane deadlie fitt of the iliak paffion, that troubled all exceedingly, and was taken for a terrible ftroke of God; yet our laft letters fay there was hopes of his recoverie. Callander has accepted his charge of Lieutenant-Generall of all the forces, which putts us in good hopes of reconciliation of differences, and active manageing of the warre.

FOR MR. ROBERTS.⁽⁵⁾ JANUARY 22D 1645[–6.]

I HAVE fent yow here the votes which yefterday the Commons paff upon the Lords concurrence. I conceive they will be put

⁽⁵⁾ This letter occurs at the end of Vol. 2d of the MS.—Many of Baillie's letters about this time are without dates, and misplaced in the MS. probably from being copied together at a later date. The former letter to Mr. Roberts, *supra* page 333, should have been placed after this, as it must have been written between March 24th, when the Assembly's Petition was presented, and April 2d, when Hugh Peters preached before the House of Lords.

quicklie in ane ordinance, that so the Government, after this their modell, may be presentlie erected. It concerns yow to be advyfed, without delay, what is needfull to be done. I think the Lords will make some alterations if they were dealt with. I wish, by all means, that unhappie court of commissioners in every shyre may be exploded. If it must be so, let the new cases of scandals come to the Parliament by the letters of the eldership, or any other way, but not by a standing court of Commissioners. Yow had need to be at your witts end quicklie. I have sent yow also the papers yet unpast concerning tolleration. On Tuesday at night, in the sub-committee, we read our answer of fyve sheets to the Independents reply; it's a large and very good answer so farr as by the first reading I did judge. Yow shall have it when I can purchase it; but that which I wish yow most to consider is, the little paper which contains the indulgence to be offered to the Independents. I confesse it vexes my mind: we open, by our owne hand, a faire doore in the first and second proposition for them to enter in all the churches of the land; and not only give them leave to possess any one church as a pastor, bot ane other also as a lecturer. In our debate it was supposed that all of them might have their secret seperate congregations, for it's said, that the State can take no notice of such invifible churches. These propositions that night were caried on by all your countrey men but one, with a great deale of affection, for they thought it would bring on them ane unsupportable odium if they shall not offer some positive indulgence to the Independent ministers, and that they were perswaded their offers would not be accepted; and if they were, they would destroy Independencie. We were in the mind they gave the Independents really all they desired; that their limitations would be ommitted by the Parliament, and however, would not be kept by the Independents. With much adoe, and not without offence, we have gotten the grand committee put off till the morrow, where we fear all shall be concluded. I pray yow advyse what is to be done: no man knows that I have given yow any information, and yow must keep your informer from all. I purpose to see yow this night after our meeting at Dr. Burges's house. Yow, and some two or three whom yow trust most, had need to advyse weell and quicklie, for now matters are very near some issue. I rest,

Your Brother.

FOR MR. DAVID DICKSON. JANUARY 31ST 1646.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

WITHIN these ten or twelve dayes I wrote to yow at great length how all affaires here went. Though I can adde little now, yet ane exprefs going from us, I could not but write falutations. The King fends thick meffages for a personall treatie. The Parliament answers as they may in their way; fo at this time they have three of the King's to answer together: what the matter will produce, we know not yet. The los of Dartmouth, the well near diffipation of the Prince's army in the west, the capitulating of Chester, the extreame wants of Oxford, and all the King's sojourns, putts the King hard to it. The peace which Glamorgan made with the Irish, in the King's name, in so shamefull tearms, the King disfavowes it, and Glamorgan is made prisoner in Dublin for it. The King offers to give over the manageing of the warre of Ireland to this Parliament. I hope this offer may stay the Irish forces from troubling this isle; so much the more, as the Parliament is like to send over with Inchequin, and my Lord Lyle (whom they have made Governours of Ireland for a year) some considerable forces. It's true the Queen is very bufy, and has at last obtained great sommes of money, and makes a great deale of show to lift ane army in France, which Admirall Dorpe is to convey hither; but there is small feare here of that enterprife. They write from France, that no men, but only arms, are comeing from Denmark to Scotland; however, that which perplexeth us most, is the unkindness of the most of this people, and too too apparent designe of the leading partie to breake with us on a small occasion, which it seems they are seeking. The first of March is near, wherein they will presse their garrisons, and we cannot render them so soon. They require us to keep no more horse in England than two thousand, and one thousand dragoones. They say we have now fix thousand, and not half so many foot. There be many mutuall jealousies, which daily doe rather increase than diminishe. If there be ane break, it's like to be destructive to both, and to the whole Protestant partie in Christendome. However, for the tyme, it's lyke that both they and we will have our thoughts buffied upon the matter of peace with the King. The Houses are upon a shorter way than we expected, to our joy, and

some little hope of good. They are willing to send some six or seven propositions to the King, which, if he will pass without treaty, they are content he come to London, as he desires, to treat at leisure on the rest; the three treated on at Uxbridge, concerning Religion, Ireland, and the Militia; the other four is for a power to the Houses to raise money, to keep new-made Lords from sitting in Parliament, for punishing the named delinquents: I have forgot the fourth. These will be ready the next week, and sent to Scotland for our concurrence. I think the difficulty will be only on that of the militia; for it is much altered from what it was. They have clearly the great band of the nation's union; for of the thirty-six commissioners for the militia in either kingdom, there was a third, even twelve Scots to be of the English militia, and twelve English to be of the Scottish militia, which is now altered, giving to every kingdom only their own. This mistrust will be a grief and a stick, but hardly a total and final stop: I think, if no better may be, we must yield. But whether ever the King will pass these things without a treaty, and modification, and some mutual condescension, we yet much doubt: A little time will shew if peace be possible or desperate. The leading parties here seem to be very careless of it; for indeed it makes not for their supposed ends; albeit the King, in his last letters, among many of his great offers, offer a free liberty for all Protestants to serve God in their own way one by one.

I was earnest with you in my former for your favour, so far as you were able with a good conscience, for my two dear friends, the Commissar and Mr. William Wilkie: I intreat still for the same. I am much deceived, if both these men might not do you service, both in your general gracious purposes, and in your particulars, worth all the favour you shall bestow upon them; and if you suffer them to be undone, you will repent it afterward. All Church business goes very cross. Our hearts are oft overburdened; albeit on Monday the matter of toleration went better with us than we expected, yet we are so deceived, that we will say nothing yet. We proceed but slowly in the Confession of Faith. This must be ended before the Catechism be resumed. The Parliament will have a Court of civil Commissioners erected in every shire, on pretence to make report to the Houses in every new case of scandal, but really to keep down the power of the Presbyteries for ever, and hold up the head of Sectaries. It's our present work to get that crushed, and I hope

we have done some good in this. Our hearts aikes for grieve and fear for that poor land. The calamities on yow, and the greater danger, seems yet to us to be above our head. The Lord arise ere we perish, so I rest,

Your Brother,

R. BAYLIE.

London, January 31st (Saturday) 1646.

Will that fool Johnstone never take any course for your books? My service to your wife and sonnes. The King's designe on our armie here, if it was reall, we hope we have tymousslie prevented it. Sinclare seems to be scarce a good man. We are on vindication of ourselfes from scurvie aspersions, to the shame of the foolish contryvers.

[PUBLICK LETTER.] LONDON. [FEBRUARY 1646.]

HOWEVER we wait daylie on the Assemblie, yet our progresse in the Confession of Faith is but slow. We have many diversions, many dayes of fasts and thanksgivings, with the dayes preceding them for preparation to them. The provyding ministers for all vacant churches, even to remote shyres, their tryall and mission, lyes on the Assemblie, and takes up almost every day too much of our time. The printing of the Bibles fashed us much, before we could fall on the way to get them printed well for eight groats in 8vo, with the marginal quotations, and for fix or seven groats at most in 12mo, unbound. This we hope will encourage poor people to buy Bibles. Also we are oft diverted with many by-questions from the House; yet we hope, by God's grace, ere long to end the Confession. We stick long sometymes upon scabrous questions; bot that whereupon the eyes and hearts of all are fixed, is the settling of the Government, and with it the tolleration of Sects. The greatest part of the Parliament have been hitherto verie [resolute] to doe less in the one, and more in the other, than we could wishe. Great struggling have we had, and yet we have much to doe. God has helped us to gett the bodie of the ministerie of all the land to be cordiallie for us, and the citie is now striking in; which we hope shall carry it, and get up a straighter Government, and also exclude tolleration of sects more than many men here doe desyre. We have had many bickerings with the Indepen-

dents in the grand committee about ane indulgence for their separate congregations. We have spent many sheets of paper on both sydes. They have given in wrytes thryce, and we have alse oft answered in wryte: They are on their fourth wryte: to these we must give a fourth rejoinder, and then come to debate verballie. For this point, both they and we contend *tanquam pro aris et focis*. Had it been God's will to have made our armie here this last year succesfull, we should have had few debates for any of our desyres; bot the calamities of our countrey, and weakness of our armie, makes the sects and their friends bold, and very insolent. The King's partie here is brought almost to nothing. The taking of Chester⁽⁴⁾ keepes out the Irish. The Queen's levies in France are not much feared; they are but by connivance; they cannot be many: All her begged money will not keep long a little armie. The King's last letter⁽⁵⁾ for peace takes off our greatest objection, the shamefull capitulation with the Irish by Glamorgan. This he declaimes, and offers so much to the Parliament, that we are in some little hope of peace. If he come but a little farder, it's hoped so much may be granted as we may be contented. We expect every other day from the Parliament their seven propositions that we may send to Scotland, that upon their consent they may goe to the King; who, if he will grant them, shall presentlie thereafter come to London, and treat on all the rest at leasure, and in place. We dare not promise to ourselves that peace yet is near, it hath so many both visible and invisible impediments; especiallie the crying an evident finnes, not only of the people, bot of all, or the most, in eminent place, on both sides, in all the three Kingdomes. We fear our furnace must yet be hotter before the lump be purified. Appearances one day are good, and another bad: what the Lord will doe, he knowes. France would be glad that we broke with England, and, on that condition, it seems would give us great assistance; bot of all mischiefes that would be the greatest. There is no unkyndness yet so great, bot, if God please to keep the managing of it in happy hands, it may turn as the jarring of friends to a greater familiaritie.

The Turke is lyke to be terrible to Italy. France is lyke in earnest to yock with the Pope; who is so perverse and foolish, that he will force France to restore the Barbarins to their places, whence

(4) Chester was surrendered on the 3d of February 1646.

(5) The King's letter dated January 29th, and read to the House of Lords on the 31st.

they are ejected with the force of armes. The Venetians will joyne with France. The Florentine and the other pettie princes are foxeing alreadie for fear. The Emperour and Spaine have so much adoe, that they can make the Pope small help. France has many irons in the fire; great designs and successes both in Spaine, Flanders, Germanie, and Italy. This forces them to lay so great taxes on their people, that it's expected every year they will make great insurrection: a very little thing would sett all that state in a fyre. The Hollanders are setting out a great fleet to Brazilia against the Portugales, who has almost undone their West-Indian plantation. It were great wisdom in us at last, without more delay, to send up to our armie before Newark a committee, and a number of ministers, with all the force we could spare: Who knows but the Lord may deliver our poor land sooner than we expect?

[TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG. FEBRUARY 20TH 1646.]

DEAR COUSINE,

I HAVE not written to yow these three or four posts, of purpose, waiting till I find yow have received the last. There is so great intercepting of letters, that I am loath that more than one of myne should miscarrie. Though I have gotten three of yours since I wrote any, yet I find not that you have gotten my last. I gott Grotius's last piece. The Annotations I allow yow for Forbes; yow shall have the pryce of Josephus on it. I cannot think but I am much more in debt than yow speak of. How things are here, yow may see by the former leafe, which went lately to Glasgow: matters are near some course: I pray God it may be happy. The King's partie, I count it utterlie undone. Yesternight,⁽⁶⁾ at our thanksgiving for Chester, the news come of the routing of Hopton, the only army the King had remaining in England. Oxford, Exeter, and Newark, having no hope of relief, cannot long hold out. As yet there is no appearance of the Parliament's answer to the King's last four letters. However, twenty days agoe they resolved to send the three propositions of Uxbridge, and other four additional; upon the grant whereof, the King should be per-

⁽⁶⁾ The day of thanksgiving for the surrender of Chester, was the 19th of February.

mitted to come to London. All the stay that was imagined was upon our part, who behoved to send these additions to Scotland for their approbation. Yet that might have been gotten in one three weeks; but as yet they are not come to our hands, neither know we when they shall come. Peace is disadvantageous to sundrie here; so it seems it will be their work to shunne it, if they be able. Their present pretext is, that their third proposition of Uxbridge, concerning the militia, is yet in controversie among themselves: they have altogether altered. All the interest that Scotland and London had therein is annihilat, and all that power is put in the hand of the Houses solely. London is not willing to quite what both Parliaments granted to them before, and therefore did offer petition upon petition to have their own militia, as in the propositions agreed to by both Kingdomes was settled. The Lords was willing to let it goe soe. The Commons, foreseeing that such a power in the hands of London, though under the Parliament, yet makes them masters of the Parliament, also gives them power over the citie of Westminster, and all the suburbs, which they had not before, doe demurre upon the matter; and are now content to hear the contrarie petitions of Westminster and the suburbs, which may draw the business of the propositions to soe great a length as they please. In the mean time, the King's extremitie makes him very impatient of such delays. The City is much grieved, that what before was without question granted to them, should now be taken away. This controversie makes them the more willing to look into the wayes of the Sectaries. Howbeit truly the body of the city is a zealous and understanding people, fully apprehensive of the mischief of the Sectaries among them. Their ministrie are faithfull watchmen; and some late books have done them good; especiallie Mr. Edwards's *Gangræna*; which must either waken the Parliament, and all others, to lay to heart the spreading of the evill errors, or I know not what can doe it. The city is in so good a temper these two moneth as we would wish. The other week our Commissioners went to their Common Counsell, with a letter of thanks from our Parliament, for their care to furnish great sommes of money for our army whenever they were intreated. To this short, fair, and very innocent letter, my Lord Lauderdale spoke some few words, intimating the resolution of the Kingdome of Scotland to be constant to their Covenant, notwithstanding all the calumnies which Malignants have invented against them, and others, for their own

base ends, doe spread. Great signes of love were exprest by the mayor, aldermen, and common counsell. One Allen, a goldsmith,⁽⁷⁾ a professed presbyterian, and at first a great friend to us, but since some fell off us, a buffie and diligent agent for the Independent partie, becoming a late member of the House of Commons, made presentlie in that House such a misrepresentation of that action in the Common Counsell, as much did commove many of our own friends. Ane order paffes, to require the production of our letter, and reporting of our speeches. For this my Lord is miscontent with Allen as a false informer, and this day appears against him in the House of Commons, in a high-enough straine. Also this same day, the letter of our Parliament is read ;⁽⁸⁾ which, high and peremptor termes, but yet wyse and unchallengeable in termes, requires the settling of religion at last, according to the advyce of the Assemblie, without all tolleration of any schisme ; also the payment of their debts to our army against the 3d of May, and the making up of our losses sustained by sea, through the want of their ships appointed to attend our coasts, and by land, by our Irish invasions against it, which they were obliged to secure us : for their demand of the garisons we possess, against the 1st of March, they referred their satisfactorie answer to their commissioners, which will be thought [of] : so soon as peace can be obtained, and the Church settled, and our debts payed or secured, they shall have all gladlie ; but so long as our army remaines, it cannot want places for retreat, and for magazines. What this clear and punctuall dealing, both of Scotland and the City in one day, will produce, we cannot yet say. The Sectarian partie would gladlie be at a breach with us ; but the affection which France and the City declares toward us, does a little bridle them.

FROM WILLIAM EARL OF LANERICK.⁽⁹⁾

REVEREND SIR,

THE occasion of wryting with this bearer procures yow this

(7) Francis Allen: *Vide* Commons' Journals, 11th, 13th, and 21st Feb. 1646.

(8) This letter was delivered to both Houses on the 20th February 1646.

(9) In the MS., Baillie at a latter date, has entitled this letter: "Duk Wlilam Hamiltoun's Letter to me, at London." The Earl of Lanerick did not succeed to the title till March 1649, when his brother James, first Duke of Hamilton, was executed.

trouble, else I should have continued silent, and at this time, as formerly, trusted to your charity; but calumnies grows now so upon me, that I must beg yow would not deny me the continuance of your favourable opinion, in despite of my traducers, how eminent soever they be, untill either ye hear my selfe, or God so blese my endeavours, that my actions force them to confesse themselves lyars. For though none dare or can justifie themselves before God, yet I will profess my intentions of affectionat desyres hath still been to serve my countrey in this cause, according to my covenant, without personall end of advantage or benefite to my selfe, or prejudice to any who have been justly ambitious of being instruments in this cause. I know good, wise, and impartiall men, will not deny me charity; so I will expect it from yow no longer than I make it my studie both to be an honest man, and

Your oblidge friend and servant,

LANERICK.

Linlithgow, 26th February 1646.

MY ANSWER. FOR MY LORD LANERICK.

MY LORD,

I RECEIVED your Lordship's of the 26th of February from James Hamilton, which, together with the kind and confident expressions therein, I acknowledge as a new obligation. What your Lordship desyres is very reasonable and just: Yow may be assured to obtaine it easily of me, and all others with whom I have power; for believe it, now of a long time, at least three moneth, so far as I remember, I have not heard one word from any man to your Lordship's prejudice; by the contrare, the other day I heard a larger and more vehement panegyrick to your Lordship's commendation, and bitterer invective to the disgrace of some others, than I conceive was needfull. If I were besyde yow, I could use my old pedantick and magisteriall freedome, but papers, at so far a distance, in this posture of affaires, are unsaife convoyes of free and honest thoughts. Only this much I must say, for all the world sees it, that matters are pitifullie miscarried in Scotland; that our shame and skaith was not so great these fix hundred years as this last year. We are nothing helped by band[y]ing the cause of our miseries from one of yow to another;

the poor land bleeds and is destroyed ; I dare not say with some, large alse much by the differences of your friends, as by the hand of the enemy ; yet I am bold to say too too much, and more than the best of yow shall ever be able to answer, either to God, or the world abroad, or to the posteritie. It is a filly plea, that yow are all united in the end, since your debates about the middes mak the end among your hand to be lost. If I had any power among any of yow, I would in all earnestnesse obtest, That if any love to God and Religion, if any tenderness to your poor broken, disgraced Countrey, if any fence of your own honour and safetie be yet remaining, that at last yow would all doe what diverse times hes been assayed, promised, and begun by every one of yow, but performed by none ; I meane, that all your quarrells might, for a time at least, be laid aside ; that every one of yow would cede and submitt to one another, and cordiallie joyne in the common defence. Albeit I be no prophet, yet I think I foresee, that whoever of yow, in these sad times, are readiest to sacrifice all your self-interests to the weell of the publick, he shall attain, in despite of all opposers, in the most easy and honorable way, all his desires. Bot if yow resolve every one of yow so to look to your own designs, and goe on in your differences, though all should perish, among many other unhappie events this will be one, that the people who outlive these troubles, will curse all your memories, [and] will gladly consent to that curse, which somewhere in the world is much desired, and farr advanced, (though my heart did ever abhorre it,) that, when Kings and Princes are brought down, the power and following of the Nobles may be abolished, as that which they have seen and felt not at all to serve for the defence, bot clearly for the dividing and ruining of a poor people. Of this enough ; I am very hopefull your Lordship will be alse ready as any one to lay aside whatever may concern yourselfe and your friends, till your poor dying Countrey may once be recovered, that [in] the life and health thereof, yow may find yourselfe and them, otherwise, yow know well, neither yow nor they can be safe. I hope, against the Generall Assemblie, to see your Lordship, when I shall be ready to tell yow all my mind of affaires, both private and publick. In the meane tyme, I remaine,

Your Lordship's affectionate friend and servant,

R. BAYLIE.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE Commiffar of Glasgowe⁽¹⁾ is my dear and special friend: I am forrie he hes miscarried in the publick cause. I see yow purpose to proceed now no farder with him than to a fyne. Since this is the mind of the Parliament, I think it a great pitie his life should be lost by a long and a close imprifonment. I marvell he hes lived so long, knowing the temper of his body. I must intreat your Lordship to gett him so soone to the free air as may be: by so doing, yow shall save a life which the state intends should be safe, and preserve a man, who I hope may yet doe good service in the place where he lives; and whatever your Lordship can doe for him, without prejudice to the publick, I will acknowledge it all as done for myselfe.

The Prince his arryveall in France, the state of affaires here, as with this packett they will be represented by diverse hands, [and] that dangerous and unhappie remonstrance of Seaforth's, call aloud to all who hes a drop of kindnesse to Scotland, to joyn hearts and hands quickly, without any farder delay; else our woes are but beginning.

A POSTSCRIPT TO MR. D. DICKSON'S LETTER.⁽²⁾

THIS much I had written a fortnight agoe, but on the post night wes hindred to send it away. Since, Fairfax hes routed Hopton againe; and now it seems, without any impediment, will go to the utmost part of Cornwall. Where the Prince will lurk, it's hard to say. The King's forces thought to have surprised Abingdon; but were repulsed. The King hes sent us a fyfth or sexth letter for a treaty, without any ansuer. His extremities are said to be great, and his feares no less. Wherever he goes, he may be besieged and taken: He hes lost all his sea-ports but Falmouth; we are masters also of the seas: It will be hard for him to fly any where. If he can have a little patience, it seems a Treatie will be obtained. They have at last given to us all the propositions they mind to send but two, that of London, and of the Delinquents, which they are hastening. Lyklie our debates with them about the alterations

⁽¹⁾ Archibald Fleming, Commissary of Glasgow.

⁽²⁾ So entitled by Baillie in the MS. but it probably was addressed to Spang.

will not be long. Also I hope it shall not be needfull to fend them to Scotland ; for Warristone and Mr. Barclay are come, and the Chancellour will be here to-morrow, who, I think, have instructions to conclude upon the additions and alterations. It is much hoped, that the King will passe the propositions, were they worfe and harder than they are : so, except some evill spirit interpose, there is some appearance of peace shortly ; albeit we dare not yet be confident. The Sectarian partie is very malicious and powerfull : they have carried the House of Commons, and are lyke also to carry the House of Lords, to spoile much our Church-government. They have past an ordinance, not only for appeale from the Generall Assemblie to the Parliament, for two ruleing elders, for one minister in every church-meeting, for no censure, except in such particular offences as they have enumerat ; but also, which vexes us most, and against which we have been labouring this moneth bygone, a court of civill commissiioners in every county, to whom the congregational elderships must bring all cases not enumerat, to be reported by them, with their judgement to the Parliament or their Committee. This is a trick of the Independents invention, of purpose to enervat and disgrace all our Government, in which they have been assisted by the lawyers and the Eraastian partie. This troubles us all exceedingly : the whole Assemblie and Ministrie over the kingdom, the body of the citie, is much grieved with it ; but how to help it, we cannot weell tell. In the mean time, it marrs us to sett up any thing ; the anarchy continues, and the vilest sects doe daily encrease. Many are afraid of God's judgement. Argyle is to Ireland for two thousand old foot to land in Argyle, to cast out these unhappy men who possesse peaceably all his estate. Callander, after all could be done to him, hes refused that all pressed him to : he would be at a greater sovereignty than could be granted, thinking he could not miss it in any termes he pleased. Heart-burnings there continue still. This people, what they will doe on the refuseall of the garisons, we doe not yet know. If God would fend us peace in any tollerable termes, it would be very welcome. When all is tryed to the outermost, there is not the least treacherie found in Baylie,⁽³⁾ though great unhappines ; the fault whereof is seen to have been in other men more than in him. I caused deliver to Mr. Tirens, Josephus, it's 14s. 6d.

London, March 6th 1646.

(3) Lieut.-General William Baillie.

FOR MR. ROBERTS.⁽¹⁾

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I MARVELL that Mr. Edwards's book is not yet come abroad: its stay is hurtfull. If yow know not, as I cannot think but yow must know that whereof this afternoon I was informed, the order of the House of Commons, for commissioners in every shyre, though it be not as yet reported to the House of Lords, is far advanced; that the burgeses of Southwarke, and some others of the nearest shyres, have named their commissioners; that the burgeses of London, before they would name theirs, were pleased to signifie to my Lord Mayor their purpose; whereupon, yesternight, a common counsell was called, which appointed a committee, the same that drew the Petition, to consider of that business; and if they found it convenient, without more adoe, to advyse with their burgeses upon the persons to be nominate. This day they mett: they were like, unanimouſlie, to finde that Court of commissioners contrarie to the Covenant, and to be disavowed; but Alderman Foulkes did change them, and did perswade, that what had passed the vote of the House should not be called by them contrarie to the Covenant: yet the business is put off till Monday. If your burgeses have allowance, yea, were it but a connivance, from the Citie, to name these commissioners, they will be received in the whole kingdome. It were needful to take this business to serious consideration: it admits not of much delay. Farewell.

MR. ROBERTS'S ANSWER.

WORTHY SIR,

Yow have made a clear narration of that business specified. But the longer that Committee think upon it, the worse they like it; and so doe other common counsell men. I have good ground to conceive that it will be quite disclaimed: it may con-

⁽¹⁾ This and the two following letters belong to the beginning of March, although in the M.S. they are inserted after one dated 19th May 1646. Mr. Francis Roberts, was minister of St. Austins, London.

duce to much advantage. Mr. Edwards told me, his book could not come out till the next week, by reason of many unexpected enlargements.

FOR MR. ROBERTS. 1646.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

YESTERDAY Mr. Rouse and Mr. Tate came to confer with us. From them we learned, that the new ordinance, whereby the most of your grievances are remedied, is sent up to the Lords;⁽⁵⁾ that it is in Manchester's hand to be reported speedily; that if he will carry it soe as the Lords scrape out all that concerns the Commissioners for shires, and put in their rowme the Classical Presbyteries, to be reporters to the Parliament of all the not-enumerated cases of scandalls, they are confident to carry it in their House, according to the Lords amendment. Consider, therefore, if it were not expedient for yow to speak with Mr. Ashe, that, with all possible speed, he might goe to Manchester, and obtaine of him leave to peruse with yow and Mr. Clerk that ordinance. I am very hopefull that his Lordship will doe his uttermost endeavour to make the House of Lords assent, not only to the mentioned amendment, but to others which yow may find necessary to move on the sight of the ordinance. If Mr. Ashe find it more expedient for yow to goe with him, lest my Lord scruple to give the wrytes out of his house, yow will doe well in my mind to goe. Allen's business, and the citie's zeale, has much altered, in a few dayes, the temper of the House. Our friends there lift up their head; the Sectaries are lower: strick the iron while it is hott. Let me know the result of Monday's meeting. It's now the great business of some to send great recruits to Cromwell's armie. The end is visible; the pretence to oppose the landing of eight thousand French. If the informations of all your owne agents in France, and of our friends there be true, this is but a shadow to cover somewhat else. If God help yow to keep on the City's zeale, more is like to be done in a week than hitherto in a year. Be diligent in this happie nick of time.

⁽⁵⁾ The Ordinance was presented to the House of Lords on the 5th of March 1646.

FOR SCOTLAND. TO MR. DICKSON. MARCH 17TH 1646.

SINCE my last, this day fortnight, all the account I can give of our affaires here is this. In the Assemblée we are fallen on a fashious proposition, that hes keeped us diverse dayes, and will do so diverse more, coming upon the article of the church and the church-notes to oppose the Eraftian heresie, which in this land is very strong, especiallie among the lawyers, unhappie members of this Parliament. We find it necessary to say, "That Christ in the New Testament had institute a Church-government distinct from the Civill, to be exercised by the officers of the church, without commission from the magistrate." None in the Assemblée hes any doubt of this truth bot one Mr. Coleman, a professed Eraftian; a man reasonably learned, but stupide and inconsiderate, half a pleasant, and of small estimation. But the lawyers in the Parliament, making it their work to spoile our Presbyterie, not so much upon conscience, as upon fear that the Presbyterie spoile their mercat, and take up the most of the countrey-pleas without law, did blow up the poor man with much vanitie; so he is become their champion, to bring out, in the best way he can, Eraustus's arguments against the proposition, for the contentment of the Parliament. We give him a free and fair hearing; albeit we fear when we have answered all he can bring, and have confirmed with undeniable proofs our position, the Houses, when it comes to them, shall scrape it out of the Confession; for this point is their idoll. The most of them are incredibly zealous for it: The Pope and the King were never more earnest for the headship of the Church than the pluralitie of this Parliament. However they are lyke for a time by violence to carry it, yet almost all the ministry are zealous for the prerogative of Christ against them. We are at this instant yocked in a great and dangerous combate for this very thing. Often we have been on the brink to sett up our Government; but Sathan to this day hes hindred us. The ministers and elders are not willing to sett up and begin any action, till they may have a law for some power to purpose; all former ordinances have been so intollerable defective, that they could not be accepted. The Eraftian and Independent party joyning together in the Houses to keep off the Government so long as they were able, and when

it was extorted, to make it so lame and corrupt as they were able ; yet at last yesterday an Ordinance came forth to supply the defects of all the former, that soe, without further delay, we might goe to worke. We laboured so much as we were able, before it came out, to have it so free of exceptions as might be : bot notwithstanding of all we could doe, it is, by the malignity of the fore-mentioned brethren in evill, so filled with grievances, that yet it cannot be put in practise. We, for our part, mind to give in a remonstrance against it ; the Assemblie will doe the like ; the city-ministers will give the third ; bot that which, by God's help, may prove most effectual, is, the zeale of the City itselſe. Before the ordinance came out, they petitioned against some materialls of it. This, both the Houses voted to be a breach of their priviledge, to offer a petition against any thing that is in debate before them, till once it be concluded and come abroad. This vote the City takes very evill : it's likelie to go high betwixt them. Our prayers and endeavours are for wisdom and courage to the City. I know to whom this matter has cost much labour. The Independents has the least zeale to the truth of God of any men we know. Blasphe-mous heresies are now spread here more than ever in any part of the world ; yet they are not only silent, bot are patrons and pleaders for libertie almost to them all. We and they have spent many sheets of paper upon the tolleration of their separate churches. At the last meeting we concluded to stop our paper-debates, and on Thursday next to begin our verball disputation against the lawfulness of their desired separation. When we have ended, the Houses will begin to consider this matter. The most there, and in the armie, will be for too great a libertie ; bot the Assemblie, the city, and the body of all the ministrie in the Kingdome, are passionately opposite to such an evident breach of our Covenant. What the Lord will make the issue, a little time will now declare. We had great need of your prayers : we were never more full of weightie business and perplexed solicitude of mynd. Also the matter of peace is now in the chalmes. The propositions to be sent to the King were given to us some dayes agoe. Yesterday our Commissioners returned their sense of them. Their alterations of the former propositions are so many, that I fear we shall not agree in haste ; and the pitie is, the King will not be able to endure any long tyme. Hopton being driven to the outmost nuike of Cornwall, has rendered himselfe and whole army, without stroke of sword, to Sir Thomas Fairfax. The Prince is fled to Scillie.

Falmouth and Exeter, it is thought, will not hold out. The armie, with speed, will come to lye down before Oxford. The King will not in a fortnight know whither to go. Never man did him worfe service than Montrose, and all these men who have weakened and divided Scotland: I believe the King feels that folly, among other errors, which now he cannot remeed. A few days will clear many things of Church and State that for the time are in great darknes.

London, March 17th 1646.

A POSTSCRIPT. MARCH 31ST.

For the time our Commiffioners can think on no private thing; for every day they attend, five or fix hours together, a solemne debate, with a number of the chiefe of both Houses of Parliament, about the propositions of peace to be sent to the King. A little tyme will shew much: we are in great doubts. The leaders of the people seem to be inclyned to have no shadow of a King; to have libertie for all religions; to have bot a lame Eraftian Presbyterie; to be so injurious to us, as to chase us home with the sword. (These things to yow three alone.) The Prince is landed in France, which will be a fountaine of forraigne warre. This day the House of Commons have appointed a Committee to secure the King's persone, if he should come to London. Our great hope on earth, the City of London, has played nipshott; they are speaking of dissolving the Assemblee. If we had need to pray, yow see. That unhappie wicked remonstrance of Seaforth seems to us a clear preface to his joyning with Montrose. For all this, I hope we may have better news hereafter, and we hope that God will not leave us to the will of our enemies. Thir people are swollen so bigg with their successes, that they are impatient to hear reason from any: the end can hardlie be good.

If my Lady Argyle be with yow, remember my heartie affections to her, and to my Lord, and all his: for all that is come, he is my choice of all the Noblemen I know: The Lord be with him, and assist him. Remember me to all friends. So I rest,

Your Brother.

31st March 1646.

FOR HOLLAND. TO MR. SPANG. APRILE 3D 1646.

DEAR COUSIN,

Yow have what I sent to Glasgou lately. I am content yow have received what I wrote before. As for Mr. David Barnes, he is a good quiet harmles youth. These two or three years he has been domestick chaplaine to my Lord Boyd, so I suppose he hes had frequent occasions of preaching, and all such exercises as a regiment will require. For his gift I cannot speak les nor more, for I never had occasion to hear him; but the young man is of ane universall good report. Matters here goe very dangerouslie. The Prince staid long in Scilly: fix weeks they have been in debate in the House of Commons, of a cold, flight, invitatorie letter to him to come to their quarters: but it seems they desire not his presence. Since his Mother hes gotten him in her hands, she may readilie make him goe to masse, and marry the Duke of Orleans's daughter, which by all appearance will banish him from Brittain for ever. The last letter of the King's being more taking than the former, offering to be advised by the Parliament, if his followers may be secured of their estates, hes drawn an answer yesternight from the Houses, which his five or fix former were not able to doe. The answer is, That they conceive it not for his good, nor the good of his people, to come hither, till first the propositions be granted which they are preparing to send. In the mean time the city-guards are multiplied, and a committee appointed to secure his persone, and sease on his followers, if he should come hither. How soon the propositions can be ready, we know not. It's not likely they shall goe before Sir Thomas Fairfax have inclosed Oxford, and have the King in his power. In their debates with us, God helps our Commissioners to demonstrate the great injustice of their new alterations; but for little purpose; for we have no hopes of any reason from them: yet we must exoner our conscience. The City hes much grieved us by their unexpected fainting; they will quicklie repent it, but out of time. It pleases God to favour Middeltoune's beginnings. Seaforth's new divisive motion is exceeding untymous, unjust, and dangerous. We are vexed that we hear the King's desperat obstinacy, resolving to stick to the Militia

and Bishops though he should die for it. Ashburnhame, his grand counsellor, deceived by his Independent ministers, does put, it seems, the poor Prince in vaine hopes of the Independents concurrence to these his desires, albeit it be evident they seek his ruine. His misregard and malice towards us continues, albeit the Independents go on to whisper our correspondence with him. It's a marvell to me if these men should allwayes prosper, their wayes are so impious, unjust, ungrate, and every way hatefull. Our eyes are towards God, and we are alse cautious and diligent to doe all our duty as we are able. God hes stricken Coleman⁽⁶⁾ with death; he fell in ane ague, and after four or five dayes expired. It's not good to stand in Christs way.

FOR HOLLAND. TO MR. SPANG. APRILE 23D [1646.]

COUSINE,

You see what I wryte for yow the two last posts, though they missed the packett through ill luck. Your letter to the Principall I receaved on Fryday last. I sent it home on Monday, with one who wes ryding journey straight to Glasgowe: I could amend nothing in it; I seconded it with one of my own.

Matters here are in a very ambiguous posture. Exeter is capitulating, if not already randered. The Prince is yet in Scilly. The House has voted ten thousand foot and two of horse to be raised in the north. Sir Thomas Fairfax's twenty-one thousand men are voted to continue other four months. They are speaking of other ten thousand for the west: forty thousand men are a great army when there is not one man in the fields against them. The most think they intend to force us to what they will; the common word is, that they will have the King prisoner. Possibly they may grant to the Prince to be a Duke of Venice. The militia must be absolutelie, for all tyme to come, in the power of the Parliament alone. The King and we must consent to what the Houses hes done and shall doe in religion; but for any particular, neither he nor we must inquire after it. The Houses must have power of leavying money without the King. A perpetuall Parlia-

⁽⁶⁾ Thomas Coleman, Minister at Blyton, in Lincolnshire, and a chief supporter of Erastian tenets in the Westminster Assembly.

ment is a perpetuall army, and meanes to entertaine it, will keep all in quiet. The City now is prettie tame. A wicked and ill-invented calumny wes written hither from Oxford, that the Mayor of London had correspondence with the King, and had given him protection in the city, with forty thousand men; that he would put fire in the towne, and seaze on the Parliament. A great dinn was made for this. All sees the foolishlie invented calumny; and many thinks it invented here, to blast the persone of the Mayor, who is too honest to follow the way of the faction, and to try the pulse of the city how they will suffer the King's imprisonment. They make the word goe, that the King resolves to goe to the Scots army, knowing their compaffionate hearts, and love to the King, if he would doe his duetie. They have belaid all the wayes, that they may catch him if he should essay to go any where out of Oxford, till Cromwell come and take him up. No appearance of settling religion or the kingdome, yet God may doe both quicklie. We are in great grief and perplexitie; we pity it that a very few persons should be enabled to keep all in a dangerous confusion, when all so easilie might be settled. The body of both the Parliament and people are so good, religious, and wise, that I cannot think bot they will, ere long, take order with those who minds themselves and friends more than either religion or the countrie, rather than by their evill counsell alter their fundamentall laws, and keep the countrie in awe by a perpetuall army, and fall on us, who have deserved so well of them, and for their cause alone suffers our own countrie to be publickly destroyed. If we knew not there were a God who over-rulled the counsells of all men, and had a care of kingdomes and churches, our grieved hearts would be much more grieved and faint. The Assemblie hes given in a very honest petition; bot it's like shall have no good answer. The city-ministers are to give in one much higher, not so much upon hope of success, as resolution to deliver their conscience. The citizens say, they will give in ane other for the same end, but we doe not believe them: their fainting hes given our cause one of the greatest wounds yet it has gotten. The nixt week will, it's thought, declare much.

We are longing for Apollonius against Eraftus. It were good to put Spanheim on the Anabaptists; for that is the predominant sect here. I wrote to yow to use means to make Voffius print the treatise against them, which is long agoe perfect beside him; also that ye would speak with Forbes to goe on with his book,

and to use diligence against our present sects here. I marvell that your Printers there will not be pleased to put out in little forme the Greek Septuagint and the Chaldee Paraphrase with the points and version: No books would sell better; and some pieces of the Talmud and Masora pointed, and with the Latine: give me some account of this. The Devill makes such opposition, that we expect here a great work; and truelie there is great and fair appearances and beginnings, if it please God to remove some impediments.

London, 23d Aprile 1646.

FOR SCOTLAND. APRILE 24TH [1646.]

How matters stand here they are wise who well understand. Exeter, Barnstable, and all the rest, is fully reduced; and, among other places, Michael's-mount: so Duke Hamilton is free, and on his way hither. The Prince is yet at Scilly, and not in France: whether, on the Parliament's invitation, he will come hither or not, we do not yet know. We have had diverse strange traverses lately, not very comfortable; we are, for the time, between hope and fear for the end. The Houses put out an Ordinance for the erecting of Presbyteries; but so defective, that while it was in doing, the City drew up a petition against it; which the Houses voted a breach of their privilege. While we were in great hopes that the City would for all that stand to their petition, that we should learn to trust in no flesh, they shamefullie succumbed: by a few fair words from the Houses, they were made all asse mute as fish. Yet the Assemblie were bold to petition the Houses against that ordinance; for which they also are voted breakers of their privileges. The Assemblie as yet sayes, they will be stoutier than the city, and mind not, by a few whether fair or foul words, to acknowledge any fault where none was. And we also, for our exoneration, did give in a fair remonstrance against that ordinance; whereunto as yet we have gotten no answer, and scarce expects any good one. But the eyes of all are most on the propositions of peace. Our State-Commissioners had many and long debates, both by word and write, with a committee of the Houses, upon the alterations of the former propositions, whereupon both Kingdomes had agreed long agoe. It came at last to

this, that however by treaty they were oblidge not to make peace without us, yet they might send what propositions they pleased for their own kingdome; and that, for religion, they would send no particular at all, but only require the King's consent for a power to the Parliament here to establish religion in England and Ireland as they thought fitt; also they required him to consent, that for time coming the power of the militia should be in the Houses allanerlie, and no part of it in the Crowne. To neither of these we could consent. The word was made to go far and near, that not only we retarded the settling of peace, but also that in our papers and debates we did presse many unreasonable desyres; yea, desyres expresse contrare to our papers were generallie imputed to us. Hence many of our friends thought it necessary to have our Papers printed. Among others, Mr. Buchanan, a most sincere and zealous gentleman, who has done, both in write and print, here and over-sea, many singular services to this Parliament, to his nation, and the whole cause, got a copie of our late Papers by his private friendship, and hazarded to print them with a Preface of his owne, and an Introduction, both very harmless, and consonant to the three following papers, which we had given in to both Houses. In two dayes or three, three or four thousand of these Papers were sold. They gave immediatelie to the people so great satisfaction with our proceedings as was marvellous. Our small friends were thereby so inflamed, that they carried first the House of Commons, and then the House of Lords, albeit with the great griefe and opposition of the better partie in both Houses, to vote these Papers false and scandalous, and as such to be burnt by the hand of the hangman; the publisher, Mr. Buchanan, to be an incendiarie betwixt the two nations; and a declaration to be made for undeceiving of the people. In all this they knew none of us; they grounded their offence on the Preface and Introduction, not on our Papers themselves: so we held our peace. The burning of the Papers, and the House of Commons declaration, very sly and cunning, has not yet done much prejudice to us; only it has made the extraordinary malice and pride of some men shyne more clearlie. Mr. Buchanan is gone to a place safe enough: if he come among you, he is a man worthie of great honour for many good services. The ministers of London have subscribed a petition a great deale higher and larger than the Assemblie, and higher than our remonstrance. The city also has taken some courage, and are again in the way to

remonstrate all their grievances, not only for the matter of the Church, bot of the State. What it will produce, their former failzeing when most wes expected, will let us promise nothing till afterwards. This day we have given in all that we have further to say, both for matters of Church and State, in ten or eleven sheets close written. It seems matters will come to a quick close. All the Royalists in Scotland could not have pleaded so much for the Crowne and the King's just power, as the Chancellour and Warriston did for many dayes together. All will be presentlie printed either here or there. Sir Thomas Fairfax's armie will now be near Oxford. They would have made us believe, that the King had resolved to have broken through to our armie for protection from prisone; but I suspect the chief spreaders of these reports know weell enough how they keep him fettered in Oxford with four or fyve thousand horse, beside their daily treaties with Ashburnhame, and these who hes absolute power over him, to keep him still till they deliver him to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and to be disposed upon as Cromwell and his friends think it fittest for their affaires. The Scots Army could not be very pleasant, since there wes no shelter there for any of the King's followers whom the Parliament had or should make impardonable; neither for the King himselfe, unlesse willingly to take presentlie the Covenant, and follow hereafter the advyce of his Parliament: hard pills to be swallowed by ane willfull and ane unadvysed Prince; but at last he must determine. It seems a very few dayes will bring him up hither; in what quality it's hard to say. That which hes most annoyed the city at this time, is a malicious and cunninglie devised fable, of a designe in the Lord Mayor to protect the King, and to cutt off all his enemies in the Parliament. With this my Lord Say, the Solicitor, and others, were sent to acquaint him in an undue tyme of night. The City take their most honest Mayor's affront in no good part. Yow see how things stand here: we are on the brinke either of a happie peace, or of a more unhappie warr than yet we have felt. The madnes of these unnaturall men, who continues to lett out the blood of their countrey, when it had most need of strength, is unexcuseable. Scotland, for ever, must curse the memory, not only of these wicked murtherers, bot also of all these unhappie self-seeking fools, who hes or does contribute any thing to our divisions and heart-burnings. Let all honest men embrace other as brethren, or else, I profess, they will repent it.

The Lord is about some strange work in the world abroad ; affaires are in a posture extreamlie dangerous. The Turke is coming upon Italy with great forces, there is little to oppose him ; all Christian princes are so intangled with unextricable differences. The Venetians are much weakened by bad successes ; the Pope, the Spaniard, and Duke of Florence, are cordiallie persecuting the Barbarians [Barberini] ; the rest of Italy, with France, are holding them up. All are so deeplie engaged in that quarrell, that they see not the fire, and hears not the canons of the Turke in the territories of Venice. The Emperour and Bavier are so busie with the French and Swedes, also all Catalonia, and Portugale, and royall arms from France and Holland, repes [presses ?] Spaine so fore, that the back of that formidable Empire is like to be broken in pieces. The Lord Jesus will not so shake the pillars of the earth without some great advantage : what the matter may be, we cannot yet tell. Surely if the Lord break England on Scotland, the whole Protestant churches are in a great hazard of ruine. Never more need of humiliation and prayer.

Let these be sent west to my Lady Montgomery. Whether my Lord, and his father my good Lord Eglintone, be at home, I cannot say ; my heartie service to them. It's spoken, and much feared, that Sir Thomas Fairfax's army will be quicklie at Newark ; they doe not question to carry Oxford and Newark without great difficultie : but the Scottish [army] must goe home, or else be made goe with speed ; Newcastle must be restored. Fye on these enemies to Scotland, who marre the sending up of men hither, who, by God's blessing, might spare us a greater labor, and save much blood, which cannot be but shed if a warre beginne betwixt the nations. It's neither reason nor religion that stayes some men's rage, but a strong armie bridling them with fear : weakness invites and provokes them to ingratitude and mischief.

Yow have here, with the two last diurnalls, the burnt Papers, and the House of Commons Declaration. Cromwell come yesternight to towne. It's hoped the City remonstrance may be ready this day. Matters here are looking towards some end, or else some new beginning. The great God keep the nations from breaking, which some fears.

London, Aprile 24th 1646.

[MEMORANDUM.] MAY 8TH 1646.

The King, on Monday early, went, as Ashburnham's man, out of Oxford. For almost eight dayes, great fear and ignorance here whither he had gone. Many did think he was in London, many that he was for Ireland. At last he was found in our armie at Newark.

FOR MR. SPANG. FROM LONDON, MAY 15TH 1646.

COUSINE,

YOUR's with the last post I receaved. I am glad of your wife's recovery; let my service be remembered to her. Fear of intercepting makes me to write rarely. The other week, by appearance by a secret instruction, our letters at the city-guards were taken, and broken up, and read in the House of Commons. One of John Cheislye's has caused much noyse. For ourselves we are all weell; neither doe we fear any hard usage for any thing that can fall out. There is no appearance of any such wrong; but there was great appearance of furrounding our armie at Newark, with all the forces they had, at least, with twenty thousand weell-armed men, to take the King from us to prison, or to cut us off.

This made us, after the ending of the capitulation for Newark, to retire with speed. We are now out of their danger in haste. The faction's great designe is to continue the warre; a peace is their quick and evident ruine. The King's being with us makes them madd; but all good people are very joyfull of it. Thanks to God, matters goes much better. These men's credite is much fallen allreadie. The good partie has now the pluralitie in the House of Lords: many in the House of Commons are falling of our unfriends. It's hoped the City may yet remonstrate against the sects, and that to purpose, shortlie; but our great perplexitie is for the King's disposition. How farr he will be perswaded to yield, we doe not yet know. I hope Mr. Henderfone is with him this night at Newcastle; the Chancellor takes journey thither tomorrow. By God's help, they will endeavour to make him take the Covenant, [and] be fully directed to follow the advyce of his

Parliament. If he doe so, we expect from God presentlie a happy peace; if his induration be remediless, our army will not shelter him: for, by God's grace, doe he what he will, we shall be honest, and sticke by our Covenant, how greatlie soever this people suspects, measuring us by their own hearts. Hitherto we have stucke by our principles in many great and long tentations.

I wrote to yow in my former letters anent fundrie things, as the printing of the Targum, the Mafora, and of other such books, in a small volume, with the poynts, and exposition. Also to stirre up Vossius to print his treatises, especially of Anabaptisme, albeit in his Theses he be too much for dipping; [and] Apollonius to put out his treatise against Erastus: of these, and such like, you have given me no answer. Send me over Rivius, Cabeljavius, and Maccovius about Vedelius's questions.

I rest.

FOR MR. HENDERSON.

SIR,

YOUR Sunday's letter came not to me till Wednesday morning. This is the first occasion I could gett whereby to send yow the papers you desired: this is the best copy we had. With it you have Mr. Wither's letter to me. Many here long to hear the King's resolution, and more to hear the resolution of our nation. If God help yow to make him quicklie doe his dutie, this people seem ready to welcome him; bot if he shall remaine obstinate, or delay much time, it is very like all his people will joyn against him and all who will take his part. The delay of a declaration from him and us increaseth jealousies and clamors. The great God help yow to soften that man's heart, lest he ruine himselfe, and us with him. Be assured, he must either yeeld to reason, and altogether change his principles, or else he will fall in tragicke miseries, and that without the commiseration of these who hitherto has very much commiserat his condition. I hope with the nixt, at least shortlie, to send yow my thoughts, as yow desired, on King James's Declaration. The Lord God be with yow, and give yow counsell, and a mouth convincing irresistable.

Your Servant,

May 16th 1646.

R. BAYLIE.

[A POSTSCRIPT.]

THE City remonstrance had a stoppe, bot it's like to be for its furtherance. If that man now goe to tinckle on Bishops and delinquents, and such foolish toyes, it seems he is mad; if he have the least grace or wisdom, he may, by God's mercy, presentlie end the miseries, wherein himselfe and many more are lyklie else to sinke. Let me intreat yow for one thing, when yow have done your uttermost, if it be God's pleasure to deny the successe, not to vexe yourselfe more than is meet: *Si mundus vult vadere*, &c. When we hear of your health and courage, it will refreshe us. Go matters as they will, if men will not be saved, who can help it! And yet yow know that I was never among these who had greatest averfion from his person, or least sympathy with his afflictions. If he be resolved to stoppe our mouths, and bind our hands, that we may neither speak nor doe for him, let him goe on foe to make himselfe and us miserable; there is a better life comeing; bot woe to these villaines who has bewitched, poysoned, and infatuated a good Prince, for his owne and so many millions ruine: we are in a fair way, and daily advance into it, if his obstinacie spoyll not all the play. God's will be done.

FOR MR. HENDERSON.

SIR,

The papers you desyred I sent with Daniel upon Saturday. I have no more to add unto that then I wrote, but that the Commons voted to-day, that our army shall be gone; and that, when we goe, fifty thousand lib. shall be given us, and other fifty when the garisons are delivered, is ane evidence, among many moe, of this people's intentions towards us. Every circumstance is written dayly from the north to our unfriends. There is much talk here by all forts of people of the King's obstinacie; that he is the longer the worfe, and refuses all reason; the faction rejoyces herein; this disposition contributes exceedingly to their wicked designe; all our friends are very forry for it. Except God help yow, that yow have occasion to let us know shortlie there is a great change, we will not know whither to turne us; our perplexitie for him

and ourselves for the present is very great ; if he would doe his duty, in spight of all knaves, all would in a moment goe right ; but if God have hardened him, so farr as I can perceive, this people will stryve to have him in their power, and make an example of him. I abhorre to think of it what they speak of execution ; every hour of his delay gives advantage to these men, who makes it their worke to steale votes every day, to ingadge the nations, and to make him irreconcilable. It hes been his constant unhappinefs to give nothing in tyme ; all things have been given at last ; bot he hes ever lost the thanks, and his gifts have been counted constrained and extorted. If Ashburnhame be kept, we will not be able to byde this people's clamors. But enough of this : a blind man sees, that if he resolve to play the madman longer, he will be forced to doe it within narrower bounds.

Soe many calls upon us to say something to Maxwell's book, that if Mr. David Calderwood would help us with some of his historick knowledge, we should essay to give a postscript to Maxwell, after Adamson.⁽⁶⁾ If yow think meet, I pray yow write a line to Mr. David with this inclosed, which you will close, and send to him with the first. The Lord be with yow, and help you in this hardest passage of this great work.

I rest, your Servant,

May 19th 1646.

R. BAYLIE.

FOR MR. DAVID CALDERWOOD.

RIGHT REVEREND,

YOUR papers have been exceeding helpfull to us for ane answer to King James's Declaration ; which we are now hastening so soon as we may. Many call upon us for some answer to Maxwell Bishop of Ross his scurrilous treatise against our Church, printed two or three year agoe at Oxford,⁽⁷⁾ and now reprinted here, under the name of *Issachar's Burthen* ; a copie whereof we send yow herewith : It is full of odious histories, and matters of fact, whereof

⁽⁶⁾ This was performed by Baillie, in the Appendix to his "Historical Vindication," &c. printed at London, 1646, 4to. *Vide infra*, p. 385.

⁽⁷⁾ For the title of Maxwell's tract, *vide supra* p. 207 ; King James's Declaration (in 1584) mentioned in this and other letters, was written by Archbishop Adamson.

all of us are allutterlie ignorant. If you will be pleased to be againe at the paines to fend us up some informations for our help against his wicked narrations, we shall readilie say something in answer to him. Haste is requisite : so soone as yow may, we will expect to hear from yow ; whom we pray God to affist in all your labors, especiallie in your Historie of our Church,⁽⁸⁾ which is more neccessare than yow, or many there, would believe.

I rest, your Brother to serve yow,

R. BAILLIE.

London, May 19th 1646.

I sent to yow, by Mr. Andrew Kerr, one of my Diffuasives. If you have looked upon it, I should be glad of your opinion thereanent, for my direction in that which I intend shall follow.

FOR MR. SPANG. JUNE 26TH 1646.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

I AM loath to write till I be sure yow have receaved the former. We have, every week almost, a great deale adoe for intercepted or ained letters. What will become of us, God knows ! but certainlie the Scotts doe yet continue in the midst of all, and these very heavy tentations, to be very honest to the English and the common cause. We thought the King his coming to us, would have quicklie fettled all ; but yet the danger is great. This people is very jealous, and the Sectarian partie, intending only for private ends to continew the warre, intertaine their humour,—“ Let the Scotts doe and say what they can, yet certainly they cannot be honest : they have a designe, with the King and foreign nations, to betray and ruine England ; therefore let us be rid of them with diligence : if they will not immediately be gone, let us dryve them home with our armies.” To these foolish and most mad counsells, the King’s unhappines does daily contribute. Some twenty dayes before he came out of Oxford, he wrote to Ormond, of his designe to go to the Scotts army, upon confidence, to work them to his

⁽⁸⁾ This great work still remains in manuscript. It is sincerely to be hoped that some measures may at length be taken for its publication, not from any of the indifferent transcripts in this country, but from the original MS. preserved in the British Museum.

designes, since the Parliament were resolute to ruine him ; This letter is sent to Monroe by Ormond, and by Monroe delivered to the English commiffioners, who fends it to the House of Commons, where it is read publickly, and a vote paff on it, that the King's intention in coming towards us, wes to divide the Nations. This was but a preface to a harder vote againft him ; and had we not prevented it by a paper contrare to that letter, declaring, with great confidence, the finceritie of our nation, and freedome from any capitulation with the King, it's like, they who had ftollen through a vote of the ufeleffenefs of our armie in England, had proceeded farder to make us odious ftill, and to difcredite our moft folemne proteftations of our innocencie. Their committee, with their armie at Newarke, make a moft bafe report of our armies miscarriages. The partie intended to have had that a part of a declaration againft us ; for the great worke of fome wes, by all meanes, to have us once ingadged ; for this end they hemmed us in a corner of the north, and made Pointz to ly on our nofe, giving us not a fixpence of money, being affured that being ftraitened in quarters, and haveing no money, that the countrie, exhausted before, would be fo grieved with us, that we and they would fall foule ; and Pointz's armie being at hand, there fhould be a-yocking, and fo a neceffitie of war. Yet we abhorred war fo farr, that by the great mercie of God, our army hes given hitherto no provocation to thofe that watched for it, but hes drawne from it many testimonies for our credit. While we had almoft wrestled through this great danger, and given fatiffaction for Afhburnhame and Hudfon's escape, as indeed we were free of fault therein, behold the villaine Hudfon, as its like by the King's direction, puts himfelf in the Parliament's hands, and makes grievous complaints of us, as Afhburnhame alfo did by his letters from over-sea, as if we had drawne the King to our army by fair promifes ; and when we had gotten him, we did use him roughlie as a prifoner, and in nothing gave him contentment. The fecond wes a refutation of the firft. The truth is, we never had any dealing with him for coming to our army, and would never enter in termes to make him any promife, farder then that we knew our dutie, and would keep our covenant ; and had it not been that he foresaw he was already to be taken at Oxford, and either to have been execute, which is the mind of too many here, or to have been clapped up in perpetuall prifone, he had never come near us. However, the carriage of our armie, and all our nobles, even they

who were counted the greatest malignants, have been wise, moderate, and honest, towards the King and this Parliament hitherto; yet that partie who were the diligent watchmen of the Commonwealth, were doing their uttermost to make it appeare that we were bot false men; and, for that end, a number of poor inconsiderable delations were brought to the bar of the Commons, to make it evident that we minded no good; a new letter of the King's to the Prince, and fundry letters as from France, confirming them in these jealousies. We could never have abidden the halfe of their mad follies, had we not been restrained with the sight of the mischiefs which we saw were at hand upon the neck of both, if we should take fyre at their daily provocations. The lamentable slaughter of Monroe's armie in Ireland, and Antrim comeing over with one thousand fyve hundred men to Scotland, with our severe carriage towards the King, putting him out of all hopes of any compliance with the King; also Argyle's authority and wise carriage here, hes much stopped the mouth of our enemies: but that which hes done us most good, and brought greatest shame on them who most maligned us, is, our passing the propositions without all delay, whereon they have stuck these ten moneths, and wherein they expected surely we would have made much greater difficultie. Also the scurvie base propositions which Cromwell hes given to the Malignants of Oxford, hes offended many more than his former capitulation at Exeter; all seeing the evident designe of these conscientious men to the greatest conditions to the worst men, that they may be expeded for their northern warfare. Nothing so much affrayes the semen as a peace; albeit truely all men who are not misled, sees a very pregnant appearance of ruine to England, if they should warre with us at this time. Our great feare is now from the King: his wilfullness is very great: if he should not be so obstinate as to refuse the propositions, we will be put to a fearfull perplexitie. We resolve not to divide from England on any termes. If the King will not return upon just termes, what to doe with him we cannot tell; bot we hope our God will soften his heart to preserve himselfe and many others from great miseries. The Queen's counsells seems yet to sway all, and these to be still desperate. The French designs are, in my mind, contrare to the wellfare of both Kingdomes, and the Protestant cause: that monarchie will quicklie be more terrible to us than Spaine wes before. Yet so mad are the Sectaries, that they would be glad to drive us to the French; they are so blinded, that they

think it a matter very easy to subdue our Kingdome; though united, and assisted by all the power which Ireland, France, Holland, Denmark, and all our friends in England, could make us. We pitie such fury; and, by God's help, shall never tempt them, as they needleslie doe us from tyme to tyme.

For the matters of our Church, with much adoe, we gott the Provinciall commissioners laid aside, and soe resolve to act. The Ministers of the Assembly did meet with those of London, and agreed upon a declaration for acting; so the next week they purpose to sett up: I pray God be with them. It wes designed to send nothing for Religion but one lyne, that the King should ratifie what the Parliament had or should vote. With much adoe we reasoned them out of this strange motion; so we expect all their Ordinances shall goe, that for the Directory, for Ordination, for abolishing Episcopacie, for the Presbyterie, &c. What day, and by whose hand, all will be sent, yet we know not; but our consent so quicklie to send the propositions, though we assent not to all the matter, is much cryed up. We are afrayed Montrose and Antrim lay not down armes; and if the King escape to them, it will be a woefull case; so much the more, as, in the leaders of this people, we find no kindness nor wisdom. The Parliament's questions have retarded us much: without them we had ended the Confession of Faith; a committee hes prepared answers for them all, much for our advantage, and contrare to the expectation of these who moved them. All the skill will be to pass them without debate: it will be endeavoured; but we fear great opposition from the Independents, who are so earnest as ever to keep off all determinations, and make the confusions both of Church and State infinite.

There are depositions anew in the Presbyterie of Glasgow, Mr. John Forfyth, Mr. Gavin Forfyth, Mr. Robert Tran; but their proceedings with the Principall, Mr. Wilkie, and Mr. Edward [Wright], what it may produce, I know not: I no wayes love it. If these three be deposed, peace in Glasgow in our dayes seems to me desperat, whereof I am exceeding forrie: God, in great mercy, hes kept me from among them all this while. I am again on the press. I gott never your opinion of my former pamphlet. At this time I yoke with Maxwell and Adamson, who, with base pamphlets, hes done our Church here much harme. The Secretaries, of purpose, reprinted their books, and carefully spread them; but I shall make them repent it. Mr. Henderson had undertaken

the service ; but being sent to Newcastle, he laid it on me. This much may serve yow for one three weeks. I am glad of your wife her recoverie ; my service to her and kind Apollonius : we long for his book. Mr. Gillespie hes a large and learned treatise on his subject near printed. I am glad every other day to see Duke Hamilton and the Marquis of Argyle at our table : long may these two gree weell. We are in great fears of the King's obstinacie ; if this marre us not, we are in a fair way to doe well. Yow wrote for some things, bot I forgot them ; I pray yow write againe. Will yow not put Forbes to write against the Anabaptists ; Spanheim, and Voffius, and Voetius also ; these and the Antinomians plague our common people. I rest,

Your Coufine,

JAMESON.

FOR GLASGOW. LONDON, JULY 14TH 1646.

MATTERS here look better upon it, blessed be God, than sometimes they have. On Sunday, in all congregations of the city, the elders are to be chosen. So the next week, church-fessions in every parochie, and twelve presbyteries within the city, and a provinciall synod, are to be sett up, and quicklie, without any impediment that we apprehend. The like is to be done over all the land. They goe to this work unanimooslie and cheerfullie at last, I mean all but the Sectaries. That it may the better succeed, there is on Thursday next a generall Fast over the city, which both the Assemblie and Parliament doe countenance. The work of the Assemblie, these bygane weeks, hes been to answer some very captious questions of the Parliament, about the clear scripturall warrant for all the punctilioes of the Government. It wes thought it would be impossible to us to answer, and that in our answers there should be no unanimitie ; yet, by God's grace, we shall deceave them who were waiting for our halting. The committee hes prepared very solide and satisfactorie answers already, almost to all the questions, wherein there is like to be ane unanimitie absolute in all things materiall, even with the Independents. But because of the Assemblie's way, and the Independents miserable unamendable designe to keep all things from any conclusion, it's like we shall not be able to perfyte our answers for

some tyme ; therefore I have put some of my good friends, leading men in the House of Commons, to move the Assemblée to lay aside our questions for a time, and labour that which is most necessary, and all are crying for, the perfecting of the Confession of Faith and Catechise. If this motion take, I hope we shall end shortly our Confession, for there is but a few articles now to goe through : it will be a very gracious and satisfactorie Confession when yow see it. We made, long agoe, a prettie progress in the Catechise ; but falling on rubbes and long debates, it was laid aside till the Confession was ended, with resolution to have no matter in it but what was expressed in the Confession, which should not be debated over againe in the Catechise. If these two peices, and the Catechise, were out of our hands, our long work were at an end. All the corrections of Mr. Rouse's Psalmes, and advyces which come up from thence, were very friendly received, and almost all of them followed. It's like the Assemblée and Parliament here will, ere long, authorise the use of that oft corrected Psalter. Whether yow think meet to make use of it or not, it shall be absolute in your own power.

But that whereupon the eyes of all are only fixed at this time, is the Propositions of peace. The Sectarian partie here are very averse from peace, if they could choose : they made the propositions so ill as they were able, hoping we should never have past them ; yet, for many great causes, we have swallowed downe the hardest pills they presented, to their great disappointment. So we have gotten at last, with much adoe, their commissioners to goe this day to Newcastle ; Argyle, to-morrow, will follow them. All that we heard before this day was, that the King would never take these propositions ; so a worse confusion than yet we have seen did present itself to our eyes, to our great grief and trouble, but to the joy and confidence of these here, whose interest it is to have war and confusion to continue : but, thanks to God, this day we are put in a prettie good hope that the King will follow advyce. God's people had never more need to seek earnestly and instantly to him ; for surelie, if the King follow his nature and constant practise, and but delay to passe all these propositions, how hard to him soever, we cannot tell in all the world what to doe next ; and their feares and perplexities are greatest who understand best the present posture of affaires in all the three Kingdomes, and our neighbour Nations. But if the Lord dispose the heart of the King to doe his dutie, there is an appearance of a very gracious peace presently.

The Lord powre the spirit of prayer on all his saints, in this so needfull a tyme. The city of London, and the whole land, continues and increases in their desyres of peace, and love of our nation, and hating of the sects, who, for their own wicked ends, would, with all their heart, behold the destruction of both nations. The City hes avowed to the Parliament their desyres to have the King back, and hardly hes been hindered from sending some of their prime men to him, with a petition to passe the propositions. Some of us, I think, must, and I am fure one of us does long much to be at home. Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Gillespie, and your friend also, are all on the press againe, for the defence of our church, and truth of God, against diverse enemies.

The Turke is to oppress the Venetians; the Emperor can make them no help. The French hes taken in Orbitello in Tuscanie, scarce a dayes journey from Rome. It is said, the Pope, Florence, and Parma, are leagueing with Spaine, to cast out the French there: however, neither Spaine, Italie, nor France, can give any help against the Turke. Poll[and] is very willing, and hes leaved a great armie to divert the Turke; but the States of his kingdome are like to hinder his undertaking. The Swedes hes joyned their armies and their friends together near Marpurg. The Imperialists and Bavarians, much of this moneth, have lyen near them: Their force is near equall; it's thought they will fight. Great appearance that the Hollanders will take peace with Spaine; for almost all they could desyre is offered them; yet they are to the fields for this summer very strong, and the French on the other side also strong: the Spaniard is much stronger than any one; but will not be able to keep the field against both. We are grieved and im-bittered by the Prince's journey to Paris: it can produce no good; yet God can bring light out of darknesse. Let this be sent West to James Mitchell.

FOR MR. SPANG. FRYDAY, JULY 17TH 1646.

THIS I wrote to Glasgou on Tuesday last, I can add no more news to count of. The French ambassador got audience this day in both Houses: So far as yet we can learn his errand is good, to joyne the King and his Parliaments in our termes; he applies himself most to us. Our hopes yet increase, that the King will

doe dutie. Our divisions among ourselves are like to be too great; but if God give the countries peace, let men that seek themselves most, divide the Court among them: since neither grace nor wisdom will learne them concord, they deserve no pitie; let them beat one another as they will, there is never a tint stroke among courtiers.

Your Nephew, I assure yow, is a very fine quick boy, and is like to make a very good scholler. Mr. Rutherford, be assured, will doe all that is in his power for yow in any thing. My service to your Wife.

FOR MR. HENDERSON. SATURDAY, JULY 18TH 1646.

SIR,

I HOPE yow got my last with Daniel Carmichael; Yow have here one from Dr. Burges. It now comes near the choack: I am trembling for your answer⁽¹⁾ to our Propositions. I am grieved that your resolutions should depend so absolutely upon France, and that upon a partie there, who have been so evidently foolish, wicked, and pernicious; your debates upon Episcopacie I never took to be conscientious, but merely politick, and a pretence to gaine time. I hear France hes or will loose that scruple of conscience very easily. Will such base hypocrisie be blessed? The French ambassador is all composed of honestie, and hes no other errand but peace; yet I do no wayes lyke this his almost abrupt running to yow at so unseasonable a tyme. The passing of the proposition for Episcopacie will not doe your turne now: Yow have that good property to do all out of tyme: though yow passe the Militia and Ireland, that will not doe it neither. We⁽²⁾ would beg of yow to stand upon any one thing. Let the French perswade yow to doe it, and we shall blese them; for it's our only feare, that yow pass all, and so quickly return, and be our masters; but stick upon any thing we have sent, we shall quickly establishe ourselves in a republick, and forswear Kings for ever; for yow have been so excessively bloody and false, that God and man calls for your extirpation, especially now, when the world sees your remediless obstinacie and full resolution to goe on in this false and hypocritical way: better once for all to be ridd of yow, and all who will take your part.

(¹) That is, King Charles's answer.

(²) That is, the Independents.

This, Sir, I find to be the heart of many, whose sense I expected should have been much otherwise. I marvel to see the simplicity of some, who think your condescension in some maine things will doe your turne. I professe these men whom yow will find flatter yow in such counsells, I suspect their designs are to ruine the poor Prince for their own ends. Sir, if yow have any power, let that man come off once very franklie in all things, and he shall have all he ought to desyre: will he doe it by halves and quarters, he is running to utter destruction; who can help it! yet I must be one of the mourners for it. Sir, give over your disputations; they are but vaine; it's near the fool's saying "They will make Prince Elector of thee." O! the madness of blinded men, that no experience will teach them to save themselves and thousands from evident mischief. The Lord help and assist yow to doe and say what becomes, be the event what it may. All men, I see, seeke themselves above all things either publick or private.

Your Servant,

FOR MR. HENDERSON, BEING AT NEWCASTLE WITH THE KING.⁽³⁾

SIR,

PERCEIVING by yours to Mr. Kennedie, that mine had past by you to Scotland, I marvel of the miscarriage; for I delivered, with the books, two letters for yow, to my Lord Balcarras's man, out of my own hand, with expresse directions. I pray yow search for that letter, directed on the back to Allaster Mackay: it's pretty free, and had inclosed one to yow from Doctor Burges. The week after that I delivered to Mr. Cheesly one from Collonell Jones to yow. Mr. Robert Blair's letter to us bore, that yow were weakly: we wish to be delivered from that fear. Yow will have it from many hands, and I cannot but advertise yow also, that the prevalent partie desyres nothing so much as the King's refusing of any one of the propositions: It's the sense of all I meet with, that

⁽³⁾ This letter in the M.S. is misplaced, and bears a wrong date, "April (apparently altered from July) 28, 1646, at night." It was about the middle of May when Henderson left London to attend the King at Newcastle. Baillie here evidently alludes to the previous letter, 18th July, enclosing one from Dr. Burgess (*vide* p. 381); and we may conclude that this letter was written towards the end of that month.

if the King should but delay to grant the propositions, this people will declare against him, and reject him for ever from being King. The Prince his going to France does much imbitter them, and furthers that which is the designe of many, to abolish monarchie, and settle themselfes in a new kind of popular government. If the King will presentlie pass all the propositions, I find the most very willing that he should returne, and be receaved with so much power and honor, as may, in a little time, bring him to all his just and pious desyres. He deceaves himselfe exceedingly, if he expect any divisions here in haste; all will agree, if he remaine obstinate, to ruine him and his family, and all who adheres to them; while this fear be secured, by appearance this people will be one. Diverse, from whom least I expected it, are for the putting away of the whole royal race. The naturall respect I have to all great families, and the great love and reverence that I ever carried to the King's persone, makes me grieve and fear much at this time. When I look upon the disposition of all men I know, I see nothing bot ruine for poor Scotland, except the God of Heaven help yow there to save that poore Prince from destroying of himself and his posteritie, against whom he has but invocat too oft the name of God. Though he should swear it, no man will believe it, that he sticks upon Episcopacie for any conscience. It was certainlie resolved, and expected by all, that the Committee should have consisted of foure of the prime Lords, and eight of the chiefe Commons; but the insuperable wilfulness of two of our friends has sent doune the six ⁽⁴⁾ that are named, in satisfaction of their private emulations, without any designe to harden and irritate the King. This I know to be true; all men are for the time in suspense, but readie, upon the King's declaration whatever way, to enter into new thoughts and actions. I think yow shall shortly have with yow all our three great men, Richmond, Hamiltone, Argyle. I doubt not but all three will joyne to perswade, to their uttermost, the King to doe his duty. If this succeed, it would be your next care, for the weell fo Scotland, to make all these three more reall friends than as yet I suspect they are. The Lord help yow.

I rest,

Yours.

[R. BAILLIE.]

(4). The Six Commissioners appointed to carry the propositions to the King, were to set off from London on Monday 13th July; and in the account of their proceedings, laid before Parliament on the 12th August, they mention having arrived at Newcastle on Thursday the 23d July. (Lords Journals, vol. viii.) pp. 433, 462.

It has been the King's perpetuall fault, to grant his people's defyres be bitts, and foe late, that he ever loft his thanks. Must we yet wait for oracles from France?

FOR MR. CALDERWOOD.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

I SENT to yow long ago my Diffuafive, I hope yow did receave it from Mr. Andrew Kerr. I fend to you now, by the fame hand, another pamphlet; my colleagues put me to this, truelie befide my purpofe, and contrare to my defyre, bot there was a neceffitie to fay fomething for the Vindication of our Church, which lay under very great infamie, and was much flandered by the occafion of thefe two wicked pamphlets, which I endeavour to anfwer. Mr. Henderfon, at all our defyres, wes purpofed to have done it, but his journey to Newcastle, took him off before he had begun; our other two brethren had their hands full. We did wryte to yow for your help, and to the Generall Affembly to encourage yow: the collections yow fent us up, did us good fervice: I waited ever till now for more of that kind, but fince no more come I wes forced to let this goe as yow fie. My ground, for the farr moft part I fay, I have it from yow, efpeciallie from your treatife in the end of your Altar of Damafcus. If yow be not difpleafed with thefe my two pamphlets, I am glad: If in any thing I have debordeit in either, I am very willing upon your advertifement, to correct my errour. I pray the Lord to ftrengthen and encourage yow to write the Hiftorie of our Church, and to fett down your mind in the poynts now controverted, that we, who are but young men, may have from yow grounds whereupon we may build with courage againft the enemies of the truth. Thus I reft

Your Brother to reverence and ferve yow,

Auguft 4th 1646.

R. B.

FOR MR. HENDERSON.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

YOUR ficknefs hes much grieved my heart. It is a part of my prayer to God to reftore yow to health, and continue your fervice

a time; we never had so much need of yow as now. I have sent yow at last my pamphlet; it hes stuck on the press these seven weeks through the sottishness of the printers. Our brethren are all content with it: I wes altogether adverse from intermeddling with it, till yow, at your departure, spoke to me of it. But what doe I speak of such toys? The King's madness hes confounded us all: we are in a woefull evill taking; we know not what to doe, nor what to say. We know well the weight that lyes on your heart: I fear this be the fountain of your disease. Yet I am sure, if you would take courage, and digest what cannot be gotten amended, and if, after the shakeing off melancholious thoughts, the Lord might be pleased to strengthen yow at this time, you would much more promote the honour of God, the weelfare of Scotland and England, the comfort of many thousands, than yow can doe by weakening of your body and mind with such thoughts as are unprofitable.

George hes been shipping your things this day with Robert Hamilton of the Panns, who goes with the first fair wind. The great God fill your heart with strength and comfort from his own face. Thus I rest,

Your most loving Brother and Servant,
London, August 4th 1646.

R. BAYLIE.

FOR MR. BLAIR.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

I CAUSED buckle up the last winter fundry of my pamphlets for yow. They fell by a mistake in the hands of Humble his son's pedagogue: I hope he gave them to yow, as Mr. Samuell directed him. I have neither a mind nor great fitness to appear in print; yet it hes been my fortune much oftener than I thought to come out in this kind. At this time all my colleagues are my witnesses, how loath I wes to meddle with more printing; yet all thought it necessary I should make this answer. In my Epistle⁽⁵⁾ I thought it my duty to let the world know my obligation to yow: I hope yow will take this testimonie of the thankfulnesse of my heart in

(⁵) Prefixed to his "Historicall Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland, and addressed by Baillie "For his Reverend and wel beloved Brother Master Robert Blaire, Minister of St. Andrewes." It is dated Worster House, July 29, 1646.

good part, till I have occasion to declare the same by deed. I have burdened James Hamilton with twelve copies; one is for himselfe, one for yow; yow will be pleased to deliver a third to dear Mr. Henderson, and a fourth to my cousin Lieutenant General Baylie, a fifth to the governor Sir James Lumisdale, a sixth to my Lord Crauford, a seventh to my Lord Lanerick. The other five I entreat yow to knitt together, and send them to Mr. Andrew Kerr, with my letter to him, who will distribute them as I direct him.

The King's answer hes broken our heart: we see nothing but a sea of new more horrible confusions. We are afraid of the hardnes of God's decree against that madd man, and against all his kingdomes. We look above to God; for all below is full of darknes. The Lord assist yow in your own comfortable service. So I rest,

Your Brother,

London, August 4th 1646.

R. BAYLIE.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

COUSINE,

I AM now two to the fore with yow, albeit I wrote none the last post; for I wes at Oxford, the best builded and booked Univerfitie in the world, but the worst provided of learned and orthodox men I know [of] any. We were lately in some good hopes of ane happie end of our long troubles, but now we are very near desperate of that: after all possible endeavours by all unanimooslie, Scots, English, French, so farr as yet we know, the King refuses the Propositions. We expect on Monday the Chancellour and Argyle with the English Commiffioners. After their report to the Houses we fear sad votes: It will be our endeavour to keep them from sudden conclusions. They take very long tyme to the smallest affaires: I fear they be too quick in deposeing the King, and setting a day to the Prince. We are at a great non-plus, in very great grieve and perplexitie: we know not what either to say or doe; there is before us a thick cloud of confusion: many of the King's greatest friends thinks his obstinacie judiciall, as if, in God's justice, he were destroying himselfe: I feare he will downe with him all his posteritie, and monarchie also, in this Isle. We have very small hopes of doing any more

with him, and many thousands more of his best subjects. This is the great joy of the prevalent partie, the thing they panted for with all earnestness. Our griefes and fears are great, and, for the time, we are in a great stupiditie and astonishment. It will be our endeavour to keep the nations together, albeit we scarce see the possibilitie of it. Mr. Henderfon is dyeing, most of heart-break, at Newcastle. Our grandees are like to be state-schismatics, and the worst side to be the strongest. A truely pious and reallie publick man is a rare peice upon earth.

Mr. Gillespie will send yow over his learned book. My pamphlet, with these pieces I answer, I give now to Mr. Tirence. I send three more with my service, to Mr. Cunynghame, Mr. Stewart, and Mr. Apollonius. I have seen the Paris Bible;⁽⁶⁾ it's fifty pound pryce. I think your printers at Amsterdam or Leyden might give us the Arabick and Syriack Bible, also the Chaldee paraphrase for a small price, to their own great advantage. A marvell that no man there will persuade these printers to doe so good a turne for their own good. A pity but Erpenius's manuscript Arabick dictionary were perfyted. Grief and anxietie makes me cutt off: The Lord be with yow. My service to your Wife. So I rest,

Your Coufine,

August 7th 1646.

R. BAYLIE.

FOR MR. HENDERSON. AUGUST 13TH 1646.

SIR,

THOUGH I have little purpose, yet I could not let George goe without two or three lines. Your weaknes is much regrated by many here; to me it is one of our sad prefages of the evils coming. If it be the Lord's will, it's my heartie prayer oft-tymes yow might be lent to us yet for some tyme. Upon the great appearance of our full compliance with this people, the most seems to applaud our carriage toward the King; but how long, I doubt. It seems the most here are inclyned to declare against the King, and that without much regrate: I know no remead, but a quick message from him to grant all. I wish our meeting at Edinburgh

⁽⁶⁾ Le Jay's edition of the Polyglott Bible, printed at Paris, 1628-1645, 10 vols. large folio.

would yet send to him for at effect; but I fear it be too late. In all things he continues to be extreame unhattie. Montreuil and his letters were taken by sea. Bellievre's brother, posting by land, after a fore fall, sent his letters by aue expresse, with the Speaker's passe; yet the man was stopped, and his letters taken from him. The Parliament's agents writes still from Paris, that the Duke of Lorraine shall winter in England; that Bavaria is upon the league, upon ane expresse condition that the King shall meddle no more in the Palatine cause; that one hundred thousand crowns are sent into Scotland from France, by the way of Holland: the belief of these things, how false soever, is equivalent to their truth. Ormond's pacification with the Irish is very unreasonable; the placing of Hopes [Hobbes] (a professed Atheist, as they speak) about the Prince as his teacher, is ill taken. In the Assemblie we were like to have stucken many moneths on the questions; and the Independents were in a way to gett all their differences debated over againe. I dealt so with Mr. Rous and Mr. Tate, that they brought us ane order from the House to lay aside the questions till the Confession and Catechise were ended. Many took it for a trick of the Independents and Eraftians for our hurt; but I knew it was nothing less. We are now near an end of our Confession: we stick in the article of Synods, upon the proposition of their coercive power, or their power to excommunicat. If this were over, we apprehend no more long debates on the Confession. The committee for the Catechise has weell near ended their work: It must be perswaded before any point of it be reported. The election of elders in the most of the paroches of London is past with a cordiall unanimitee, and these who are chosen approved by the tryers: we expect classically meetings speedilie. There is this day to be presented to the House ane honest and high petition, like to the City remonstrance, from Lancashire, subscribed with twelve thousand five hundred hands and above. The French are like this year to have very bad successe, both in Italie, Spaine, and West Flanders, and to break at home. If you see not to it, I fear great divisions among our own statesmen; but our great God can help all these things: His spirit strengthen, comfort, and encourage yow to the end. So I rest in my hearty love and reverence toward yow.

London, August 13th 1646.

FOR MR. ROBERT BLAIR.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

I AM glad yow take my dedication in good part. None who know my obligations to yow, can offend that I should acknowledge them. When yow have read the book, let me have your judgement of the matter. Yow must not so wearie of your charge as not to goe about it cheerfullie, and to doe in it all the good yow can for your short time. It's weell that Mr. Andrew Ramfay's treatise hes done what Mr. Henderfon and all the rest of yow could not doe : but it's a pitie that base hypocriefie, when it's pellucide, should still be entertained. No oaths did ever persuade me, that Episcopacie wes ever adhered to on any conscience ; I esteemed all your debaites on that subject to be but ridiculous pretexts to gaine time, till the last resolution came from your masters beyond sea ; and now, when it is come, are yow so wise as to dream, that the abolition of Episcopacie will give any satisfaction? Will that plumm please Scotland so weell, as to make them joyne with the Malignants against England? Will your new officers of State, new lords and knights, draw that nation at your heeles? Have yow been so long in the mortar, and beaten so much with the pistole, and that follie is not yet driven from yow? All your friends here lament at your palpable excoecation ; but all abhorres these ambitious mad men, who will destroy a more than half-destroyed Prince, by betraying him with their flatteries. With much diligence and art, and great perplexitie, we strive every day to keep the House of Commons from falling on the King's answer. We know not what houre they will close their doores, and declare the King fallen from his throne ; which, if they should once doe, we put no doubt but all England would concurr ; and if any should mutter against it, they would be quicklie suppressed. Doe not expect, that ever any more messages will come to yow from this : if within a very few dayes yow send not hither a simple and absolute grant of all the propositions, without any *if*, or *and*, you will quicklie obtaine your desyre, a martyrdome ; a perpetuall close prison at least, will be your portion, and that without the pity of many. If yet yow would doe, what within a few weeks yow will on your knees begg to be permitted to doe, but in vaine,

you might save all. Why is no course taken to declare them infamous for ever that doe insnare the King, by taking any honour, place, or promise, from him in his present condition? Shall such unhappie bribers be enabled by any more trust in their countrie to doe mischief? Be obstinate but a little more, and all here will, without more vexeing of themselves, let yow take your will, and play the foole while yow live. All that favour the King in England are not worth a buttone, if he make any more scruple in any of our demands. These false traitorous whisperers that would make the blinded Prince believe that the Sectaries are not his extreame malicious enemies, burning for the day to cast him and all his posteritie out of England, they are impudent lyars. I some times weep in secret for the unexpressible evils, which most needfullie that man is hastening on himselfe, and his whole house, and many thousands of his poor subjects; but, if so it must be, the Lord's will be done. The Lord make yow faithfull and wise at so strange a nick of time. I rest.

August 18th 1646.

FOR MR. DICKSON. AUGUST 18TH 1646.

IN the Assemblie we are returned to the Confession of Faith, and are drawing towards the end of it. The Catechise is almost all past through the Committee. If these were done, lyklye the Assemblie may adjourne, that the members thereof may go downe to their severall shires, to assist the erecting of sessions, presbyteries and synods. They have gone on in London, and chosen many very gracious and able elders. The tryers publicklye hes taken accompt of them, both of their life and knowledge, with their own consent; none hes refused to be tryed: they are all chosen for life; they will be a great help and strength to the Government. The King's unhappie refuseall of the Propositions hes put us here in a great deale of confusion and perplexitie. The Sectaries does exceedingly rejoyce; the rest are in great sadness. The great danger wes, that the House of Commons presently without any more [delay] should declare against the King: our great care wes to prevent that great mischief; for if once they had past a vote to demand the King to remove our army, to send their army northward there wes no remedie. Therefore we made ready a paper

before their Commissioners returned, and presented it at the very back of their Commissioners report, of our willingness to disband our army, and give up the garisons upon reasonable satisfaction; and our desyre to take, by common advyse, a course for settling of the Kingdomes. The noyse of our very good carriage at Newcastle, the great equitie of our paper, our private dealling with our friends in the Houses, made our motions taken so we have gotten them to consider first the matter of our armie before they come to the King's answer. We hope to keep them on thus, for some dayes, till the King have a little more tyme to be better advysed; and such diligence hes been used, that we hear he is coming near us. Some farder instructions are come to him from France, and the harmonious resolution of both nations, to take a course without him, if he will not be advised, is more apparent to him than before. The great hazard is, that he consent not fullie to all, and quicklie; for a qualified consent, or a full consent a little delayed, will undoe him. The running of unhappie men upon him, for honors and places, is a great snare to him: such untymous honors are very hurtfull both to the giver and taker. It's all our skill to gaine a little time. Their first offer to us wes of one hundred thousand pounds sterling for the disbanding of our army. We, this day, gave them in a paper wherein we were peremptor for more than double that sounge for the present, beside the hudge sounes which we crave to be payed afterward. They have appointed a Committee to conferr with us; we are in some hopes of agreement. The money must be borrowed in the citie, and here will be the question: they are our loving friends; but before they will part with more money, they will pres hard the disbanding of their owne armie as ours: if they obtain this, the Sectaries will be broken; if they obtain it not, the pride of the Sectaries will be intollerable.

The advyces the King getts from France, are the more moderate, because of their present misfortunes. Their army in Italy is with great losse and shame sent home; in Catalonia, they have not much prospered this year; in West Flanders, the Spaniards from Mardick, near Dunkirk, hes killed a great many noblemen and commanders to them. The Hollanders does no good this summer; for they are bent, for feare of the French greatness, to take peace with Spaine. The Prince of Condee is like to fall foule with the Cardinall, so the French hes the lesse will to medle with England. The Turke is incroaching fore upon the Vene-

tians in Dalmatia. The Swedish and Imperiall armies are yet looking one upon ane other, near Frankford.

FOR GLASGOW. TO MR. R. RAMSAY.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

YOUR's, with Mr. Legg, yesterday I receaved: I thank yow for it. I have written to Mr. David this once more for that matter I importuned yow for: yow and Mr. George will be pleased to confider what I say there. For our affaires here, yow will read them in the publick letter, which yow will fend west to James Mitchell. I purpose to fend his informations to Paris to Dr. Davison; so I wish with the first yow let me know from himselfe his present condition; whatever is in my power I would be glad to doe it for that gracious man.

We are here, by the King's madnes, in a terrible plunge; the powerfull faction desires nothing so much as any colour to cast the King and all his race away, to have a quarrell with us: this they will gett if the King stick but for a few dayes on any of the propositions. Many here will regrate it; bot none will oppose. With great difficultie we dryve over a little time, and, to our utmost, labours with the King. He never did any good turne in due tyme; our people, I fear, be a snare to him. Divisions are lyke to increase, and the best to be borne down most: worfe evils hings above the head of poor Scotland than yet we have suffered, except the Lord prevent, and such as I cannot see their end. Blasphemous heresies rage here every where, without any controll, to this day: warnings are clear and zealous; but a few who makes it their work to patronize and advance a horrible libertie, marrs all. This nation also is in a temper to fall in a worfe warr than the former. God help us, we had need to pray: never people nearer to a bottomless pitt of horrible evils. I am exceeding weary of this life; and so soon as I can, will beg leave to be gone. Mr. Henderfon's absence, and the variable health both of Mr. Gillespie and Mr. Rutherford, hes kept me the stricter; but I hope our work is near a period.

By this time I think yow have my last book. Commend me heartily to your Wife, the farr best yeoman of the two; and to Margaret Roberton, and Mr. Zacharie's wife, and Mr. George's,

my wife's grand-cummers : but I hold ; for I know not if it may be God's will to make us forgett all merriments yet more. The Lord be with yow. Let me hear with the next more particularly of your health. So I rest your Brother.

London, August 18th 1646.

FOR MR. TATE.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

THAT yow may not forget whereof yesternight we spoke, I have sent yow this memorandum. 1. That the ordinances for setting up the Government in the countrie, and against blasphemies, after so much delay, may at last be expedit. 2. That when the matter of itinerant preachers comes again in hand, some rules may be made for their election and work ; at least that they may be tryed by the Assemblie, and be found not men infamous for errors, as many thinks your three first to be. 3. That you mind the Oxford committee, and see the rules already past be put in the ordinance : That all Masters, Fellows, and Schollers, take the Covenant, and be willing to act in their places, according to the ordinances of Parliament ; and why should not Oxford have the favour which Manchester shew to Cambridge ? That all the new Masters and Fellows be tryed by the Assemblie. Consider if Mr. Lee, a very able and deserving man, ought to be sett aside, only for his zeal against Independents : the Deanrie of Christ's Church is his due. The ministers would be sent to Oxford with all speed. 4. The pious and honest petition of Lancashire, deserves a speedie hearing and favourable answer : it's the work of some to have it flighted and disgraced. 5. We have great need that now and then, were it but one half hour in the week, yow should come to the Assemblie, and exhort us to diligence ; also to clear handsomelie the mistake of many, that your earnestness for ane end of the Confession and Catechise, is nothing less than for the suppressing of the answer to the questions, or for the dissolving of the Assemblie.

Sir, if such things be not minded by yow, and some others, as your speciall work, that which is most dear to yow, the honour, truth, and church of God is lyke to suffer yet more. Your more than ordinarie favour to me makes me bold to be your remembrancer.

FOR WILLIAM MURRAY.⁽⁷⁾ SEPTEMBER 8TH 1646.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

It was your pleasure to give me two kind visits in my chamber. What then I purposed to have said to yow, but was interrupted herein by those who came in upon us, I have taken the boldness to write it to yow in this Memorandum, as my observation from my converse with diverse citizens and divines of the best note among the English. I doubt not yow know from many hands much more than all this, yet I have thought meet that yow should have this much from me also, in testimonie of my freedome with yow, and of my love and compassion towards a perishing Prince, and three Kingdomes readie to fall in extream miseries. Nothing doubting of your favourable acceptance, I rest,

Your loving Freind and Agent,

R. B.

FOR WILLIAM MURRAY.

MEMORANDUM FROM YOUR AGENT.

First. That what wes promised to me, in your name, be reallie performed: I neither have, nor ever minds to have, any use of your service for myselfe, yet I should be glad to have that promise performed. God will not ever be mocked; yow shall never be a happie instrument for any good to yourselfe, or your friends,

(7) William Murray, son of the minister of Dysart, was appointed by Charles the First, in 1626, one of the Gentlemen of his Bedchamber; and being much in the King's confidence, he was employed by him in many secret negotiations. On Murray's return from France, in the beginning of 1646, he was laid hold of as a spy, and committed to the Tower. On the 9th April, an order was passed by both Houses, for his trial by martial law: See a letter respecting his trial (in the Appendix,) from George Gillespie, to his father-in-law, 3d July 1646. He was released on bail; but on the 12th January 1647, a new charge was brought against him, for plotting the King's escape from Newcastle. Soon after this he was raised to the Peerage as Earl of Dysart: according to Crawford, this was in 1646; but in Wood's edit. of Douglas's Peerage, the patent is said to have been dated at Oxford 3d August 1643. These dates must be erroneous, as his name continually occurs in 1646, as "Mr. Murray," and the King himself, in a note to the Marquis of Argyll, 4th Dec. 1646, styles him simply "Will Murray."

or the publick, if, after so fair warnings, and great spareing, yow will againe run in rebellion against God's clear commands, and into treason against your own soul; doubtless a worse evill, if any worse upon earth may be than what latelie wes very near yow, cannot bot overtake and fall upon yow, if you returne to your old wayes. My care and diligence for yow, in your hardest times, will excuse this libertie.

2dly. As yow would be thankfull to your Master for all his favours to yow; flatter him not now to his ruine. All with whom I converse, how willing soever to forgett bygones if he will take the Propositions, yet, I assure yow, so farr as I can observe, are also willing, without any regrate, to have him destroyed, if he will go on in his obstinacie. His partiall and qualified grants are taken but for tricks to make new divisions and parties, for the compassing of his former designes, and these things will no longer be borne.

3dly. It's exceedingly provocking that his resolutions should, at such a time, depend upon France. Shall nothing within himselfe, or nothing within this Isle, be able to advise him? His Kingdomes will not be governed by packetts from over-sea; such open indignities are at no time sufferable.

4thly. If he doe not desyre to ruine the innocent Prince with himself, bring him quicklie out of France; or, if this now be not in his power, let [Thomas Hobbes,] and such wicked men, be put from about him, and the ill-best there be taken into his service.

5thly. If he will yet joyne with Ireland, and endeavour divisions in Scotland and here, to imbroile all in a new warre, rather than take the Propositions, then let him know, that the remainder of love and pitie, which in the breast of many yet remains towards him, is readie to be extinguished, and all I know will be most willing to have him, and all who adheres to him, brought to their ruine, without any more compassion.

6thly. If yow have any love or pitie towards poor Scotland, endeavour to divert its engagement in a new warre; before such a designe can be sett on foot, the best of that land, who cannot bot oppose it, must be crushed, and this oppression will cry to Heaven for more vengeance; and when all the power of that broken and desolate land is brought out, what will it doe but destroy itself, and become the infamous instrument of losing to the King and his posteritie for ever that which, without their unhappie

intermedling, he might have been persuaded to have accepted, without more trouble or hazard to himself or others. None but fools will dream of a partie to any purpose in this land; all with whom I speak, putts it out of question, that if a new warre should arise, the greatest malecontents here shall either be quicklie satisfied, or else be so ordered as not to be able to make any opposition to that partie which is inclined, and on such an occasion shall be greatlie furthered, to exterminate royaltie.

7thly. I have many good witneses of my respects to monarchy, and to King Charles's persone, above many, if not all my fellows. This conscience makes me the more earnest to have such truths represented to him without disguise, and oft ingeminat in his ears with freedome, as may prevent, if possible, the evident and imminent ruine of his person and posteritie. Cursed be all those villanes who now will be so madd as to betray by their wicked compliances ane ill-advysed and bewitched Prince.

TO [THE EARL OF] LAUDERDALE.

MEMORANDUM TO MAKE OUR FREINDS SENSIBLE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ORDINANCE AGAINST BLAS- PHEMIES AND ERROURS.

1. THE other partie, all of them, mind it more than any thing that has been in hand of a long tyme.

2. The blasphemies, heresies, and errors, which abound every where, cryes to Heaven for a vengeance against the land; and in speciall against the House of Commons, by whose connivance only they have growne, and who most easilie might suppress them, if they did really endeavour it.

3. If it be carried and execute, the credite and power of the other partie is broken, the wearied and fainting spirits of our friends are revived: If it miscarrie, or if it be castrat and mangled, the patrons of error shall triumph, and much better we had never spoken of such ane ordinance.

4. Two or three men at most, by their care and activitie, have kepted the House for whole six years from taking any reall course to suppress any error. Now, when some course is in hand, if they by their industrie get it shifted, all the world will cry out on our friends, who had strength enough to have done that great

service to God and the kingdom, bot through negligence alone did losse so great and so good a cause.

5. Nothing will grieve Scotland so much as the miscarrieing of that ordinance.

6. If the Confession of Faith be gotten in to be debated before that ordinance, it will not be possible to gett it concluded for a long time.

Mr. Williams, in his Bloodie Tenet, dedicat to the Parliament, prints, that false teachers corrupts and destroyes the soules of their followers, and that the destruction of a soule is a greater cryme than to blow up a Parliament, and to kill a whole nation of men.

FOR MR. DICKSON. 22D SEPTEMBER 1646.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

It's lyke to-morrow James Gray shall agree with some stationers to sell your books as they may best : We purpose to sett in a half-sheet, in the beginning, the order of the House of Lords, and the Elogia, that we three and some other divines here has and shall write upon it.⁽⁸⁾ If the Lord send us peace, I wish God may give yow time and strength to goe on with the whole work : It will be exceeding profitable ; and because it will not be possible to bring it into a manuell, as yow first intended it, I think yow need not hamper yourself into too great a shortness, but take a little more libertie ; for it will be the more pleasant both to yourself and your hearers.

We have ended the Confession of Faith for the matter, and have perfyted the most half of it, nyneteen chapters ; the other seventeen, I hope, in ten or twelve days will be perfyted, and so all be sent up to the Houses. It will be, I hope, a very sweet and orthodoxe peice, much better than any Confession yet extant, if the House of Commons mangle it not to us. We are now upon the Catechise. We hope that also shall be a very good and plain peice. We are now at work, thanks to God, in earnest much more than ever : if the vaine hold, I trust this also in a moneth shall be over ; and then Mr. Rutherford and I will supplicat the Commission for a dimission : Mr. Gillespie will be abundance to attend the Queries. It will be a great question when yow shall think meet to call a

⁽⁸⁾ Dickson's "Expositio Analytica," &c. *Vide infra* p. 404.

Generall Affemblie : we yet know not what to advyse. It will be necessar to have the Confession and Catechise approven in a Generall Affemblie, as the Directorie was ; bot we fear the condition of your affaires at this tyme, will scarce permitt yow to hazard to call one. Allwayes be thinking on this ; for it will be a great deliberandum shortlie. To-morrow, the House of Commons debates the ordinance against heresies and blasphemies ; we are very sollicitous for it. The orthodoxe and heterodoxe partie will yoke about it with all their strength, the Lord be among them ; for the right or wrong carrying of that busines is of a hudge consequence, and nothing beyond it except ane other question, which this day is handled, How to dispose of the King's person ? Great need had yow there, as in my last I warned yow, to see to the election of commissioners to the Parliament, both in the burghs and shyres. If that choyse fall wrong, Scotland is in hazard to be ruined. It's lyke yow may see the Marques of Argyle shortlie : The Lord help him out of his trouble ; his enemies are many, and friends for any purpose bot few : yet God is not dead. My service to Margaret, and Mr. John, and all the rest. I rest,

Your Brother,

London, 22d September 1646.

R. BAYLIE.

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG. OCTOBER 2D 1646.

DEAR COUSINE,

THESE three or four posts I did not write to yow, partly through laziness, and partly upon expectation of farder and better matter ; and now, when there is no better purpose, I am somewhat also diverted : yet least I be too long in your debt, I must write somewhat. I was minded to have certified yow in some mistakes of your former letter ; but it is now fallen by, and I cannot find it. The false reports which went here of Mr. Henderfon,⁽⁹⁾ are, I see,

⁽⁹⁾ These reports are well known, from the positive assertion of Lord Clarendon, B. x. " The old man himself was so far convinced and converted, that he had a very deep sense of the mischief he had himself been the author of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to his nearest friends and confidants, and died of grief and heart-broken, within a very short time after he departed from his Majesty." Lord Clarendon was at that time in foreign parts, and it is probable was very ill-informed as to the sentiments of the Scottish Covenanters, whom he both hated and despised. It is curious to see how many different causes

come also to your hand : believe me, for I have it under his own hand, a little before his death, that he was utterly displeased with the King's wayes, and ever the longer the more ; and whoever say otherwise, I know they speak false :⁽¹⁾ that man died as he lived, in great modestie, pietie, and faith.

Matters in Glasgowe goe not well. My advyce, which oft I sent with intreaties, was never followed ; but as yet I think the refusers, though they did not weell, yet committed no great fault, all things well considered. The former magistrates were more obstinately opposite to every thing which our gracious Brethren did propose, for the furtherance of pietie in that towne, than I ever did see any where else. When their capitulation with Montrose put them in the reverence of the State, and the Committee of Parliament fand it expedient to remove all who had consented to that capitulation, I thought it had been better to have removed from the magistracy, session, and counsell, rather some than all ; and if they had been so stricke, it seemed just to have dealt so in Linlithgow, Irvine, Ayr, St. Andrewes, especially Edinburgh, whose fault, in my judgement, was much greater than Glasgowe's. But since the State took that course, I thought it no fault in our brethren to suggest the names of those whom they counted most serviceable to God and the publick, and to countenance them in the discharge of their office. That which exceedingly augmented the malecontentment of that people, was the great burthens. They were pressed by a great garrison, and the making of a very extensive and unprofitable ditch through their lands and yairds ; but in this our brethren had no hand to count of. The challenges that came on the Principall, Mr. Edward [Wright,] and Mr. William Wilkie, and others, they procured them themselves. There was great reason to desire Mr. Edward to be transported. I dealt what I could to stoppe all proceeding against the other two ; and hopes, by our brethren's means, to obtain it. But their last bickering is lyke

have been assigned for the death of Mr. Henderson. Dr. Barwick says, *Vita Joh. Barwick*. "Hendersonus autem ipse brevi post diem obiit, ex dedecore, quod a re male gesta in hoc conflictu apud Scotos suos in se contraxerat, ut ferebatur, plane confectus." Thus, according to Lord Clarendon, he died of remorse, according to Dr. Barwick, of shame, according to Mr. Baillie, of vexation. It is more than probable that all these accounts are equally groundless.—(*Note by Lord Hailes, Memorials, &c. of the reign of Charles the First, p. 184.*)

⁽¹⁾ Mr. Alexander Henderson died at Edinburgh, shortly after his conference with Charles the First at Newcastle, 19th August 1646. For another affectionate tribute to his memory, see Baillie's Speech to the Assembly in 1647.

to be worfe ; James Bell endeavouring to have the former Magistrates and Counsell joyned with the present in the new election ; as indeed I could not much blame him to desire it, considering the generall course which the State took with all other burrowes and shires. I remember I advysed Mr. David, halfe a year agoe, to take the very same course ; for without it, I saw no way of peace ; and had it come from him, it would have, in my mind, done weell. But James Bell would [extend] it too much, and would have added to the present Counsell, not only the old, bot also all liveing who ever had been deacons of crafts. This put it in his hand to cast out all the present Magistrates and Counsell, and so wes easily gotten renversed, and that whole matter referred to the next Session of Parliament ; where I wish it may be determined to the good of all.

We were here in a good way, and very good hopes, to have closed all quicklie and well ; but we are now fallen in a very great cloud, and fear : I pray God bring us safe out of it. When the King's unhappie answer to the Commissioners of both Parliaments did come hither, it wes our great care to divert this Parliament from all deliberation about the King till he had yet some more time of advyce. We cast in the debate of our armie's returne, and rendering the garisons. With much labour we gott that to a good point, to the contentment of all. We gott the Parliament to put the Assemblie so to it, that we expected a quick end both of our Confession and Catechise. All our fear wes of a too great compliyanse of Duke Hamilton and his friends with the King, of which there wes too pregnant appearance : yet that fear proved groundless ; for all these men hes concurred alse effectually to presse the King to take the propositions as we would have wished : though, in the carriage of it, they committed three or four slips of very gros imprudence very needlessly, whereby they offended a little both the King and the Church, and the countrey and this people ; but in substance they have hitherto, to the acknowledgement of all, done and spoken honestlie enough. When thus all wes running weell, behold suddenie many crosse accidents. We had laboured much, and were in full confidence to have Alderman Langham, Lord Mayor of London ; bot, by the cunning of some, Gayre is the man, a greater malignant than sectarie ; yet many hopes weell of him. The Assemblie obleided themselves by promise to sitt before and after noon for some tyme ; but now, thinking they have satisfied the Houses, by sending

up the half of the Confession, the first nineteen heads, they are relapsed into their former negligence. So we will be able few days in a week to make ane Assemblée; for if there be ane fewer than forty, it is no meeting; and though the rest of the heads be also past, yet, in the review, the alteration of words, and the methodizing, takes up so much time, that we know not when we shall end. Besides that we have some additionalls, especially one proposition, about libertie of conscience, wherein the Independents offer to keep us long and tough debates; for long agoe they have laid downe in this their maske, and pleads for a libertie weell near universall. Our long labours on the Psalmes, when readie to be put in practise, are lyke, by a faction, to be altogether stifled: they will have a libertie to take what Psalter they will. The unexpected death of the brave Earle of Essex hes wounded us exceedingly. He wes the head of our partie here, keeped all together, who now are like by that alone to fall in pieces: the House of Lords absolutely, the City very much, and many of the Shyres, depended upon him. Bot that which vexes us most is, that the King is so unhappie, that he will doe nothing till he have undone himself and us. Had he but granted the substance of the Propositions, we would have guided it weell enough: but his hopes of our divisions, and expectation from France, putts him further off than ever. In Oxford he wes willing to have taken all the propositions; also he gave commission to Ormond to passe these horrible propositions of peace with Ireland: so no man thinks that his denyall of our desyres is either of conscience or honour. This puts to difficulties unextricable. They have past a vote of disposing the King's persone, as their two Houses shall think fitt, without any reference to us. We presse, by many unanswerable reasons, our joynt interest: they deny it. It's lyke we may joyne in advyseing, and get the question of power laid aside; but when we come to advyse, we know not what to say. We expect one of these dayes William Murray with the King's last answers: we are certain they will not satisfie. Their course thereafter with the King will be more summar than we readily can joyne in peace: we see ane inundation of evils; except the great God arise, we are undone. These things were the subject of yesterday's full debate betwixt the two Houses and our Commissioners. We expected two hundred thousand pounds to have been put in our armies hand within a fortnight, and the Sectarian army disbanded, and that partie humbled, Government presentlie sett up, the Ordinance against

fects and heresies, that now is in debate, to passe, and be execute; but the King's obstinacie is like to marr all; and haveing done all we can, we know not what to doe with him next. The good Chancellour is distempered with grieffe, and I with him also, and others of us; God help us. When we gett better news ye shall gett part; for the time I am not weell neither in bodie nor mind. Farewell.

TO MR. GEORGE YOUNG.

GEORGE,

I AM a great stranger to all hes been this long tyme among yow in Glasgow. I confesse I have not too little adoe any day, that I have need of much divertment with purposes that does not concern me; yet I have [such] interest in that place, that in my colleague's letters fundry times I hear of it what grieves me, and think might be, at least I wish were better carried. If peace and love among yow be desperate, it may create to me more displeasure, but I hope more ease also; for then I am resolved to be a meer schoolman, and that in speculatives meerly, without, by (God's grace) troubling any of yow with many of my actions. As all Scotland, so that poore towne also hes been much afflicted; it hes need of lenitives: I wish there be such compassion and wisdom among yow, that may, if possible, compose all your differences among yourselves, without any hearing abroad.

Things here are in a marvellous ambiguitie betwixt great hope and eminent despaire. The King, by the conspiracie of all about him, without the exception of one, is driven to his particular answer of the Propositions: it's yesterday, as we expect, sent from Newcastle hither by William Murray. By many ane exprefs, by three or foure even since Argyle went from us, we have given fair warning of the mischief which every day evidentlie draws near, and have been importunatelie begging the grant of the Propositions, as that which alone is divertive of ruine; bot we have to doe with the most careles and ill-advyfed person in the world. The evill partie here is dryving on their designe to profligate monarchie every day by the King's hand more than any other. The unreasonable vote of disposing of the King's person as their two Houses of Parliament thinks meet, without the least reference to Scotland, they

still adhere to. In three solemn meetings, the Chancellour, War-
rington, and Lauderdale, did so out-reason them, that all the hun-
dreds of hearers did grope their insolent absurdities; but for no
other purpose, than to draw from [them] ane other very unex-
pected vote, of keeping up the armie for sex moneths more, the
keyes, the sword, and moneyes, and preferments, in the hand of
the Sectaries. With much adoe have we kept the report of these
three conferences from the Houses, to be made in four or fyve
sheets, on Thursday, by ourselves. The King's answer cannot be
here till Monday. In the meantyme they are so peremptor, that
they may passe a vote, declaring the King, for no scant of faults,
uncapable to governe while he lives. If this naill be once rooved,
we with our teeth will never gett it drawne. If we gett it delayed
a few dayes, till the answer come, it's weell; but when that much-
expected answer comes, if it be not satisfactorie, as we are ex-
treamlie afrayed for it, then, by all appearance, this people, with-
out more delay, will strike the fatall stroake; the consequences
whereof I am oft troubled to think upon. If the answer were
satisfactorie, as some hope there is that at least in time it may be
so, if the patience of this people, by all diligence we can use, may
be kept but for a few weeks unbroken, all would goe weell.

For matters of religion, albeit for the time in ane extream ill
posture, yet are in a case of thryving, if the accommodating of the
King did permitt men but to draw up their fainting spirits. The
fear of that miscarriage lets no man mind any thing else. London
and Lancashyre goes on with the presbyteries and sessions but
languidlie; fundry other shyres are making to; but all the errors
of the world are rageing over all the kingdome. God save Scot-
land from that pest! In the ordinance against that evill there is
some little progress made; to-morrow, by God's help, we expect
a farder. Our Assemblie for one twenty dayes posted hard; bot
since hes gotten into its old pace. The first halfe, and more, of
the Confession we sent up to the House: the end of these who
called for it, wes the shuffling out the Ordinance against Errors;
yet our friends hes carried to goe on with that; but others hes
carried the putting of Scriptures to the margin of the Confession,
which may prove a very long business, if not dexterouslie managed.
It will yet be a fortnight before the other halfe of it be ready;
for fundry necessar bot scabrous propositions were added in the
review. We have past near a quarter of the Catechise; but we
will not in earnest win to it till the Confession be off our hand.

I am near ready to speak a word with the Anabaptists. I dare say, too much ease has not been hitherto in me or my colleagues disease. If any there desire any of our bookes, any of your merchants may send to James Parlan for so many as they think they may sell; for me, I will not meddle into it. My heart's at home long ago; the Lord knows, I am praying to God, and waiting for a doore opened to returne, which shortly I expect. This must serve you and your two neighbours. Tell Mr. David⁽¹⁾ his book is now selling, and in a good way of offgoing: the half sheet of the very encouraging elogia of the prolocutor Herle, and the assessor Palmer, and of us three, he shall receive with the next. Copies of what we have done I may not send downe, yet I shall do my best to have a copie of the Confession at you so soon as it is closed, if ye give me absolute assurance of keeping it among yourselves three. For buying of books, I advise to superceed till you see to whom these shall belong you have allready.

I have said so much, that I think I ought to say no more to you three in the behalfe of Mr. Wilkie. I were inexcusable senseless if I put any doubt, that whatever comes on him by occasion of these letters, I, and I only, were the occasion of it; and I am sure all three of you, before the incident of these letters,⁽²⁾ assured me sundry times he was in no hazard. If I have any power with any of you, be intreated now at last to end that very great vexation of my mind, and let me hear that ye have settled him peaceably in his ministrie. Whatever conditions you require of him, I will either make them good, or assure you to concur to punish the breach of them: if in this you be rigid, I cannot but be more grieved than I will express. What great din is in all our Universities and Assemblies, upon the Principall's dictats! to this day, I could never hear the true ground of it. I am sure none of you can have a thought of removing that man from his place, except ye know much more of him than we wont: not any here has any such mind: ding his business dead so

(¹) In the copies of Dickson's "*Expositio Analytica Omnium Apostolicarum Epistolarum*," formerly mentioned (pp. 277, 288, 397) as lying unsold at London, there was prefixed a new title-page, with this imprint "*Glasguæ, excudebat Georgius Andersonus, et vœnuntur ab Andrea Crook et Ægidio Calvert, Anno Dom. 1647.*" Also three leaves of Elogia, by Herle, Palmer, and the Scottish deputies to the Westminster Assembly, who sign their names "*Samuel Retorfortis, Robertus Balæus, Georgius Gillespius.*"

(²) Wilkie's letters to Dr. Balcanqual. See Appendix to Vol. 1, p. 480, &c.

foon as yow are able. Some of the chief sticklers therein are in great hazard of drawing themselves to them; for there be evill furnises on them. However, it is a thing I cannot digest with patience, to see the preparative led to bring all professors dictats in *prima instantia* to a Generall Assemblie, and the rest of the Universities. This is a way to keep the church and schools of Scotland in a perpetuall unquietness. Is the Principall of that humor, to teach any thing which, upon his colleagues first admonition, he is not content to keep to himselfe? For will the most rigorous justice call him to any censure? No man, the other day in the Assemblie, when this case wes on the table, did offer to contradict it; so it is past in the Confession of Faith. I think, if I were one hour among yow, I could, by God's help, make yow all good friends. Believe it, I must and will have it so, or else yow must pardon me sometime in secret to weep my fill, but never to leave off to doe my own part to my power, and to serve yow all as God shall enable me. If God will make us so happie as to gett the unhappie King and the Parliament attonned, be assured I will send a command to yow three, to bring, by God's blessing, that poore Towne and Colledge to a better harmony; whereof I would desire, when yow had the happiness to make it, to have the good hap to be its sequester. The Lord be with yow, and make my next to yow so comfortable as my hopes, wishes, or more than my feares, presages. However I rest just as when I left yow, without any change,

Your very loving Brother,

October 13th 1646.

R. BAYLIE.

A POSTSCRIPT.

DUNKIRK is in the hand of the French at a very cheap rate; Lerida they shortly expect. The Pope, for fear of them, hes given the Barbarins all their will. The Emperor offers to France so much in Germanie as they crave, and almost to the Swedes also. The Hollanders are very near agreed with Spaine. The Venetian is in the point of submission to the Turke. All the world is on agreeance, and miserable we are lyke to begin a new warre: bot I hope God will prevent it. Ormond's three honourable messengers are here with his submission.

[TO MR. DAVID DICKSON.]

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

By my last to Mr. George [Young] and yow, I shew how things went here : Since, there is no change. My Lord Warristone will informe yow fully how all goes. Before he went, I dealt with him, and obtained his promise, not only to move, bot to obtain from the Commiffion of the Church, a permissiion for me and Mr. Samuell to returne. For this end also I moved my colleagues to write to the Commiffion this inclosed letter : I intreat yow, and Mr. Samuell intreats yow also by me, to concurre with my Lord Warristone, for the obtaining of our desire ; he writes to Mr. Robert Blair and Mr. James Wood for this same end. It is true, I conceive it very necessary, that some of us should stay till our work were nearer an end ; but truly both Mr. Samuell and I are so overwearied, that pitie will plead for a dimission to us ; and we doe think, since matters are like to draw there so extreamlie long, that it will be enough for one to wait on : and however Mr. Gillespie would be also gladly loosed as any of us, yet, if any stay, without all question, all things weell considered, he is the meetest of the three. But the Commiffion possibly will leave it to ourselves which of the three shall be left ; only I pray yow presse a dimission for two. We have been above three years absent from our charges, and the Assemblie proceeds so languidlie, that we were more profitable at home. Mr. Rutherford's large peece against the Antinomians will in few dayes come abroad ; and mine, against the Anabaptists, I hope to have out before the Assemblie end the Confession ; for that long I purpose to stay, though my permissiion to goe were come. The Peace of the Kingdomes is still in great uncertaintie. We fear every other day, that the Houses impatience of the King's infinite delays break off in a furie against him, and then that he be brought to consent to all, but for no purpose, unlesse to ingadge our poore Kingdome in his quarrell, for the joyning of our ruine to his owne. It's also whispered, that he is comeing off to grant all things but the Covenant and Church Government, and that it's like the Parliament here will close with him in these tearms, without much regard to our complaints and discontentment this way. Also the King and they does us great wrong. Also there arises so many

difficulties in securing the City for their money, that before it can be provided, there is great fears the countrey shall break out in violence against our armie. It pleases the Lord to keep us still in great perplexities and dangers.

I wish, if by any means yow can, yow might settle the differences of that Towne [Glasgow] among yourselves; else the condition of the publick, however it goe, is lyke to call upon the State to meddle more with that Towne than I fear will be for your contentment. My Lord Warristone, I believe, will be willing to labour diligently in it, according to your mind. Peace will be the best of it; else the fruit of your ministrie is stopped towards many. But truly I know not what to advyse yow: my heart pities the case, and oft prayes to God for it; and were I beside yow, I would, by God's help, do my best to help yow.

October 27th 1646.

FOR MY LORD WARRISTONE.

MY LORD,

THESE are only to hold yow in mind of our memorandum, and your promise. William Murray his dispatch, as it is intended on Thursday morning, hes put our family-fast off from Wednesday, as your journey did from Saturday. This day, and yesterday, and Saturday, the committee of the House hes sitten on the second ordinance for the Citie's security; but they are like so to clogg it, that it will not be satisfactorie, and so we fear the retarding of our moneys. If the King grant satisfaction to all the propositions but that of Religion and the Covenant, and that be accepted by his people, as some whisper it will be, then both his and their ingratitude to God and us will not pass without a just revenge, though we be not in a present posture to take it. I gave to William Murray my free paper; who read it all, and promised to mind it. If yow permitt the Chancellour to be called for before your returne, resolve to extinguish this commiffion. If God help William Murray to draw from the King, at last, a satisfactorie answer, I wish my Lord Argyle and ye did come along with it. Farewell.

Your Master and Servant,

October 27th 1646.

R. BAYLIE.

To [MR. ROBERT BLAIR.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

KNOWING your troublesome and fashious imployment there, I will not trouble yow much with my letters, only at this time apprehending our affaires to be drawing near to some close, I have thought meet to acquaint yow with some of my thoughts. Since Mr. Murray's departure, I have learned that the House of Commons hes given the Covenant to a committee to be put in ane ordinance ; that this ordinance is drawne, and ready to be presented to the Houses at the first opportunitie ; also that some of the prime aldermen, and of the most leading both of the common counsell and ministers of the Citie, hes been with me, and told me, that, as some of them exprest it, they will be ready to spend the last drop of their blood in his Majestie's service, if he will take the Propositions ; but if the Covenant be not at least approved as an Act of Parliament and law, let all other propositions be taken, and both the Houses agree with him as they please, the hearts of the Citie he would never get while he lived.

I hear also, that not only the chief of the Sectarian partie, but some other seem in private to give their readines to welcome the King, if the other propositions be granted, though the Covenant be shifted. The Sectarian partie, and diverse others who professe most to oppose them, seem to be in a way near a disposition to admitt, unanimooslie enough, of a charge against the King's person, which they say is in readines, and that the great stop to this, all fear from the Scots and the City, will be removed. If they find that the King in his answer give not quick and full satisfaction in the Covenant, I reallie believe the King is extreemly abused if he dream that either the Scots or the City will make any considerable opposition to any course the Parliament shall be pleased to take with his persone, if there be any more hesitations in establishing that Covenant.

It's to me marvellous, that no experience, how dear or frequent foever, will learne his Majestie that one poynt of prudence, to doe in time for his great advantage, what he must and will doe ere long, without any thanks, and that with a great addition. The Covenant now will doe all his buffiness. Will he scruple it till the

Ordinance passe, the next debate will be about his negative voice in the Parliament; and very readily that shall be put in an Ordinance; and without it also there shall be no admittance of him, or any of his, to the throne. To many here it seems a great measure of imprudence, and (as some calls it) of induratione and dementation, to be content that the Parliament here should run out into the greatest extremities, and to hope that those shall be the readiest means to obtaine to the King all his desires; for I verily think, that if the Parliament shall once goe on to the hardest courses with the King, upon his refusall to pass the Covenant, and to doe these duties which the most of the good men in both kingdomes are perswaded he ought in reason, he shall never gett, either here or in Scotland, any considerable force for his defence.

We think it's the interest of France to have our troubles continue till they doe their buisness in Flanders, Germanie, Italie, Spaine, and where they please; and divers now begin to think that the King himselfe means a new warr: but if it should be so, I confesse it would be my great grieve to see him, after all his misfortouns, in that new miserie of hastening the death and wracke of many thousands more of his subjects, for no purpose but the accomplishing of his own ruine. We marvell that any should be so ill-advised as to think Scotland will allwayes be ready to joyne with the King whensoever he pleases to follow their advice. We think that a clear mistake: when their most passionate desires are slighted ever till the Parliament of England have made their last declaration, that then any thing the King is able to doe will engage Scotland thereafter, no wise man here does expect.

Collonell Cromwell is a-coming from Holland to be Generall-Major of the English foot: see if there be great appearance of the disbanding of their armie. The last Ordinance about the sale of the Bishops lands past yesterday. It is now thought the money for our armie will be quicklie gotten. The other day orders were given to see to the passages on the Trent, that none may goe north or come south but by their armie's permission: we fear William Murray may be caught in his way. There is a high indignitie here, that the King's resolutions for these things that concerns the safety both of his persone and kingdomes should have all this time so evident a dependance from French packetts.

This people's patient waiting for the King's last answer is very

near a finall period ; and we are afraid that one of these dayes the House of Commons doors be closed, and some high vote passe that never shall be recalled. I thought meet yow should know this much from me. We are often praying to God for a more counsellable heart to the King than yet we can hear he hes gotten. But if, when all is done, his obstinacie be remedieless, as the most part here take it to be, we are prepareing ourselves for mourning and fasting for these things which [it] seems are unavoidable, and at the doors. The Lord assist yow in your wearisome, and as yet, I fear, comfortless imployment. I rest.

November 3d 1646.

Though all these things, and many more, are by many hands possibly conveyed to the King himselfe ; yet these two or three dayes I have had an impulse of mind to have acquainted yow from me of the present most dangerous condition of the King, and of us all, through his unexampled obstinacie. Againe, I tell yow, from all I converse with, the Covenant is his safety ; nothing less will doe it ; and this will doe it, by God's help, abundantly.

There are here four or five junctoes, all of diverse, and somewhat contrarie caballs ; but these who are little acquaint with the designs of any of them, are the greatest, strongest, and honestest partie. Whatever the cabalists cause to be suggested, yet the body of honest men, neither for their nor his Majestie's pleasure, will let themselves be long befooled ; but if they find their hopes deluded, or near to strike the stroake, which if once they had done, all the junctoes, for their own ends, will comply, and leave the King and his family to deplore these lasting miseries which their false suggestions did much help to bring on.

[To MR. GEORGE YOUNG.] DECEMBER 1ST 1646.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

I THANK yow for your long letter ; for before its receipt, I was a great stranger to all your affaires in Glasgou ; but after, I have been very sorry for your condition, and fears, while we live, goe things as they will, it shall never be so well as I could wish. Your last publict letter would have afflicted me much more, had

not your private ones given me some comfort. I beseech yow write to me weeklie, so long as my familie is visited. I think to obtain a dimission this week ; yet it will be above twenty dayes ere I can take journey, for I have gotten but a doffan of sheets of my Anabaptisme from the presse. With much adoe we have gone through, at last, the rest of our Confession : the first part I sent, to yow three only, in Mr. David's letter, long agoe ; the whole will goe up to the House one of these dayes, and so to the presse. It's generally taken here for a very gracious and brave peece of worke. We are now on the Catechise, a quarter of it is past ; possibly I may bring it all or the most part with me. The two hundred thousand pounds wes all told on Fryday last : all this day our Commissioners have been agreeing upon the way of its receaving, and the goeing of our armie : great haste will be used upon all hands ; no stoppe is expected. We have had fore labour the weeks bygone, to put on many things in the Houses, and Assemblie, and Citie : much adoe to gett this great sum ; but when once it wes on a way, it ran faster than it could be receaved. It wes my dear friend Dr. Burges's singular invention, that all who contribute to this sum, would have alse much of his old debt, with all the annualrents, counted to him, and for all have a good pennyworth of the Bishops lands ; so the bargaine being exceeding advantageous, the stryfe wes, who should come in with his money soonest. By this means we gett the Bishops lands on our backs, without any grudge, and in a way that no skill will get them back againe. There is some progress made in the Ordinance against Heresie ; also in the Ordinance for the Covenant : there will be extream great opposition, yet we are in some hopes to carry them ; and if so, the terrible list of errors here will gett a deadly wound. The Ministers of London have put out this day, a very fine book, proving from Scripture, the Divine Right of every part of the Presbyteriall Government. The morrow is set apart in the House of Commons for removeing the obstructions of the Government. The treaty betwixt Ormond and the Commissioners of the Parliament are broken off, so the sojourns which went from this to receive Dublin, are towards Derry : imprudence, rather than treacherie, hes spoiled this great and good business. We expected, long before this, the King's answer to the Propositions, and a good one. We think it may come the next week ; bot our hopes are not so good as they were, though the Queen and Prince be miserable in France, and would see ane end of trouble at any price ; yet

the French Ambaffador, for all his professions, is conceaved to retard and marr our conclufion. The King, all his lyfe, hes loved trinketting naturally and is thought to be much in that action now with all parties, for the imminent hazard of all. Our greateft fear is, that the malignant Oxford Lords have drawn him to the Independents, for the undoeing of Scotland, and the Prefbyterian partie here. We are fure our Army and Parliament will be honeft to death, and will not draw on themfelves, for any man's words, vengeance from God and man. The body of this people would gladly embrace the King and peace; but if one moneth longer he go on to dally, they will reject him for ever; and if he then runne to us, to draw a perpetuall warr upon our backs, he cannot be very welcome. Our Commiffioners here, twyce every week, wrytes fuch long, free, and true fcroles, as will abfolve them from any guilt, if perfons obftinate in madnefs will needs deftroy themfelves. I think all here fhall either come home with me, or at my back. A bafe fcurvy pamphlet came out againft our Papers, which, by order of Parliament, wes this day publicklye burnt; yet the Houfe of Commons anfwer to us wes fent us this day alfo, very little better than that which they burnt. Allwayes paper-debates are the leaft of our care; we never yet loft at that game: the King's wayes are our only true vexation. I truft no confiderable men among yow will, for their own ends, endeavour to make their poor countrie againe miserable.

I pray yow, good George, write to me for one three weeks, though your letters fhould mifcarrie. My family lyes heavy on my breaft. The Lord be with yow. Commend me to the Principall: his daughter and her children are at their church in the countrie. The extreame foulenefs of the weather hes kept her husband yet here; all are in good health. My fervice to Abigail; her fone is well; I wrote to him this day, and fent him Mr. Wilkie's letter to me. I hope Mr. Wil. [Wilkie] will make all good I have undertaken for him; my fervice to him. I pray yow againe write. So I reft,

Your Brother, in grieve.

There is a new petition, almoft in readinefs, to come from the City for thefe things we defyre.

FOR MR. JAMES ROBERTON. DECEMBER 8TH 1646.

WORSHIPFULL COUSINE,

WITHIN these eight dayes I have receaved two of your letters, but none before since I saw you, as I remember. At meeting, I shall satisfy your questions. For the state of the much-noised heresies here, you shall have account from me in a few dayes in the next part of my Dissuasive. Some few of the most active men of the House of Commons and Armie are for too generall a libertie for all consciences; but the most of both Houses are right and sound, and the bodie of the city is zealous against all errors and confusions, as the world will see in their new petition yet before this week end. Generally the ministers over all the kingdome are orthodoxe; and the sectaries, except a very few, are but heady, illiterate persons. If peace were settled, and the armie downe, all here think the noyse of heresies, which now is very loud, would evanish. This night I count us as good as agreed for the sending downe of our money, and the returne of our army: I think, on Monday, if not sooner, it will goe. We receive, at Northallerton, one hundred thousand pounds, and the other beyond the Tine, when Newcastle is delivered: before a moneth all this is like to be ended. The King's answer, when it comes back from your great friends there, is expected here in haste. God forgive them that he has made that answer to be worse than once it was. Had it been so good as for some weeks we certainly expected, the King had been receaved with great joy, and been put presently in possession but of too much power. But as that answer is like to be, many think he and it will both be rejected, and what that will bring on poor Scotland, ye may easily conjecture. Others think it possible he may be admitted by this people; but without any love or trust. Wicked self-seeking men have contribute much to hazard the rooting out of the whole Royall family by the obstinacie and imprudence of the most unhappily advysed Prince that this day lives. I know and have been witness that these here have done all that lay in men to prevent mischief; but they have spoken to stones, and lost their labour, they now have given over, and [are] looking what God will make the event. This is the incomparablest best people I ever knew, if they were in the hands of any governors of tolerable parts. A great

storme, if God prevent it not, is near and lykelie to fall most on the head of the contryvers. The Lord be with yow. Within a twenty days fundry of us will be ready to take journey. Thus I rest

Your Coufine,

R. BAYLIE.

[TO THE EARL OF LOUDOUN, LORD CHANCELLOR OF
SCOTLAND.]

MY LORD,

WHAT I was speaking to your Lordship of Mr. Blair, I wish it were taken in further consideration. If it please God the King come hither, who shall be his ministers? By all means it must be provyded, that he be not permitted to have any service either from Episcopall men or Sectaries. There will be difficultie to get these eschewed. If the King have his choyse, without rules from his Parliament, he will take no other than Episcopall men. If some have the power either of nomination or effectual recommendation, without doubt the prime Sectaries shall be planted about him. For the preventing of this, were it not meet, while the King is with us, to be thinking what ministers we could wish to wait on his familie and children? In the mean tyme, while the King is on his journey, and while he is a settling here, were it not meet to move his Majesty to require Mr. Blair to attend him; and if it may be, to have the spirituall charge of the children. The King cannot doe himself a better turne. Of all the divines that I know in both nations, I think none so fitt for the education of the King's children, both in piety, learning, and good manners: I have had much experience of his singular dexteritie in that art. The man is so eminent in piety, wisdom, learning, gravity, and moderation, that I think his employment would bring a blessing to the Royall family, and all the Kingdomes. His Majesty would be assured, that there is no such means to keep the Houses from prescribing rules to him in the choyse of his chaiplanes, as with speed to choise such himself as may be above exception, and in whom all his subjects may have good satisfaction. Of our nation, besyde Mr. Blair, I wish no other but one at most, my worthy brother Mr. Gillespie. Off the English, the ablest Herle, Marshall, Vines,

Burgefs or Palmer ; but I believe Newcomen, Ward, Afhe, Perne, Seaman, Whitaker, Calamy, would give alfe good fatiffaction. I wifh this motion were thought upon ; as if it be approven, that the beft means for obtaining it muft be ufed in time.

December 25th 1646.

[TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

DEAR COUSINE,

I KNOW yow marvell why I have been fo long in wryteing to yow, for I think this feven year I wes fcarce fo long in wryting. The truth is, I have every week thefe many bygone been expecting fome better matter ; but that not yet appearing, I had ftill been filent, had not my journey to Scotland forced me to bid yow farewell. Being over-wearied with the infufferable tediousnefs of this Parliament and Affembly, I refolved to labour for a dimiffion. My other two brethren were earneft alfo to be gone. By our joynt and feveral letters to the Commiffion of the Generall Affembly, and to our particular friends, we could not obtain more but permiffion for one to come home ; who and when ourfelves thought expedient. After fome debates, I, who truely may be fpared, gott the favour : for however both the other two preffed for themfelves, yet both of them haveing their wives and families here, who in the dead of winter could not be gotten tranfported, and I producing a letter under the hand of Mr. David Dick, Mr. Robert Ramfay, and Mr. George Young, not only of the great need of my return to my charge, but alfo of the ficknefs of my wife and three of my children, I obtained at laft my freedome to my great joy. The treaty for our army, and fo the Committee of both Kingdomes, being ended, and the next deliberation about the King, being of that importance, that our Commiffioners think meet to remitt it to the Parliament of Scotland, the Chancellour and Lauderdale purpofe to goe home the next week, and I, God willing, with them.

Our Affembly, with much adoe, at laft have wreffled through the whole Confeflion, and all is now printed. The Houfe of Commons requires to put Scripture to it before they take it to confideration ; and what time that will take up, who knows ? We had paff a quarter of the Catechife, and thought to have

made short work with the rest ; but they are fallen into such mislykes, and endless janglings, about both the method and the matter, that all thinks it will be a long work. The increase of all heresies here is very great, as yow will perceive in the second part of my Diffuasive, which the next week will come abroad, but more in the third part of Mr. Edwards's *Gangræna* : yet we think they will quicklie fall ; for it's a faction generallie mislyked, as composed of errour, policie, pride, and insolent oppression. The Citie of London's notable petition would help all, did not the great unhappines of the King spoile all our hopes. For many weeks together friends here did give him most free, wise, and friendlie counsell : from Scotland the like duties were done ; the only thing principallie insisted on, was to approve the Covenant. While we had great hopes of his yielding, whether emissaries from the Independents, who doe like him the better that he rejects the Covenant and Presbyteriall Government, or the French, who notwithstanding of all their contrare professions, yet for their own interest doe endeavour the continuance of our troubles, has made him peremptor in refuseing the Article of Religion. He drew up a particular answer to the Propositions, and sent it privilie both here and to Scotland ; but finding it extreamlie unsatisfactorie to both, he delayed to send any answer. The fear was and is great that his evill designs continue either to goe to France, where there is much speech of ane army for England, as of one from Ireland to Scotland or else to go to Scotland. It's much feared he shall be both willing and able to suppress the better partie there, and draw the English armies on the rest. Allwayes we have guarded so weell as may be against his voyage and journey to those places. At last his answer is come to us, and this day was communicat to both Houses :⁽³⁾ it's bot a mere generall, that he desyres to come here to be heard, for the loosing of his scruples. The Houses has voted his coming to Humble-house, near Northampton, in qualitie little better than a prisoner ; which he will never agree to. It will be endeavoured that the two Parliaments may agree in some course of his restraint, if he continue in his unhappie courses. His warrant the other day was produced for stealing away the Duke of York to France. If either he could be moved to agree with his Parliament, or they to agree among themselves in any course for him, it seems we might have

(3) On the 24th December 1646.

[peace] here, both in Church and State, bot neither of these being likely, our dangers both in Church and State are very great and imminent. They say the pest is ill in Glasgou; that poore toun these two years has been a place of great trouble, and like to be of more: yet I will venture among them, albeit with small hopes of doeing good; for things seemes to be spoiled there irrecoverable in our dayes.

[ROBERT BAILLIE.]

LIEUTENANT-GENERALL BAYLIE HIS VINDICATION FOR HIS
OWN PART OF KILSYTH AND PRESTON.⁽⁴⁾

[TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.]

SIR,

AT your being here I did conceive yow were desyreous to know (amongst my other misfortunes) how I came to be employed in my countrey's service against James Grahame, and the other rebels who infested this kingdome at that time; and what I could alleadge for causes, or rather means and midfes of his victories and my misfortunes in that employment; wherein, for your satisfaction, yow shall be pleased to know, that I believe that God Almighty doth often suffer the wicked to prosper, or goe on successfullie in their wicked way, for their greater punishment when their cup is full, and for reclaiming of his owne, whom he suffereth for that end to be afflicted by them; in both which he is often pleased to use ordinarie meanes. And therefore, by his providence, after the battle at Langmerston, and the intaking of Newcastle,⁽⁵⁾ I returned to this countrey for doing my private busines, and thereafter I went back into England; bot being within twelve miles of Newcastle (at Battlecastle) I was overtaken by an expresse, with letters from the

⁽⁴⁾ Baillie elsewhere calls General Baillie his Cousin. He is designed as William Baillie of Lethem in Stirlingshire; and his commission in the army was ratified by Parliament, 11th June 1640. On the 14th September 1641, he presented a petition "claiming to be declared righteous heir of Lamington," which was answered by a counter-petition from Sir William Baillie of Lamington. (*Vide* Acts of Parl. vol. v. pp. 401, 454, 457.) The titles of some unprinted Acts of Parliament contain, the ratification of a pension to him, 29th July 1644; a commission granted to him as Lieutenant-General, 8th March 1645; and approbations of his conduct, 11th July, and 7th August, 1645, and 16th January 1646.

⁽⁵⁾ The battle of Marston-muir took place on the 2d July, and the surrender of Newcastle, the 9th October, 1644.

Committee of Estates, from the Generall, and some of my noble friends, requireing my returne to Edinburgh, for giving advyse in busines wherein the Kingdome was much concerned. I immediatelie obeyed the order; and at my coming I found, that neither the Marques of Argyle, nor the Earle of Lowthian, could be persuaded to continue in their employment against those rebels, nor yet could the Earle of Callander be induced to undertake the charge of that warre; for which I was pressed, or rather forced, by the persuation of some friends, to give obedience to the Estate, and undertake the command of the countrie's forces, for persewing its enemies: bot because I would not consent to receave orders from the Marques of Argyle, (if casuallie we should have mett together,) after I had received commission to command in chieff over all the forces within the Kingdome, my Lord seemed to be displeased, and expressed himselfe so unto some, that if he lived, he should remember it; wherein his Lordship indeed hath superabundantly been alse good as his word. Now, though the finding and ruining of these rebels hath been talked of as easy, yet yow shall know, Sir, that I wes never enabled to doe the same, neither by the forces given me, nor the provisions made unto me; I never haveing at once and together above two thousand foot, nor above three hundred horsemen, before my last disaster at Killfyth, nor no artillerie at all fitt for intakeing any strong house, though often demanded by me of the Estate.

Immediately after my unhappy engadgement, I wes commanded to march with all the infantrie towards Argyle, whether the rebels had gone; but when we were at Roseneath, the Marques, hearing that they were marched to Lorne and Lochaber, desyred, that in regard of the season, (which wes in the beginning of January,) and [being] scairced of victuals, a part of the foot might only be given to him to joyne with his owne in these parts; whilk so soone as ordered by the Committee wes obeyed by me, giving to my Lord Marques sixteen companies of foot, consisting of eleven hundred men; and returning with the rest to Perth, for the suretie of these pairts, as wes commanded by the Committee. This partie wes ruined with the losse of many good gentlemen more at Inverlochie, about Candlemas, as yow have heard. In the end of March, the rebels returned through Murray, Aberdeenshire, Mernes, and Angus, to Dunkell. Before whilk time, Sir John Hurrie⁽⁶⁾ wes

⁽⁶⁾ Commission granted to General-Major Sir John Hurry, 8th March 1645. (Acts of Parl. vol. v. p. 182.)

sent unto me, to serve with me as Generall-Major; which, though I doubted nothing of his honestie, I so dislyked, that to some, even then I told, that I would not have recommended him to the State and to their service for my right hand, which, if I were superstitious I might attribute to somewhat else, haveing, since our overthrow at Killfyth, learned, that when he was sent over to [me] unto Perth, he was desyred by some to take heed least any thing might be atcheived, where I was present, whereby I might have honour; which did appear clear enough by his not charging the rebels with our whole horse at their retreat from Dundee; nor yet would bring them up to me, from whence the rebels might have been charged in flank, notwithstanding I did require him to it at severall tymes by the Laird of Brodie and Mr. Patrick Pittcairne, as they witnessed thereafter unto the Parliament at Sterling; and yet, notwithstanding, he was exonerated there, and I charged for their escape. Not long after, by order of Committee, he was sent to Innernefs with some twelve hundred foot and one hundred and sixty horse, where all the foot perished at Aldearne; and after that I was returned, from ane unnecessarie voyage into Athole by order of Committee, I was appointed by them to goe the same way with about two thousand foot and one hundred horse; it happening, (as we learned thereafter,) that the same day that I crossed Carne in the Month, Hurrie was beaten in Murray: I was appointed to leave with the Earle of Crawford his owne regiment, with Caffills's and Lauderdale's, for the defence of the Low Countrey; and the same day that these one hundred horse joyned with me, I marched from Cromarr towards Strathbogie, where the rebels were arrayed the night before, and Generall-Major Hurrie joyned with me about a myle from thence, with about one hundred horse, who had saved themselves with him at Aldearne. At our approach, the rebels drew unto the places of advantage about the yards and dykes, and I stood imbattled before them from four o'clock at night untill the morrow, judging them to have been about our own strength. Upon the morrow, so soone as it was day, we found they were gone towards Balveny. We marched immediatelie after them, and came of in fight them about Glenlivett, be-west Balveny some few miles; but that night they outmarched us, and quartered some six myles from us. On the next day early, we found they were dislodged, but could find no bodie to informe us of their march; yet, by the lying of the grafs and heather, we conjectured they were marched to the wood of Abernethie upon Spey. Thither I marched, and

found them in the entrie of Badzenoch, a very strait country, where, both for unaccessible rocks, woods, and the interposition of the river, it was impossible for us to come at them. Here we lay, looking one upon ane another, (the enimie haveing their meall from Ruthven in Badzenoch, and fleshes from the countrey, whereof we saw none,) untill for want of meall, (other victualls we had none,) the few horsemen professing they had not eaten in forty-eight hours, I was necessitate to march northward to Innerness to be supplied there; whilk done, I returned, crossed at Speymouth in boats, and came to Newton in Garioch. (Here Hurrie, pretending indisposition, left me.) There I was informed the rebels had been also far south as Coupar in Angus, and were returned to Curgarffe, upon the head of Strathdon. At that time I received letters from fundries of my friends of the Committees of Estates, shewing me how I was censured for my slow prosecution of the warre, (without consideration had of the places they were to be found in, and of the forces and other provisions given me to find them out with :) they shew me, my friends were wounded through my sides; and that to be warie was commendable, but that delays in subdueing the rebels was a reall and speedie ruine to the country, my friends, and myselfe; whereby I conceived they would have perswaded me to think myselfe either a pultron, or a traitor, or both; whereupon I desired Sir Charles Arnott, Lieutenant-Colonell to my Lord Elchow, who was going south for his private business, to pray my Lord Crawford, and some others of my friends, to deall with the State to give the conduct of their forces to some other, and recall me. By my letters likewise I returned answer, that I was in no way enabled to performe that which they required of me; that I was altogether unwilling to ruine the forces committed to my charge in wayes both against reason and common sense; and therefore my humble intreaty was, that I might be recalled, and some one imployed who would undertake more and perform better. The next advyse I had was from the Earle Crawford, to meet him, with the forces that were with me, at the mylnes of Drum, upon Dee; whilk I did; and there his Lordship, with the Earl Marishall, and Major Windrom of Libberton, produced the resolution and order of the great Committee, for imploying the Marquess of Argyle, (who was one of the signers of my order,) in pursuance of the rebels through the hills, or whithersoever they should goe; and to this purpose, appointed me to send to his Lordship those who come from Ireland with Colonell Hume, who were then some twelve

hundred strong, the Earles of Crawford and Lauderdale's regiments, with some four or five companies, upon the braes of Perth and Angus, and one hundred of Balcarras's horse; whereunto he wes to joyne all such forces as he could raise himselfe in the Highlands. In exchange whereof, I wes appointed to take unto me the Earle of Cassils's regiment of foot, some four hundred strong; whereby I wes reduced to betwixt twelve and thirteen hundred foot, and about two hundred and sixty horsemen of the Lord Balcarras and Colonell Hackett's regiments; wherewith, by the same order of the great Committee, I wes appointed to guard the low countrey from the down-fallings of the enemy. This division being made conforme to the order, the Lords went from me southward. The Marquess of Argyle refused the imployment: his reasons I know not. The Earle of Crawford wes sent with these forces designed for pursuing the enemy into Athole; and I, by letter from the Committee, wes commanded of new (without regard had of my weakness) to find out the rebels. For which purpose, (and for a conference betwixt Seaforth and the Lord Balcarras, which failed,) I marched unto the Engzie, and from that back to the kirk of Keyth, where, in the evening, the rebels coming from the hills, presented themselves to fight; and I drew our small forces in order above the kirk, in a place of advantage, to attend their approach; but they advanced not; but on the morrow marched unto Allfoord, where I arrived within two dayes, and wes necessitate to buckle with the enemy, who were a little above our strength in horsemen, and twyse als strong in foot. The Lord Balcarras's horsemen were divided in three squadrons; himselfe charged gallantlie with two of them upon the enemy's right wing, where their horse were; but the third, appointed for reserve, when I commanded them to second my Lord, and charge the enemy's horse in the flank, they went straight up in their comrades reare, and there stood untill they were all broken. Our foot stood with myselfe and behaved themselves as became them, untill the enemy's horse charged in our reare, and in front we were overcharged with their foot; for they having fix in fyle, did overwing us, who, to equall their front, had made the half ranks advance, and so received the charge at three deep. The enemy had likewise two bodies of reserve, and thir were they, who by God's providence did ruine me, as may be presumed, for want of these men who were formerlie by order taken from me, and of such provisions, and other forces, as since have been plentifully furnished to others,

whereby they have had, through God's blessing, happie and wished successe. Immediatelie hereafter I repaired to the Parliament, then to meet at Stirling, where I had ane exoneration and approbation for what wes past; yet in this Hurrie went before me. I would have dimitted my charge there; but wes not suffered untill the Parliament should come to St. Johnstone. Many orders were for strengthening the forces, for the better pursueing of the rebels; but to small purpose: all were ruined but these who had been in Athole with the Earle of Crawford, and of new none were brought in but some three hundred by the Lord Chancellor, the Earles of Caffillis and Glencairne, and some sixty horsemen under Colonell Harrie Barclay. In the time of the Parliament, the rebels, with their whole forces, came to the wood of Methven; and I, with the forces that were with me, (whereunto were added three new regiments, out of Fyfe), and the whole noblemen and gentlemen conveened there, marched towards them from the bridge of Earne: upon sight of us the enemy retired to the hills. I gave Hurrie order to advance with Balcarras's horsemen; but he wes needleslie so long in crossing the Powe, that I, with the foot, wes alse soon at the foord of Almond (where the rebels crossed) as he with the horse. After our returne,⁽⁷⁾ upon consideration of the many contests and hot disputes, which were at every meeting betwixt the prime men of Parliament, whereby I thought the countrey's service might suffer, I dimitted my charge; and in open Parliament it wes received of me. I wes of new exonerated and approven. Nocht-theless, the Parliament defyred I should continue with their forces, without commission, untill the 8th of September; which I would have refused, alleadging, that whereas I wes so overcharged with aspersions while I served them with a commission, if any thing should now miscarry, I wanting commission, and serving as it were at discretion, my enemies would undoubtedlie take occasion to charge me farr more. This wes not satisfactorie to the Parliament; and my best friends did advyse me to condescend to the Parliament's desyre: which I did, more for their satisfaction than my owne; wherein I must acknowledge God's providence: and yow shall find what followed in these other Papers.

(7) In the margin of the MS. "Here the three Fyfe regiments disbanded, and went home."

[FIRST PAPER PRESENTED BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL BAILLIE
TO THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND.]

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN, In obedience to your command, whereby I was required to informe yow of the conduct of your forces since my dimission at Perth, untill that unhappie day at Killfyth, your Lordships shall be pleased to know, that at the acceptance of my dimission, the Honourable House of Parliament de-fyred me to attend their forces untill the coming of these appointed to succeed unto me; whilk I indeavoured to vaeffe, and that because I being so highlie scandalized, while I had charge, and served the Estate by commission; if then, serving as it were at discretion, any thing should miscarrie, or fall out amisse, undoubtedlie the aspersions of the malicious, and my sufferings would be doubled. This proved not satisfactorie; and therefore, yielding unto their pressings, I was content to wait upon their service a fourtnight; in which tyme, such as they had appointed for the charge, as I imagined, might both be advertised, and repaire unto them, if diligence had been used. Immediatelie thereafter the rebells returned from the hills into Logyalmond; and I, with consent of the Lords and others of the Committee who were then present, marched to the south side of the Bridge of Earne, hopefull the regiments of Fyfe should have joyned with us there. Upon the second day thereafter the rebells, having crossed Earne at or about Dinning, presented themselves before our quarter, whilk, with consent of these were of the Committee, I had caused fortifie alse weel as tyme would suffer, for which the rebells marched up towards the hills on the right hand. Upon the morrow, the rebells marched into the [Mills] of Forth; and I, by advyce of the Committee, brought their forces that night to Lindores, and on the morrow to the hill above Rossie; where the regiments of Fyfe, for whom the Earle of Crawford had ridden to Coupar the night before, did joyne with us. That night, with advyce of these of the Committee, we lodged near unto Burghlie. The next day, by their advyce, I marched and lodged that night betwixt Sauchie and the bridge of Tullibody. Upon the morrow, hearing the rebells had crossed Forth above

(⁸) Baillie gave in his resignation to Parliament on the 4th August 1645, and the victory gained by Montrose at Kilsyth, was on the 15th of that month.

Stirling, these of the Committee then present, advysed we should crosse at Stirling; and a little above the parke, upon the south-west side thereof, I halted with the five regiments, untill these of Fyfe were brought up, hearing the rebells were marched toward Killfyth. After the upcoming of these regiments, the Marques of Argyle, Earle of Crawford, and Lord Burghlie, and with them, if I mistake not, the Earle of Tullibardin, the Lords Elcho and Balcarras, with some others, came up. My Lord Marques asked me, What was next to be done? I answered, The direction should come from his Lordship, and these of the Committee. My Lord demanded what reason was for that? I answered, I found myself so slighted in every thing belonging to ane commander-in-chieffe, that for the short time I wes to stay with them, I would absolutely submitt to their direction, and follow it. The Marques desired me to explain myself, which I did in three particulars, sufficiently known to my Lord Marques, and the other Lords and gentlemen then present. I told his Lordship, Prisoners of all forts were exchanged without my knowledge: the traffickers therein receaved passes from others; and sometymes passing within two myles of me, did neither acquaint me with their business, nor, at their returne, where, or in what posture they had left the enemy. Secondlie, While I was present, others did sometymes undertake the command of the armie. Thirdly, Without either my order or knowledge, fyre was raised, and that destroyed which might have been ane recompence to some good deserver; for which I could not be answerable to the publique. Which considered, I should in every thing freely give my owne opinion, but follow the judgement of the Committee, and the rather because that wes the last day of my undertaking. From that our march to the bridge of Denny was agreed upon, and from that to the Hollin-bushs, where we lodged that night, some two myles and ane halfe from Killfyth; where the rebells quartered likewise. On the next morning, the Marques came to the head of our quarter, accompanied with the Lord Burghlie, or some other, whom of I doe not weell remember: his Lordship enquired of the rebells, who, I told him, were still att Killfyth. His Lordship asked, If we might not advance nearer them? I answered, we were near enough if we intended not to fight, and that his Lordship knew weell enough how rough and uneasy a way that was to march in. My Lord replied, we needed not keep the hie-way, bot march over at nearest. I desired the Earle of Crawford and others might be called, who were in the next tent; who, when they come, consented to our advancing,

and I marched with the regiments through the corns and over the braes, untill the unpaffible ground did hold us up. There I im-battelled, where I doubt, if on any quarter twenty men on front could either have gone from us or attack us. At the upcoming of the noblemen and others of the Committee, whom I doe not so weell remember, it wes asked me by the Lords, but by whom in particular I have forgott, If we could not draw up to the hill on our right hand? I shew them I did not conceive that ground to be good, and that the rebells (if they would) might possess themselves of it before us. Their Lordships then desired that some might be sent to visite the ground; which was done. In the mean time, I went with my Lord Elcho and my Lord Burghlie to the right hand of the regiments. Not long after, I wes sent for by the other noblemen, and I desired the Lord Elcho and Burghlie to goe with me, conjectureing they would press our removeing; which at our coming they did, alleading the advantage might be had of the enemies from that field, they being, as they supposed, already upon their march westward. I liked not the motion: I told them, if the rebells should seek to ingadge us there, I conceived they should have great advantage of us; farder, if we should beat them to the hill, it would be unto us no great advantage: But, as I had said, upon like disputes near unto Methven and the Bridge of Earne, to us the loss of the day would be the loss of the kingdome. This was not satisfactorie; and therefore I gathered the voices of such of the Committee as were there, namely, the Marquess Argyle, the Earles of Crawford and Tullibardine, the Lords Elcho, Burghlie, and Balcarras; who the rest were, I remember not; but all agreed to draw unto the hill except Balcarras. This resolution wes immediately followed. The commanded men, with the horsemen, marched before; the regiment on the right hand, facing to the right hand, and so the rest advanced to the hill; where, I suppose, that wes done by me which wes incumbent unto me in all that the shortness of time would suffer before we were engaged. Whereof, and of what wes done without or against order, your Honours may be pleased to consider, by the figure in this other paper. If I wes either the last in the fight, or the first in the flight, I leave to the testimony of the Marquess's officers and Colonell Hume's, and unto Generall-Major Hollburne; with whom, after these three regiments were broken, I came off on the reare of these horses of the rebells who broke the Earle of Crawford.

Thus your Lordships have, to my best remembrance, what yow

did require of me, wherby I hope it shall be evident, that I did nothing of consequence at no time, bot either with the assent or advyce of these members of the Committee of State, whose advice I wes obliged to take, and who had power to call me to ane account for my actions, as likewise to governe the army, whilk they did practise and make use of, even while by commissiion I wes in charge. How dangerous then, (I pray your Honours to consider,) had it been for me, being without commissiion, to have flighted their advyce and counsell, yea, even though no prejudice should have followed thereupon?

[SECOND PAPER BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL BAILLIE.]

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN, Being appointed by your Honours, at your last meeting, that I should enlarge my relation concerning the advanceing and ingadgeing with the rebels near unto Killfyth, in all the circumstances and passages thereof, and of every man's particular behaviour thereintill, in so farr as I could remember; yow shall be pleased to know, that in my former paper, I shew your Honors, that conforme to the resolution of these of the Committee, who were present, I sent the commanded musqueteers to the hill, and desired Major Halden to be their guide unto ane inclosure which I pointed out unto him; he did it. I followed them immediately with my Lord Balcarras and the horsemen, giving order to the foot to follow us, as I mentioned in my first paper. I desired my Lord Balcarras, that the horsemen might stay near unto the commandit musqueteers; which wes done. I advanced my selfe where there stood a number of gentlemen on horseback, where I found five ratt musqueteers, more than ane musquet-shott at randome before their bodie, without any order from me. The Earle Crawford, my Lord Burghlie, and I, galloped over the brae to see the posture of the enemy, who were embattelled in the meadow, and sundries of them disbanded, were falling up the glen through the bushes. At our returne to the braehead, we fand the Marquefs of Argyle, with fundry others, and we saw Major Halden leading up an partie of musqueteers over the field, and toward a house near the glen, without any order from me; neither did they come off when I sent Colonell Arnot, and thereafter Rootmaster Blair, to Major Halden, for that purpose: wherefore seeing the rebels fall up strong, I desired

them to reteire, and the officers to goe to their charge. My Lord Balcarras and I galloped back to the regiments. He asked me what he should doe? I desired him to draw up his regiment on the right hand of the Earle Lauderdale's. I gave order to Lauderdale's, both by myfelfe and my adjutant, to face to the right hand, and to march to the foot of the hill, then to face as they were; to Hume to follow their stepps, halt when they halted, and keep distance and front with them. The Marques his Major, as I went toward him, asked what he should doe? I told him, he should draw up on Hume's left hand, as he had done before. I had not ridden farr from him, when looking back, I find Hume had left the way I had put him in, and wes gone at a trot, right west, in among the dykes and toward the enemy. I followed alfe fast as I could ryde, and meeting the Adjutant on the way, desired him he should bring up the Earle Crawford's regiment to Lauderdale's left hand, and cause the Generall-Major Leslie draw up the regiments of Fyfe in reserve as of before: but before I could come to Hume, he and the other two regiments, to wit, the Marques of Argyle's, and the three that were joyned in one, had taken in ane inclosure, from whilk (the enemy being so near) it wes impossible to bring them off. I rode down on the reere, and returned on their front. The rebells foot, be this tyme, were approached to the next dyke, on whom our musqueteers made more fire than I could have wished; and therefore did I what I could, with the assistance of such of the officers as were known unto me, to make them spare their shott till the enemy should be at an nearer distance, and to keep up the musqueteers with their picks and collors; but to no great purpose. In end, the rebells leapt over the dyke, and with downe heads fell on and broke these regiments. The present officers whom I remember, were Hume, his Lieutenant-Collonell and major of the Marques's regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and Major Menzies, Glencairne's sergeant-major, and Caffills's Lieutenant-Collonell, with fundry others, who behaved themselves weell, and whom of I saw none carefull to save themselves before the routing of the regiments. Thereafter I rode to the brae, where I found Generall-Major Hollburne alone, who shew me a squadron of the rebells horsemen, who had gone by and charged the horsemen with Lieutenant-Colonell Murray, and, as I supposed, did afterward rowt the Earle of Crawford, and these with him; Hollburne and I galloped through the inclosures to have found the reserve; bot before we could come

at them, they were in the flight. At the brook, that not long before we had crossed, we overtook Major Inglish of Ingliftoune, Captain Maitland, and some other officers of the Fyfe regiments, who with me indeavoured to make our people stand, and maintaine that passe; bot all in vaine. Thereafter we rode off together till we past the Bridge of Denny; where we parted, and Hollburne and I went to Stirling, where, in prefence of the Earle Tullibardine and the Lord Burghlie, I dealt with the horsemen that were there, to have gone with me to Clidisdale; but lost my labour; for they finding the bridge shut, crossed the river at the foord of Dripp, except the officers, who thereafter went in with us into the towne; where, by advyce of the Earle of Crawford, the other Lords and gentlemen that were there, the best course was taken that might be for that tyme, for securing that towne and castell.

It is objected against me only, as if no other officer were to give an accompt, neither for regiment, company, nor corporallship, that on this our unhappie day there were no lighted lunts among the musquetrie? The fire given by the first five regiments will sufficiently answer what concerns them; and for the other three, I humbly intreat your Honours to inform yourselves of Generall-Major Leslie, the Adjutant, and the chief officers of these severall regiments: if they doe not satisfie yow therein, then I shall answer for myselfe. Secondly, it is alleadged we should have marched from the one ground to the other in battell: which wes impossible, in regard of the ground, and our large front; neither could we have marched with single regiments, embattelled from the north side of the water to the hill, but by turning ane narrow flanke of sex deep unto the enemy, against common sence, and in doing thereof, that same tyme that should have been lost drawing up upon the hill in the ground designed unto them, should lykwise have been lost, or rather more, at their imbattelling upon the water-side. Besides, they should have been obliged to have wheeled once to the right hand, and when they had come into the ground, againe to the left hand, which had been a motion of great difficultie in that rough and unequall ground; wherefore my order wes, (as I esteem it,) absolutely the best, if it have your Honours approbation, that our battell which fronted to the enemy, and wes to march off to the right hand, should by the severall regiments face to the right hand, making the flanck the front; so that even upon our march, the facing again to the left hand should have put us in our former posture and battell, if the

enemy had attacked us on that way. Thirdly, It is said, I did neither give word nor signe. Whereunto I answer, At our first imbattelling it wes not yet tyme; then we saw no enemy but the outer guard, neither wes it resolved to fight, bot most men thought the rebells were marching west. After we left our ground, we had not tyme to imbattell compleatlie; which Souldattis thinks necessarie to be done before the giving of word or signe, neither had it been possible to have given them unto all the regiments in ane poynt of time. Farder, it cannot be alleadged, that the want of them made us losse the day, or that by the enemies signe we could not be knowne one from another. No; the want of poynts of formalitie wes not the cause of the misfortouns of that day; bot God, for our other sinns, did suffer us to fall before our enemies, whereof the only meane and occasion is only probable to have been our removeing from that ground whereon we stood first imbattelled, being soe near ane enemy who had fundrie advantages of us.

So by this and my former paper, your Honours may judge of my walking in your service since my dimission; and if there be yet any that desires ane accompt of the disposition of things, and the many misfortouns of the countrey, while I wes in charge, I shall not shelter myselfe with that approbation given at Stirling and Perth, bot shall endeavour to satisfie your desire, by deducing unto yow of new, and in particular, how little I wes enabled for performing so great service as wes required of me, and let yow see my care to have preserved your forces when little could have been atcheived with them, in regard both of their numbers, of the season, and of the places where the enemy wes to be found; and, last of all, I am confident your Honors shall perceave, that the losses at Innerlochie, Aldearne, and Alfoord, were not procured neither through my negligence nor counsell.

I being informed, that these Noblemen by whom your forces were accompanied, while in obedience to your Honours desyre I waited upon them after my dimission, have given in to your Honours a querie, In what capacitie they shall be examined anent the misfortounes of that day at Killfyth? And not knowing what can be for the advantage, except it were that Noblemen, who by their birth and quality are members of the Estate and Parliament, or the chiefe and prime officers of ane armie, are not so much concerned in the countrey's good or evill, nor so much to be charged for giving counsell in matters so much concerning the publique,

when they doe miscarrie, as members of a Committee, which, I suppose, few or none will acknowledge ; and therefore I conceive, that your Honours answer may be such, ye not knowing how and in what manner we did live together since my dimission, as thereby some men might endeavour to inferr my prejudice ; wherefore my humble intreaty to your Honours is, that before your answer, ye will be pleased to take into your consideration, that if there was any Act at Perth, ordaining your commander in chieff to be absolute, and without committee, that this Act could in no wayes be extended to me, bot rather to these appointed to succeed me ; because in the Act of my dimission is contained your Honours acceptance, and desyre that I should command as of before, which was allwayes with a Committee, who had power to governe the armie ; neither was that Act of absolute power ever intimate unto me. Next, your Honours will be pleased to consider, that if, in the division of the armie, and other things of consequence, I presumed not to do any thing but by advyce of the Committee while I had commission, with a great deale of more reason should I not have marched a foot with your forces wanting a Committee, and being without commission imployed in a manner at discretion. Moreover, I hope it is without controversie, that these Noblemen were members of that Committee of State, to whom, in the vacancie of Parliament, all that concerns the publick were intrusted ; witness Lieutenant-Generall Leslie's commission at his arryveall, without more power from Parliament than what they had while they were with me. They were constantly with me, though sometimes in greater, sometimes in lesser numbers, even from the enemies comeing to Logyalmond untill we were all ruined : in whilk time I mett daily with them ; they consulted, dispuited, and determined, in every thing as in Committees : instance, the resolution taken at the Powfide, after dispute to retire to the southside of Earne ; upon the southside of Earne, resolutions taken (if I have not forgott) in ane formall committee, for some busines of consequence, whilk I remember not. Thirdly, A resolution taken for putting our quarter in defence, and keeping the forces within it upon the enemies approach. Fourthly, The enemies marching into Fyfe ; the resolution taken, after dispute, to march to Lindores ; thereafter the resolution taken at the house of Burghlie, to follow the rebells toward Stirling ; next, the resolution taken upon the Mure of Tullibodie before the Chancellour left us ; next, the resolution taken above the Park of Stirling, after some dispute, to

march to the Bridge of Denny, and from that to the Holin-bushe; and on the next day, the resolution taken by their persuation, to draw nearer the rebells who were at Killfyth; and after our im-battelling in a place (apparently) of furetie, the resolution taken to remove into ane other ground; for qualification whereof, I must remitt myselfe to the testimonie of these same Noblemen and gentlemen who were present upon the severall occasions. How then, I pray your Honours, can they be mistaken in their own capacities, or alleadge, that at any time I did any thing without them? Did they not in that capacitie sometimes command the whole, and sometimes parties, from the armie, I being in the field, without my knowledge? yea, and sometimes such acts of hostilitie, as I, without a speciall warrant from the Estate, (though I had been in charge by commission,) could not now have answered bot at the rate of my head, as matters goes?

Bot it shall be said, there wes not a quorum on that our unhappie day. Please your Honours, if that should have been objected to me, if the succeſſe had been good; or if through any fault of myne the rest did not wait on, or if I did not protest against the goeing away of some of them; lykewise your Honours shall be pleased to know, that the great Committee hes sometimes approven things done without a quorum; instance the division of the forces at Roseneath: bot if there had been yet two more to have made the quorum, and these two of the Lord Balcarras's judgement, yet the major part had carried the unhappie point as it went. But though your Honours should not look upon them as members of that Committee, to whom, in the vacancie of Parliament, the Kingdome wes intrusted, and by consequence the countries forces, whilk I trust your Honours found judgement will forbear, they are to be considered, either as noblemen, or as the prime officers of the armie; and in either of thir qualities, if there had been present no member of Committee for managing the warre, I, in that exigent, the proposition flowing from them, wes obliedged to take counsell of them: of the one, as of the pryme men of the State and Parliament; and of the other, as the pryme officers of the armie, who should have both accused and judged me if I had not followed their advyce, my Lord Burghlie only excepted; who, for his sinceritie and known affection, for want of charge, should not have been flighted. And if I had flighted the counsell given, either the givers, considered as Committee-men, members of State and Parliament, or officers of the

armie, I leave to your Honours consideration, if the enemy had marched off, as most men supposed, if this day I should have wanted accusers, either for treason, or pultronie in the highest degree; and that in confirmation of what had formerly been said of me.

If nothing of all this can justify my procedure, I will intreat your Honours to advert, that the Estates desire to me wes to command as of before; and of before, the great Committee of Estates declared, they remitted the carrying on of the warre to the Marquess Argyle, Earle Crawford, and myselfe, which shall be qualified upon your Honours demand.

Soe being confident that what I have said shall be taken into your Honours serious thoughts, I recommend unto your consideration, whether or not these Noblemen's depositions should be taken, as members of that great Committee to whom the affaires of the Kingdome was intrusted, and dayly consulters with me in all things of consequence concerning the Armie, whose advyce and counsell I was obliged to take, in whatsoever capacity; or if on that unhappie day only, whereon all miscarried, they are not to be thought on in that qualitie they had been in formerly with me, and from the beginning in prosperous times.

PERTH, 4TH AUGUST 1645.

ACT OF APPROBATION TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL
WILLIAM BAYLIE.

"THE whilk day, the Lord Lieutenant-General William Baylie, haveing earnestly desired the Honourable Estates of Parliament to examine his former carriage in the late trust laid upon him, and thereafter to be pleased to liberat him, and to imploy some other in that charge, finds, that he deserves thanks and approbation for his carriage; and againe renewes the late Act made at Stirling for that effect; and doe also liberat him from that charge, and accepts of his dimission; bot, in the mean tyme, desires him to continue in the service as of before, untill the eight day of September next." Extract, etc.

PERTH, 5TH AUGUST 1645.

ACT FOR MANAGEING OF THE WARRE.

“THE Estates of Parliament, etc. after hearing of the report made by the Committee for manageing of the Warre, and after debating thereupon, and publick voiceing in the House, doe enact, statute, and ordaine, that the directing of the Warre shall be by the Parliament, or Committee of Parliament; and the actuall managing and executeing of the directions to be by the Commander-in-chiefe, as he will be answerable to the Parliament or their Committee.” Extract, etc.

This Act doth qualifie the necessitie of a Committee goeing along with the armie; and I doubt not bot your Honours shall find it, without controverfie, that, by this Act, nothing belonging to the Warre is left to the Commander-in-chiefe except the discipline, which does chieflie consist in ordering of the march, the quarter, and the battell. The manageing of the Warre, and the directions, are solely intrusted to these of the great Committee, whose directions the Commander-in-chiefe is to execute; and therefore, I hope, I cannot be condemned for consulting and advyseing with such of them as were with me, I being without commiffion; and I will leave to your Honours consideration, how it should have suited with the trust reposed in them, and their dutie to the countrey and cause, if, upon any occasion, they should either have refused, or forborne, to have given their faithfull and best counsell, yea, even though by me it had not been required.⁽⁹⁾

[WILLIAM BAILLIE.]

⁽⁹⁾ In Baillie's MS. there is added to this Vindication a paper dated at Warrington 19th August 1648. It is an Attestation by several Officers in favour of General Baillie, shewing the necessity he was under of capitulating with Oliver Cromwell, after the defeat of the Duke of Hamilton's army at Preston, on the 16th of that month. It includes a copy of the Capitulation, and will be inserted in the Third Volume of this work.

APPENDIX

TO

VOLUME SECOND

OF

BAILLIE'S LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

1. Petition to the Great Council of the Nobility, Clergy,
Barons, Bishops, &c. (without date.)
2. Supplication against Novation. 1541.
3. Thought of an intended Act against Novation. (By
Mr. Robert Baillie.) 1541.
4. The Explanation of the Act of the Assembly at Perth,
Perth, 20 August 1541. (By Mr. Alexander Mon-
ro.) 1541.
5. Letter in the name of the General Assembly to the
Procurator of Glasgow, Hamilton, Lanark, &c.,
Dunbarton, Irving, &c. (Written by Mr.
Robert Baillie.) 1541.

APPENDIX

VOLUME SECOND

BAILLIE'S LETTERS AND JOURNALS

APPENDIX No. I.

LIST OF PAPERS INSERTED IN THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF BAILLIE'S LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

M.DC.XLII. &c.

(Continued from Volume First, Page 420.)

- An Address to the King from the Lords and Commons
in the Parliament of England: [consisting of 19
Propositions, on the 2d June 1642.] *Vide* Vol. II. p.
Rushworth, vol. 5. 722.
- Letter sent from one friend to another, the 25th of
May 1642, and given to some Privy Counsellors.
[By Johnstone of Warriston,] . *ib.* 41. 43. 57
- Petition to the Privy Council of many Noblemen,
Gentlemen, Burgessees, Ministers, occasionally meet-
ing at Edinburgh, [31st May 1642.] . *ib.* 43
Spalding, 2. 49.
- Answer of the Privy Council to the preceding Petition,
1st June.
Spalding, vol. 2. 51.
- Petition to the Privy Council of the Nobility, Gentry,
Burrowes, Ministers, &c. (without date.) .
- A. Supplication against Novations. . . *ib.* 51
- B. Draught of an intended Act against Novations. [By
Mr. Robert Baillie.] . . . *ib.* 51
- C. The Explanation of the Act of the Assembly at Edin-
burgh, 6th August 1641. [By Mr. Alexander Hen-
derfon.] . . . *ib.* 51
- D. Letter in the name of the General Assembly to the
Presbyteries of Glasgow, Hamilton, Lanark, Paisley,
Dumblaitan, Irving, Air, &c. [Draught by Mr.
Robert Baillie.] . . . *ib.* 51. 69

- E. The above Letter to Presbyteries “and altered for the better,” subscribed by Mr. Robert Douglas, and Mr. Archibald Johnstone, . . . *Vide* vol. II. p. 51
- F. The Causes of the Fast to be kept on the second Lord’s Day of September, and the Wednesday following, throughout the whole Kingdome. *ib.* 53
- G. Warning against Brownism.—Order of Visitation of Families. *ib.* 54
- H. Various Acts—anent the better keeping of Synods and other Ecclesiasticall Meetings—for Visitation of Kirks—Interrogatories, &c. [Drawn by Mr. Robert Ramfay.] *ib.* 54
- I. Reasons for appointing Elders as Commissioners to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, [by Baillie.] *ib.* 55
Baillie, vol. 2. p. 478.
- N. Petition by Noblemen and others, occasionally met at Edinburgh, to the Conservators of Peace. *ib.* 60
Spalding, 2. 109.
- M. Petition of Noblemen and others, occasionally met at Edinburgh, to the King, 16th February 1643, *ib.* 60. 63
Burnet, 211.
- L. Petition to the Privy Council, of Noblemen and others occasionally in this town, [usually known as “The Cross Petition.”] 10th January 1643. *ib.* 59. 63. 64
Burnet, 206.
- L. 2. The Council’s Answer to the above Petition. *ib.* 64

LIST OF PAPERS BY MR. ROBERT BAILLIE INSERTED
IN VOLUME SECOND OF HIS MANUSCRIPT.

- Fol. 1. A Conference by Letters with a Canterburian Minister, anent the Arminian Tenet of the Saints Apostasie.—The First Letter, containing “The occasion of the debate,” is dated Glasgow, 28th May 1634.—The Second Letter, dated Kilwinning, 10th July 1634.—Another also called The Second Letter, Kilwinning first January 1635.—The Third Letter, Kilwinning 9th June 1635.—My Fourth Letter was marginal Notes on the Reply to my Third Letter, (without date.)—Part of another Letter, (also without date,) forming one of the series.

Vide vol. 1. pp. 12. 24.—[The first Letter was originally addressed by Baillie, "To his Reverend and loving couſing, Mr. John Creichtoun, preacher att Paſlay;" but the name and place have been erased, and the above title "Conference &c." is added in the margin. The word "*Couſing*" is likewise altered to "*Sir*."]—

Fol. 44. Some few Quæries or Doubts about the Scottiſh Service-Book. *ib.* 53

67. A Parallell or Breiff Compariſon betuix our Scottiſh Book and the Miſſall, the Breviarie, and other Popiſh Rituals, this day in uſe at Rome, according to the Canons of Trent. *ib.* 53

94. Some few ſhort Conſiderations upon our impoſed Books, drawne out, at the Aſſembly's direction, of two larger Treatiſes, the Quæries and Parallell. *ib.* 147

97. A Speech anent Arminianiſme, delyvered in the Aſſembly, on Tueſday the third [4th] of December 1638. *ib.* 114.

103. The Unlawfulneſſe of Scottiſh Episcopacie, intended for the Aſſembly of Glaſgow, [December 1638.] *ib.* 114

116. A Meditation on the Canterburian Faction, conceived ſome fyve yeares agoe, by way of Preface to an intended Wryt. *ib.* 114

118. Another Meditation of Anti-Puritans, conceived at the ſame tyme. *ib.* 114

118. An Anſwer to the Prelates laſt devyces for our diviſion, dated Edinburgh, 26th Feb. 1639.

124. Letters to Mr. John Rae, dated Glaſgow, 9th and 14th June 1643.—To Mr. Ja. Forſyth, 8th March 1643.—To the ſame, 11th April 1643.—And to Mr. John Rae, without date.

[Theſe Letters to Rae and Forſyth, like thoſe to his couſin John Crichton, Miniſter of Paiſley, conſiſt of private diſcuſſions on doctrinal points: but beſides their prolixity, they are not poſſeſſed either of any intereſt or importance.]

129. The ſumme of my Conference yeſterday with three or four Yeomen of my Flock who refuſed to ſing the Concluſioun [or Doxology ſubjoined in the old metrical Verſion of the Pſalms.]

Fol. 139. A Protestation [of adherence to the King.] Probably at York, in 1642.

139. The King's Letter to the Toune of Glasgou, dated Oxford, 21st April 1643.

Hailes's Memorials, p. 140.—Baillie, Vol. 2. p. 479.

140. Earl of Lanerick's Letter, enclosing the above, dated Hamilton, 24th May 1643.

Hailes's Memorials, p. 142.—Baillie, Vol. 2. p. 480.

140. Letter, signed by John Galbraith, Moderator of the Presbytery of Sterling, concerning reading the Commissions, Warning and Declaration against the Cross Petition, 16th February 1643.

141. Observations on the above Letter.

212. Quæries on the Paper of Agreement.

213. Paper of Agreement at the Sub-Committee of Agreement.

213. A Paper to my Collegues, respecting a clause in the Directory concerning the reading of the Scriptures in Publick Worship.

215. Papers concerning the Lord Saville's business. From 12th Apryle to 5th September 1645.

Baillie, vol. 2. pp. 487-498.

265. Letter from Robert Fleming, one of the Magistrates of Edinburgh, and Baillie's Answer, in December 1633.

Vide Life of the Author.

270. An Adresse, "For the Æquitable Reader," intended to accompany "A Treatise against the Brownists," &c. 1642.

Vide Vol. 2. p. 11. note.

271. An Information from some moderate Royalists to the Scots Commissioners, [probably communicated] by the Earl of Lauderdale, 1644.

273. Theologia Amiraldi professoris et ministri ecclesiæ Salmurij Andegavenfium:—As the Physician Moline spread it at London, in 1644.

APPENDIX No. II.

ORIGINAL LETTERS AND PAPERS CHIEFLY RELATING TO ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND, M.DC.XXXIX.—MDC.XLVII.

CONTINUED FROM VOL I. PAGE 492.

XLIII.

DR. BALCANQUALL'S QUERIES TO CHARLES THE FIRST, WITH THE KING'S ANSWERS.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 34. The following Six Queries addressed to Charles the First, with the King's Answers, (here printed in Italics,) relate to "The Large Declaration," &c. which was drawn up by Balcanquall, in the King's name, and published in 1639. The original paper is much mutilated, but the defects are supplied from a duplicate copy in the same volume. That the Additional Queries were also submitted to the King, there is no reason to doubt: unfortunately the corresponding duplicate, containing the King's Answers, is not preserved.]

1. WHETHER shall the Historicall Narration come owt in
his Ma^{ties} name? or his Commiffioner his name? or in the
name of one who, by his Ma^{ties} commandement, owt of private
Instructions and private advertifments, sent from and to
his Ma^{tie}, and things publickly printed on all fydes, hath com-
pyled the fame, with his Ma^{ties} perufall and approbation?
For in each of these cafes the stile muft bee verie much dif-
ferent.

Ab Ouo. 2. Wheir shall this Narration beginne? from the verie Ori-
ginall? or from the tyme of my L. Marquis his Negotiation?
From my L. If from the beginning, from whence shall the Compyler have
Sterling. his Instructions befoir my L. Marquis entered into it?

3. In citing his Ma^{ties} Proclamations and gracious Decla-
rations, the Covenanters froward and perverse Protestations,

All to be in their publick or private Instructions from their Tables, or
hæc verba. any such record, Whether is it fitte that the said Records
 shall bee printed immediately after the averment of them?
 for it must give great credit to the Narration, and make no
 gappe, but rather a good contexture in the Historie.

Noe particu- 4. Whether his Ma^{tie} will have the misdeameanors and
lars touched violences of particular men (in which some must appear to bee
that are mere- verie barbarous and fowle) towched or glanced at in this
lye such. Narration?

Smart, but 5. Whether his Ma^{tie} will have the style temperate, smart,
noe railing. or mixt?

6. His Ma^{tie} is most humbly intreated to requyre my L. his
 G. of Canterburie, my L. Marquis, my L. Sterlin, or any
 wther whom his Ma^{tie} shall conceive to have any thing by
Upon these them conducing to this Narration, to deliver them to the
conditions to Compiler, for he protesteth, in the name of a trwe Preist,
have them. both secrecie and redeliverie.

[ADDITIONAL QUERIES BY DR. BALCANQUALL.]

Whether shall his Maties promise, for making good the
 paper delivered in to the Assembly, containing the particu-
 lars of his grace and favor, stand as it doeth nowe in the pre-
 face of this Narration?

Whether shall my L. of Balmerinoh bee named in that
 passage of the libell? for hee must bee so described as all
 Scottish people must wnderstand it of him as if hee were
 named.

Whether shall Rollock bee named? for hee must bee des-
 cribed as the wther.

Whether shall the Covenanters Protestation, made against
 the last proclamation at Ed^r, bee wholly printed? It will bee
 long to answere the particulars, many whairof are answered
 befor: Or shall only such things bee answered as are new,
 without printing the whole Protestation?

Whether shall the Commissioner his Protestations bee print-
 ed as they stand in the Clerke of Register's book? For they
 are neither sette in that order in which they are made, nor
 some of them so fully expresse as they were delivered, and as
 my notes bear: Or, shall these Protestations only bee men-
 tioned in the Narration? If they shall bee printed, shall they
 bee inserted in the Narration? which must mutch discontinwe
 it, or added after it? and so, in the Narration, the Reader
 transmitted thither?

In the conclusion of the Narration, shall that pairt of the Covenanters, which were seduced, have their cryme any way extenuated, any hope of pardon insinuated? any resolution of his Ma^{tie} for exterminating the Covenant, and difanulling the Generall Affembly intimated? with grace to the accepters of this his Ma^{ties} last offer, and threatnings to the refusers of it?

Shall their last Information bee printed, or only bee glanced at with detestation.

Shall their Anfwere to my L. Marquis his last Declaration bee only wfed as the wther? it not being sette owt in the name of the Covenanters as their wther Protestations.

Shall the Petition brought up by Mr. Windram bee printed, and the fawcines of it layed open?

Shall the Names of all the Members of the Affembly be printed? or only mention made, that the number of the Ministers exceeded the Laitie only by 48?

Shall the Covenanters Letter to the Moderator of the Presbyterie of Aberdeen bee printed?

[These papers indorsed by Dr. Balcanquall] My Quærees to the King, concerning the Declaration.—For the King, my Quærees.

XLIV.

LETTER FROM THE PASTORS AND PROFESSORS OF ZURICH, BERNE, &c. TO LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY; WITH THE ARCHBISHOP'S ANSWER.

[From Baillie's MS. Letters and Journals.]

(1.) TO THE MOST REVEREND AND MOST EMINENT LORD, WILLIAM LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, PRIMATE AND METROPOLITAN OF ENGLAND, AND ONE OF THE LORDS OF COUNCIL TO HIS MAJESTIE OF GREAT BRITTAINE.

It is an position in nature, and confirmed by Apostolick authoritie, Most Reverend and Most Eminent Lord Prelate, when one member of the bodie suffereth, the rest does sympathize and feel with it; and when one member is honoured, the rest are joyed with it; and seeing withall we profess the same communion of faints, we have no doubt of your Eminencies being pleased to take this our letter in good part. Your Eminencie cannot be ignorant, what deeps and floods of calamities have overflowed our Germany, these 20 yeires and more now past, and especially the Palatinat, before then

the most flourishing Province of the whole Empire. We need not mention to your Lordship the severall kynds of cruelties (never before heard of) practised during these yeires in the said countreyes, whereof the verie mention shall be as horrible in after ages, (if the second coming of Christ prevent not all posterity,) as the feeling hes been to these that in our tymes have been afflicted therewith; and here we must profess, that our mynds have not at any tyme more sorrowed at the knowledg therof, than they are now grieved and much cast down with the reports we hear, and information we have from our friends of the levieing of ane army be the Most Illustrious and Most Potent King of Great Brittain, against his own Scotts, his peculiar people, the people of the nation that bred his Majestie and his predeceffors; And albeit, we presume not to take upon us either to judge, or to vindicate and defend, or plead their cause, being neither ignorant of what becometh the meanness of our condition, not that all men dare incroach upon other men's calling, are obnoxious to the danger of being rancountred either with shame or evill success, nor that the Kingdom of Great Brittain aboundeth with men of singular integrity, who, in the ballance of pietie and prudence, can seriously weigh the causes, nature, and incommodities of this pitiful business; yet the freedom and ingenuity of our Helvetian spirits, forceth us Most Honorable Lord Prelate, to pray your Eminencie to consider, that in the posture wher all Christendom stands in these deplorable tymes, nothing can befall the Reformed Churches so fearfully grievous as these sturrs of yours. We doe sincerely love your countrey; we honour, reverence, yea, we almost adore your King, the Government and Estate of your Kingdom, as we doe respect, with ane reverend admiration, and pray heartily to God for the prosperity of it; so all pious mynds, whereof the number is not small in this our remote countrey, doe wish nothing more seriously, then the prosperity, peace, and increase of all happiness, of the countrey of Great Brittain. This our affection towards and for the good of your countrey, is not an flash of love lately kindled or bred in us; we have deriven from our predeceffors no less [reverence] of the Churches in England and Scotland, and sincerely religious of themselves, whose disposition in that poynt we have from our verie childhood studied to imitate, with no less zeal than their vertue and pietie. And forasmuch as we have no other means left for testifying our respect and affection to your Lordship, we doe at this tyme purposelie discover to your Lordship, this our care and perplexity that we are in for our Church, and pray your Eminencie to admitt and give us leive to exonerate into your fatherly bosom our sighs and teares, and the affection which, in the most inuard corners of our hearts, we have conceived for the peace and good of your Church of Great Brittain. We doe all know how fearfully horrible intestin wars are, and that none are so horribly cruell, as these which breaks the bonds and duties which either neighbourhead, nearness of blood, or religion, tyes princes and people; for when either a true or lawfull reason, or a pretext, or a specious pretence, occasioneth a breach therof, whatsoever before that was zeal in either partie, towards the maintenance of the duty of neighbourhead, nature, or religion, turneth into an fury or madness, which

passes over all respects, either to God or man; and if the rigor of God's justice send such an punishment and vengeance to your countrey, the Lord he knoweth what joy and insolent scorn and mockerie, your armes wold breed in your common enemy, and what fobbs and fighs and real grief they wold bring to the Reformed, True, Catholick, and Orthodox Church.

We doe therefore, with our whole hearts, wish, that both the present tymes and posterity to come, may owe to your Lordship under God, the obligation and honor which they deserve, that shall happen to be instruments of the continuance of the peace of the Church and Countrey of Great Brittain; and if it please your Eminencie to use the power which ye have in these tymes, for settling all questions in course of reason, fuitable to the King's wisdom and justice, without armes, ye shall acqyre ane endless honor and reputation to your name, together with the affections of all good people, especially these who stand in need of help from your King and Country: They shall give most heartie thanks to God, that his divine Majestie (by your Lordship's piety and wisdom,) hes freed the King of Great Brittain from the danger that may follow upon these beginning sturres, the people from slaughter and ruine, the Kirk from persecution, the countrey from the fyre of warr, women from ravishing, old men from los of their children, and many millions of pious and holy souls, full of anxiety and sollicitude, from the danger of fear, of despair, and desertion.

Thus we humbly beseech the Almighty God to inspire the King of Great Brittain, (whom we doe most respectfully reverence,) your Eminencie, and all his wise Counsell, with such resolutions as may be fuitable to his Majestie, glorious to the King, expedient to the Kingdom, usefull to the whole Church-militant, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Your Eminencies most respective Servants,

THE PASTORS AND PROFESSORS OF THE CHURCHES AND
UNIVERSITIES OF ZURICH, BERNE, BASILE, ETC.

(2) MY MOST BELOVED FELLOW-BRETHREN, AND MOST LEARNED PASTORS
AND PROFESSORS OF THE CHURCHES AND UNIVERSITIES OF ZURICK,
BERNE, ETC.

I RECEIVED your letters, dated at Zurick, 21 March 1639, and ane just double thereof, in our style, Aprile 18, which were most welcome to me, for tuo respects, both because they were yours, and because they became Christian profession, tending to persuade peace; and such truly are very seemly in these that are members of one bodie, and beleive and profess the same Communion of Saints. Where they mention what calamities have befallen your Germany, and especially to the Palatinat, I am not ignorant of, neither have I forgott what miseries civill warrs doe breed, and that the same wold quickly bathe our Brittain in its own blood, if they should once fall out; but let us pray earnestly to our God, the Father of Mercies, that we do not

perish by the edge of our own swords. It is no less true than grievous, that our King has raised an armie, to be led against his own (no more his own) Scotts, and that he is now in the North parts of this kingdom, ready to repress their insolencies, but as heretofore, he has left no means untried to reduce these rebels to the knowledge and performance of their duty; so I doubt not but if yet they be induced to do what becometh subjects, and what is fitting for their duty, according to Christian religion, and the laws of their Kingdome, the King's Majestie will be pleased to bury in oblivion all their other actions, how criminall seditious soever they have been.

The rest of your letter divideth it self in two parts: in the first, ye write that ye will not take on yow either to cognosce or to judge of that cause, and that ye will not inroach upon other mens callings. Nevertheless, most religious Brethren, your taking notice or judging this business is no inroaching on any thing unbeseeming your condition or calling; for the beginning of your letter beareth, that if one member suffer, the rest do all feel; the bodie is one, and the members could not be members of it, if they were not sensible of its sufferings: neither can ye deny your taking notice and cognition of the business, seeing ye write that ye have heard of it, not only by generall reports, but by information of your friends; also that nothing can befall the Reformed Churches so fearfully grievous as these sturres of ours: but possible ye take an legall sense, the words *taking notice* and *judging*; but wold to God ye wold take upon yow the judging part; and as ye have verie friendly & wisely written letters to me, tending to pacification, so ye wold be pleased to write other letters to these conspirators, and conjured Scotts, for perswading them obedience to that King, and for showing them that ye maintain that Sovereign Princes have that same power in ecclesiasticall business which was exercised by the best Kings of Judah, and that ye condemn their armed resistance to the powers ordained of God, under pretext of religion, unheard of in the primitive Kirk: I say, that both your letters and judgments, and these of all the Reformed Churches, should condemn them; for their rebellious boldness is gone so far, that it has left behind it all Jesuiticall sedition, and there is nothing that they are not ready to do against their naturall King, under colour of religion: and here (I know not whether it is more to be lamented, or cursed with execration,) the enemy of mankind does so powerfullie work with them, that none are more forward ringleaders and sticklers in their seditions & rebellions then their ministers and preachers, and the subjects are from no where more animated against their most pious King then from the pulpit. I say again, condemn; for this rebellion is so odious in the eyes of all men of any moderation or wisdom, as I fear it shall prove an scandal to all the Reformed Churches in these and succeeding times, if there be anything written against this practise of their infamous conspiracie against their King; neither shall our dangers, whatsoever the same shall happen to be, give more occasion of joy to our enemies, nor of such mockerie of the Reformed Churches, as the scandal which arises from this their rebellion, which subjects religion it self to infamie.

The other part of your letter beareth, that your Helvetian spirits, in their affection to our Brittain, and in consideration of the dangers which attend civill warrs, doe requeist and adjure me, by the contentment of peace of my conscience, and glory on my name, that I should use the power that I have, for settling the busines without armes, by the King's authoritie & clemencie. Change, I beseech yow, Brethren, your opinion: if I could have done it, it had been done long agoe; I take God to witnes, and the King, the Lord's anoynted, and all the King's counsellors who were then present, that I have both publickly and privatly suggested all and only counsells tending to peace; yea, and I alone, almost with reasons and prayers, (I speak truth,) prevailed so farr with his most pious Majestie, as all conditions of peace were once and again, and oftner offered to the Scotts rebels, which either could stand with the honour of ane King to grant, or with any colour of reason to subjects to expect. Meanwhyle the King obtained nothing; so us they strooke with Gorgon's head, and turned to ane stonie hardnes. Neither doe I yet forbear to suggest counsells of peace; which assuredly wold take, if the rebels were not enemies, both to themselves and me, and, I fear, more enemies of peace then either of me or of themselves: And what, alas! in these extremities is my weaknes able to doe, when the busines concerneth such as either will have no peace, or such as is incompatible with the majestie of ane King to grant. Meanwhyle, if any man have dilated me among yow as ane enemy of peace, I know my self to be envyed by both factions, and I pray God grant them mercie, & me patience. In the meantyme, I leave this pledge with yow, I wryte yow truth; and as I have ever been, so shall I ever continue, ane instrument of peace, when the same can be had upon lawfull and reasonable termes; and I beseech God, who hath in his hand the hearts of all Kings, to move his Majestie to embrace such wholesome counsells as may be agreeable to God, glorious to Himself, safe for his Kingdom, and usefull for his whole Church.

And as for yow, my Brethren, I wish yow all grace and happines here, and glorie hereafter, being

Your Freind and Fellow Brother in the Lord,

Given at my House in Lambeth,

W. CANT.

last of Aprile 1639.

XLV.

LETTERS TO WALTER BALCANQUALL, D. D.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI, Nos. 23-27. The first Letter is in a very frail state, and scarcely legible. The year is not given, but the allusion to Henry, Lord Ker, shews that it was in 1639. The Castle of Edinburgh, and Dalkeith House, were taken on the 22d and 23d of March 1639, and Bishop Burnet says, "Roxburgh's misfortune followed this. . . His son, Lord Ker, turned over to the Covenant." This

change, however, was not of long duration, as he had joined the Royalists before sending the foolish challenge to the Marquess of Hamilton, for which he had to make an humble apology to the Parliament, Sept. 30th 1641 : *Vide* Baillie, vol. i, p. 391, and Acta Parl. vol. v. p. 424.]

(1.) LETTER, JANE COUNTESS OF ROXBURGHE.

SIR,

THE kyndnes of a freind is most comfortable to these in affliction, as treuly I am so. You may belive your letter was welcome, and [although] the comforts I gaitt adds to my affliction [to find] straingers to me mor kynd and tender of me [than] he, who I caryed so long in my belly, and, by [the] Almichtie his providans, broght forth to the world : It is my greife to be the mother of so ongraitt a sone [who is] ondeutifull to his King and Souerene, yea, fals to him, in defairteing his Ma^{ties} trust in him ; who is also ongraitt to his parents, who hes bein so kynd and cairfull of him ; whane most he shuld haue shoune his faithfullnes to his King, and his obediens to them for ther confort, to stell from them, laiuing them, to comon oppinione, als giltie as himself, and so sofferers for his falte, whatt hes bein to him self is mor then without extrem forow I can think one. The God of merfie opne his eis to sie his error, in thatt he may, with onfened repentance, rub of the foull stens or fears he hes brot on him self ; but to God I leaue him, wifhing I could forgett him, sens to think on him is my forow. Butt now, Sir, sens yee haue bein so good as to sho a sens or feilling of my Lord's afflictione and myne, latt me besich yow to continow your kyndnes and your comfortable counsell to my Lord, who is now left all alone, bard the sight of his Maister, abandoned by his Sone, I oneble to com to him ; so, as I apprehend, he hes litle confortt in this grett affliction, excep your self or som wther good freind quiett him, which yee can do in all k[indness] als well as aney. Now, be confidentt thatt [I shall] haertaly say Amen to your prayer, and [so long as] I can spek, I will pray for his Ma^{ties} helth, the hapie succe of all his affairs, and his joyfull miting with the Quene, [from] whos gratiuous fauour I haue resaued much confort. God giue her the renown her goodnes treuly deserues, and me the grac to be thankfull to both ther Ma^{ties}, and to your self, for I shall euer acknowledge my self your much obliged seruant,

Whytthall, the 20th May [1639.]

JANE ROXBURGHE.

To my worthie and much respectid freind, Doctor Ballconkell,
Deine of Derehollme.

(2.) LETTER, THE EARL OF PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY.

REVEREND S^r,

It is the King's expresse Pleasure, that ymediately upon the receit of theis,

you come presently away, to receive such farther directions as it shall please his Ma^{ty} to entrust you with; which being the occasion of this, with my affectionate respects, I rest,

Yo^r very affurrit freind, to doe you all good offices,
From his Ma^{ty} Campe in Huntly PEMBROKE & MONTGOMERIE.

Fields, 12th of June 1639.

To my Reuerend

Balcanquall, Deane

D.

[Indorsed by Balcanquall.] My L. Chamberlaine his Letter.

(3.) LETTER, MR. THOMAS HAMILTON.

[The Castle of Edinburgh, as mentioned in the two following letters, was surrendered on the 22d of June 1639: *Vide* vol. i. p. 219.]

SIR,

ALS soone as I could meet with a footman that came yesternight from our cheeff, with a letter to the King, this morneing, telling off the delivery off the Castell of Edinburgh on Saturday last afternoon, I went to Mr. Hamilton, Gentleman off the Horis, who shew me a letter of Orbistone's to him, telling the maner. The Marquis went at that time, having Generall Reuthen beside him, up to Edinburgh; himself was curtesly tane w^t, but the Generall was not acceptable, so that to eschew the upbraiding of the comonty, he was tane up to the Castle in Lauderdayle's cotche, wher few did espy him. The house was delivered, and put in his hand. The fallow that came hither is so doltish, that he can relate nothing, whither there were new chosen sojournes put in that place, or if the auld Covenanter garri-fone was kept still. Our Lord is looked for heer this night, be whom the certaintie will come, otherwayes it can hardly be had, for he wrote only at this time to the Kinges self.

His Majestie heard this forenoone, from Holand, that the Prince of Orange hath had ane onfett upon the citadell of Ghent in Flanderis, but not taine it; he is not yet reteired. The Holanders hes taine three thousand Spanish sojournes comeing over to Dunkirk, who war caried in Inglish bot-tomes, but hath delyvered the Englife ther schipes againe.

Send me word that ye get this save, and ye shall have more between hands. Trow that

MR. THOMAS HAMILTON is yo^r fathefullest efald Servand.
Berwick, Midfomer day, [June 24th 1639.]

To the Right Worshipfull the Dean of Durham.

(4.) LETTER, MR. RICHARD STEWART, [DEAN OF WESTMINSTER.]

S^r,

FOR ought I perceive, things grow worfe and worfe. The Castle of

Edenburgh was delivered to my L. Marqueffe vpon Saterday laft; but they refuse to [let any confi]derable number of men to bee put into it.

His Ma^{ties} word for it, Bel
 flighted and
 good store of men, we yet able to
 defend it. I have it too from goo[d authority, that] since the Peace, they doe in each Presbytery renue [their] sub[scri]ptions, and, I am told, their Oath, to their Covenant, as it was interpreted by their late Affembly at Glasgowe. This was doone at Dunee but upon Tuesday laft. And tis most certaine, that when the Treaty of Peace was proclaimed at Edenburgh, there was a Protestation made, that notwithstanding his Ma^{ty}, in that treaty, was pleased to call it a Pretended Affembly, yet that they did still, and would adheare to it; nay more, that his Ma^{tys} will was not that any of the Covenanters should, by sub[scri]bing that word, bee thought to disaproue or depart from the same, or to condemne their owne proceedings there as disorders. Pray commend my loue to [your Cou]sin, and shew him this letter, and esteeme mee,

Your assured friend to serue you,
 Barwicke, June 27, 1639. RICH. STEWARD.

To my Reverend and worthy freind,
 D^{or}. Balcanquall, Deane of Durh[am] These
 at Durham,

XLVI.

LETTERS FROM AND TO THE SCOTISH ARMY, IN MAY AND JUNE 1639.

[Nos. 1 to 3, are from Baillie's MS. Letters and Journals.]

(1) LETTER OF ADVERTISEMENT FROM THE GENERALL TO THE COMMITTEE AT EDINBURGH, AND FROM THENCE TO BE SENT TO THE WHOLE SHYRES.

WHERAS it was formerly appoynted, that if the King's army should approach the Borders with any great forces, that upon warning, all should be readie upon the first call to march to the Borders with what armes they could find, horse or foot. This is therefore to warn all that love the good of this cause and their own safety, to come in all haste once this week, and to bring what they can of a month's provision, and let the rest follow them; for if they come a competent number together, we shall be able, by God's assistance, to hold them up from breaking in into the countrey, in the which, if once they gett footing, it will not be easie to bring them to a stand, and upon the guard of thir parts is the safety of the whole Kingdom. They that shall be found wanting now, are enemies to this cause and their Countrey: stirr up one another, and remember that your chartour chifts are lying at the

Borders. We shall bear them witness: But let none stay at home, when strangers are hired for 3s. a-week to make us all slaves; they are not worthie to be free men who will stay at home and neglect their Countrey, which is now readie to bleed for their neglect. Some of the enemies are come over the Border: Ethrintoun is taken: Eymouth is feared to be taken this night, where there is a verie great magazine of victuals: If horse and foot haste not, we can hardlie hold them up. Be not wanting to yourselves, and be confident God will fend an outgate to all these difficulties. So, in haste, looking for all dispatch at their hands whom the lyke concerns, I rest.

(2.) LETTER FROM THE CAMP AT DUNBAR TO THE COMMITTEE AT
EDINBURGH. MAY 18TH 1639.

MY LORDS,

WE are desyred to joyne our Letter with the Common, to shew the necessitie of coming furth of all that may bear armes, horse and foot, with what provision of victuall and money they can have in haste, and what they cannot have, to follow them upon carriage horse; and that every man come forth as he is boden, with any sort of weapon, and with what following every man can make for the publick good upon so short an advertisement; for we have obeyed the King's will in standing aback ten myles from the Borders, to shew our desyre to peace. We have, by fundry letters sent to the Earle of Holland, done what we could to draw on a Treaty of peace, and in the mean tyme, they have gathered the forces they can, which we trust in God, if men doe their duty now, shall be forced to doe us reason; and they have broken in upon the Merse, and taken castles and houses, and, as we are informed, are this night to be at Eymouth; and the morn, God willing, our armie will goe toward the Border, keeping ourselves in strengths and straits till the Lord's people come forth to helpe the Lord against the mighty; for if we shall not shortly come to help the Merse and the Border, they behoved to faint and forsake us, which will draw away all this countrey-side, that stands upon our side, as yet hoping to be helped to the Countrey.

The most part of the ships are away to Berwick to land their men there, and to joyne with the King's forces, and we need not fear any invasion till the English forces and ours have a tryall, one of another; and if the Lord help us, as we hope, albeit invasion should come, as there is no appearance, it will soon be recovered if matters goe right here, and we will either have peace or a battle shortly; Therefore, order being given to such as cannot goe a-field for retireing of all towards us, or to strong houses, in case of invasion, we are desyred to exhort your Lordships, and all the Gentlemen and Ministers, to stirr up so many as have heart or courage, or love to the cause, to give an proof now of it; and so soon as possiblie the Paroches can be advertised, let a Fast be kept by these that come not furth as soon after as these whose heart God moves to come to the Lord's battall are marched;

and the Lord be with you there, to give you courage, as he gives us hope and heart here, so doe we pray, who are

Your Friends and Servants,

LOUDOUN.

ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON.

DAVID DICKSON.

Whether ye have pistolls or not, let as many lances with jacks, or without jacks, as may be had, be brought out, and let no man stay upon anie other, but with all diligence march to the collours at Cobrunspath, or where they shall hear the Lord's people are.

(3.) LETTER FROM THE CAMP AT DUNGLASSE.

MAY 30TH 1639.

RIGHT HONORABLE AND LOVING FRIENDS,

WE have done our part, in requiring yow to be readie, upon Advertifement, to come to the Border, when necessity should urge: We have next given Warning, that the necessity pressed fore, and that ye should come forward, horse and foot, without any companie one staying upon another. And now we tell yow, and give yow the Third Summonds, that as ye love your countrey, your consciences, your lyves and liberties, and wold be delyvered from the destruction threatened against, ye wold haste hither, and be not deceived with further hopes of Peace, except by this means; neither be detained any longer by the apprehension of the particular invasion of the parts of the countrey, where any of yow hes your residence, for all the souldiers that were in the ships are landed at Berwick, to help the armie there: Shall our enemies be more forward for invasion against the truth, and for our flaverie, than we for our defence for the truth, and for our libertie? In end they have neither Christian nor Scottish hearts, who will expose their religion, their countrey, their neighbours, and themselves, to this present danger, without taking part with them, and stand on, for any respect under heaven, against the Warning of your assured Friends,

ZESTER.

From Dunlasse, 30th May 1639.

LOUDOUN.

Since the wryting of this, the King's horsemen came this morning, May 31st, to Dunfe, therefore Haste, Haste, with what provision of weapons and victuall ye can bring, and let the rest of your moneth's provision, follow with all dilligence

A. LESLIE.

ROTHES.

(4.) LETTER, LORD BALMERINOCHE TO GENERAL LESLEY, &c.
MAY 27TH 1639.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI., No. 68.]

MY NOBLE LORDS,

I HAD yo^r letters this night, after six, qⁿ the Committee wes vp; all yo^r letters to the Shires, yo^r Instructions mentioned, were dispatched vpon fight. O^r horsemen of this shire, I hope, will sett forward to-morrowe, God willing, not a two parte, but the whole, in the best ordo^r we can. Ordo^r wes given & intimated, at all o^r paroche kirkis, yesterdai, for sending out y^r fourth man to the full. My Lord Argile is to be in Stirling to-morro wth his people, & is again written to for that same end. All spades & shules in this shire are alreadie sent, & shall come wth the fw fetheris, q^r of three thousand are promised to be readie for yow Weddinsday next. Wee are miserablie vexed wth yo^r runagate fogeris plundering al o^r people here, who are not able to resist them, wanting y^r fourth & third man vpon service, & having no armes at all. Some of yo^r young captains, coupling y^r fogeris from hand to hand, occasions these evillis, & would be prevented, or a great mischeefe muste ensue. Galloway & Kirkcudbry^t dispatche went away from this yesternight, by a post, of purpos. I hope John Smith will bring yow twentie thousand merkis to morrow, w^{ch} is all can be gott of this Toun; nothing from els where, nor from the Colledge of Justice, till my Lord Generall declare that to be none of the priveledges challenged by his lifeguard. Serue yo^r felves of the Non-Covenanteris meanes for heerafter. The beareris hafte made me thus vnmanerlie to breake open yo^r letter, & so abruptlie to answer it.

I rest yo^r Lo^s loving fervant,
Ed^r Castle, 27 May [1639.]

BALMERINOCHE.

For my Lord Generall and the Noblemen Comanderis of o^r
Scottish armie, neere the Borderis.

(5.) LETTER TO THE EARL OF MONTROSE. MAY 28TH 1639.

[From the same Vol., No. 69: The original draught, in the handwriting of Alexander Henderson, with some additions by Johnstone of Warriston.]

MY LORD,

OUR maters heir, notwithstanding all the meanes effayed for Peace, ar now risen to such an hight, that further delayes will proue our certane destruction; for the King's armies, which ar far greater than we supposed, ar now lying at the Border: Many of the ships, which wer lying in the Firth, are gone to Barwick, for landing their souldiers, that they may joyne with the armie. Some houses in the Merse ar taken by the English, and numbers of scheip dryven away, and others killed, and our magazin of victuall at

Haymouth, of seven or eight thousand bolls, is feared to be feased wpon by them ; and therfor, as instructions wer giuen befor to the Shires, that all betuixt fixtie and fixtene should be readie, wpon the first advertifement, to march hither in armes ; so haue we now giuen them the allarme, that except they will suffer themselves, the Countrie, Kirk, and all, to come to utter desolation, and be a prey to the crueltie of the enemie, they will, with all diligence, for their oune safetie, both horse and foot, march night and day, till they come to the Border. This is also our earnest desire to your L. that warning be giuen to Anguse, Mernis, Marr, Murray, Innernes, Sutherland, Caitnes, Orknay, and all the shires of the north, that immediatlie wpon the notice heirof, all, both horse and foot, may come forward, day and night, nether staying wpon order nor one company staying wpon another, nor being discouraged for want of armes, but bringing such with them as they haue, whether picks, muskets, snapwork guns, bowes, pistols, carabines, jaks, and lances, or good swords and lances, or Lochwaber axes, and such provision of money and victuals for ane moneth, or as they are able ; especially, our desire is, that many horses be sent, least the foote, whom we desire, also be wnprofitable. We are not forgetfull what work your Lo. hes in the North, for settling matters there ; and we heare that the Lord Aboyne is sent thither againe with some officers and moneys, without men ; but we trust they shall not be able to mak any such head as to hinder your Lo. to come hither presently in person, with so many horse and foote (of the people of Angus, [rather] nor these of Aberdeen, Mernis, &c.) as may be had, to come with all expedition ; comitting the effaires their to our noble lord the Erle of Merfshell, and vther noblemen their, and a garrison to stay at Aberdene. If we be lost heir, the North also will be lost, but if we prævaile heir our northerne losses may be recovered. There is no man acquainted with your L. who will think that your L. neideth spurring in such an exigence and, therefor remitting the necessitie of speed to your L. oune thochts we continue.

Your L^{ps} friends and Servants waiting for

Your L.

[Marked in Warriston's hand.] Letter sent to Erles of Montros and Merfshell. 28 May [1639.]

(6.) GENERAL LESLEY HIS LETTER. JUNE 4TH 1639.

[Wodr. MSS. 4to. Vol. XXXI. No. 4: This is a contemporary transcript professing to be taken from a copy attested by Lord Balmerino.]

NOBLE LORDS AND WORTHIE GENTLEMEN,

WE find it necessare to tell you that we are to remove this night from this place towards Duncce, upon informatione of the march of the English forces,—4000 foote and 1500 horsemen, and ten piece of great ordinance, to Kelfo this morning, upon the repulse they received yesternight thair ;

and hauing told yow so much, we think not only yourselues, bot all others who fall hear and believe, what we are now doing on both fydes will easly determine what is incumbent for yow and them to doe in this extremitie; all possible advertisement haue bein given already; the sword wes drawn befor, now it is at the throat of religioun and libertie, if it haue not given a deipe wound already. We might say, upon confidence of ane extraordinary providence in this extraordinary exigence, that God fall provyd, if the Lord had not put power in our own hands, which might haue given rancounter to our enemies; but our inexcusable fault is, that the power committed to us, we have not used, altho we have sworne and subscribed to do it. It will seime that people are rewing what they have been doeing, and will subject their necks to spirituall and bodily slavery, may be desperately heir and for ever, whilk we are loath to conceive; or that some spirit of flumber hes overtakin them, and possessed them, whilk maketh them think that the fyre is not kendled, when the flame may be seen, and all is in ane burning. We can say no more, but we fall resolve, under the conduct of our Lord, to whom we have sworne, to goe on without fear, and in ane livelie hope. If our Countriemen, and fellow Covenanters, equallie oblidge with us, fall either withdrawe themselves, or come too laite, it may be to the burying of our bodies, whilk with the cause it self might be saved by their speid, horse and foote, let them answer to God for it; to whoise grace commending ourselves and you, we continue,

Your loving Friends,

Dunglassie, Junij 4
1639.

LESLEY.

YESTER.

LINDESAY.

DALHOUSIE.

XLVII.

THE SUPPLICATION FOR TRANSLATING MR. ROBERT BAILLIE FROM KILWINNING TO GLASGOW; WITH BAILLIE'S REASONS AGAINST IT.

[The Supplication is from Wodr. MSS. Folio, Vol. LXIII, No. 80. The "Reasons," submitted to the General Assembly at Edinburgh in August 1639, are from Baillie's MS. Letters and Journals.]

VNTO my Lord Commiffioner his Grace, and this Most Honorable and Reverend Assemblie, humblie mean, We, the Burgh and Vniverfitye of Glasgow, that whereas we are destitute of a Minister to serve in the High Kirk of Glasgowe; and it is most necessar that we be supplied with a powerful Ministrie, not only for the benefite of the ordinarie inhabitants of the said Burgh, but also of that whole populous parte of the countrey lying about vs, and hanting among vs; and speciallie for gaineing of the youth to pietie and vertue who resort to our seminaries, both from this Countrey, Inland and Islands, and Forran partes: And being assured that

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE, minister at Kilwynning, through God's blessing upon his labouris amongs vs, may prove a most happie instrument of God's glorye to the effect forsaide, We most humbly supplicat, that this Venerable Assemblie ordain the said Mr. Robert Baillie to be transported from his ministrie of Kilwynning unto Glasgow, for the exercise of his talent in the work of God above specified.

[The Committee of Bills] Referris this to the Generall Assembly.

[Indorsed.] Glasgow's Supplication for Transplantation of Mr. Ro^t. Baillie.

Apud Ed^r 28th Aug. 1639, Act Session 20. Referrit to the Synod.

(2.) THIS Venerable Assemblie has not yet ordayned any man to transport, yea, has not so much as putt to voycing any man's transportation who was not for many moneths before acquainted, and earnestly desyred to transport; this was the case of our reverend brether the Moderator, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, Mr. Robert Douglass, Mr. James Sharpe, Mr. John Fergushill, and all others of whose transportation we have heard since the beginning of this Assemblie; I doe therefore crave, and hopes to obtayne that common favour and courtesie, denyed formerlie to none, that I may gett leave to advyse for one half year at leist, before I give any answer to this new motion of my transportation.

(3.) REASONS WHY MR. ROBERT BAILLIE OUGHT NOT TO BE TRANSPORTED FROM KILWINNING TO GLASGOW.

It concerns all and every one of the Members of this Venerable Assembly, to make greater account than some perchance hes been carefull to doe, of their voyce in a Minister's transportation: the matter is weighty: it may import the winning or tyneing of many souls in tuo flocks; it concerns the great good or great evill of a Brother all his lyfetime, both in mynd, bodie, and estate: Who rashly gives his voyce in judgement in any matter, let be in a matter of such importance, must answer for it one day to the Great Judge. Let every one also consider their own proper interest in this common cause; for no man here knowes how soon the case may be their own, if preachers, to be in danger at once of transportation, for causes good or evill, and if people, how soon themselves may be assayed to have their pastors removed from them, or continued with them, against their most passionate desyres. As for me, since, far by my expectation, I am brought on the stage, in all humility, I offer, to the conscience of all that hears, thir few Reasons, why I ought not to be Transported.

1. Whatever band can tye any Pastor to a loving Flock, I am bound by it to my people in straitest manner. Some seven or eight yeirs agoe, the Moderator [Mr. D. Dickson] made, as it were, a solemn marriage betuixt me and them, before God. To this day we have lived together in perfect amity, without the least grudge, they well content with my ministry, and I

receiving from them a meeting in all duty, as all our neighbors can bear witnes, To force us now to a divorce, were not only a deep wound to the soules of us both, but also a preparative full of discomfort to all pastors in the land who hes any spunk of affection towards their flock, and to all flocks who hes any comfort in their Pastor, let their soules be as straitly joyned together as ever was Jonathan and David's; yet if thir pracicques of violent transportations goe on, they must continually be in a fray to be rent asunder, though both of them should die for verie grief, their mourning shall not avall them; pastors and people hereafter must take other but for strangers, who can have no assurance to byde together, but hes reason to be thinking of a separation at everie terme, at leist, at the fitting doun of every Generall Asseembly, without any possible remeid. If this evill be not adverted to, the hearts of all people will loose from their pastors, and the better they be, the knott will be the looser, for the best pastors, nill they will they, will be nearest transportation; and though possiblie, in some case, a pastor and a people against both their hearts might be separate, yet it hes scarce ever been heard that any flock hes been so far contemned, as not once to be acquainted with their pastor's removeall, before it was decreited: My Flock ought not to be so far misregarded; it is one of the prime congregations of ane verie considerable shyre, full of gentlemen and freeholders, who in our late dangers, for God and the Countrey's cause, ventured their lyves and estates as freely as any in all the land.

2. The Generall Asseembly, which is the great finew, the main establisher of the rights and priviledges of all Synods and Presbyteries, will be loath needlessly to infringe and enervate any priviledge due in law and all reason to these inferior judicatories; the Presbyterie's most proper power, the act of jurisdiction most commonly exercised by it, is the admission and removeall of the ministers which are its own members. My transportation, to this day, wes never motioned to my Presbyterie, as the commissioners thereof here present can testifie; to transport me without my Presbyterie's advyce, let be their consent, were ane act weel beseeming the tyrannie of Antichristian Bishops, the sworn enemies of all Presbyteriall priviledges, but most unworthie of a Generall Asseembly, the only prop of Presbyteries in all their due rights. If the Presbyterie of Irwin, who for their zeall to the good cause, hes been long famous, be so far contemned, what may any Presbyterie of the Kingdome expect hereafter?

3. After my People and Presbyterie, my noble Patron hes in me the next interest: my Lord of Eglinton and his hopefull Children, how great their deservings hes been towards this Church and Countrey, ye gave the other day an evident token of your acknowledgement, by your willing agreement to his Lordship's just desyres, when many pregnant reasons were pressed for the Moderator's transportation; yet ye were against it, chieflie for this argument, lest so weel ane deserving Earle should be grieved thereby. I trust ye will be constant in doing to his Lordship's reason, though in no other thing I may compare with our Reverend Moderator, yett in this one I will glory

above him, that my interest in that noble Family is nearer than his: I am the Pastor of it, such as may be; it is a part of my proper charge, when justice has obliged you to grant to his Lordship the continuance of the Moderator, because he is his neighbour minister, were it not a levity so soon to be misregardfull of his right in me, who am his own, I mean the only minister of his Lordship's family and paroch. And how much my removal will be against his mynd, I hope his Lordship will be willing here to declare; and with him, if they were requyred all his noble children, especially my verie good Lord, my Lord Montgomerie, in whose education, from a child, I have had some hand, who out of a tender affection towards me, when I had been some yeires his master in the schooles, brought me thence to be his own preacher, at his paroch kirk, for term of life, granting me for encouragment so great augmentation of the old stipend as ever I did crave, shewing me alwayes so much courtesie in everie thing as my heart could wish. His Lordship's travaills, and other occasions has hitherto hindered me to be thankfull, by employing of my labours on his Lordship's person; but at this verie present, when his Lordship is to take up his dwelling at my Kirk, I am going to recompence, in some small measure, as I shall be enabled, the multitude of his bygone favours; so that now to rent me from him, were both to dissappoynt him of his assured and most justly deserved hopes, as also to lay a necessity on me to lye under the heavy burthen of perpetuall ingratitude.

4. These worthie brethren, Mr. S. Rutherford and Mr. R. Dowglafs, has attested God in all our audience, of their insufficiency for these charges they were suited unto, and of their mynd's great reluctancy from embracing them, upon their conscience of wanting these gifts which are necessary for these places: the world knows my gifts to be much inferior to theirs; and how far I am fra that powerfullness and singular abilities, which the verie bill of my suites does expressly require in the man they crave, my own mynd is the best witness; but here is the pitie, that say what men will of themselves, from their own certain knowledge, yea, swear what they will, they are not believed, but their own testimonies rejected, without consideration, as proceeding either from hypocrisy or self under-meaning modesty. By this means, too weightie charges are forced on poor men, for breaking of the back, both of their body and spirit. The weakness of men is not believed till it be tryed and found, and then the people that has most earnestly desired them being disappointed of their hopes, and vexed with the unexpected poverty of their new pastor's gifts, are also earnest again to be quyte of them, while yet they cannot be, till death, or some other worse accident, make the division. I wish, therefore, from my heart, that my insufficiency may now in tyme be considered, that I may not be burdened to undergoe such a charge as may be my own undoing, and the great hurt of these who are my suitors, and most of all the discredit of this Venerable Assembly, if it should command or authorize my removeall; for besydes all other inlaicks, these who are acquainted with the present state of that City, and can judiciously compare with it my birth, my education, and the frame of my mynd,

and all the fashion of my conversation, cannot but see the small appearance of any great good it is lyke I can doe amongst them.

5. An other reason, though I were commanded to transport from my present charge, as I hope, be the help of God, that evill shall never fall upon me, yet in no equity can I be ordained to goe to Glasgow, for to that place I have not so much as the face of a Calling. Where is the Patron's presentation? where is the Presbyterie's calling? and, which is most of all, what evidence is given of the people's invitation? The Commissioner of the Toun, who now suites for me, can shew no instruction for his warrand; for, so far as we know, his commission extends to the Moderator only; and upon the miscarriage of that first suite, my name is putt in the second without any warrand that can be shewn. The fardest that can be alleadged is but some probable lyklyhoods, and conjectural hopes, that the presentation may be gotten, that the Presbyterie may invite, that the people may call. Though I were so childish and foolishly desyring of flitting, as upon the hope of future contingencies, I were ready to runn uncalled; yet I trust that so good and wise an Assembly would never permitt me to doe so, let be to advise and much less to command me to committ such an lewd error.

Many other reasons I have yet behind, but being confident that thir few shall move your mind to let me alone with my own people, I will be loath, having gained my desyre, to hold the Assembly longer from other more weighty buisnesses, being hopefull that your Reverences will be far from wronging not my Flock alone, by pulling me from them, without so much as their knowledge, and my Presbyterie, by cutting of one of their members without so much as once craving their advyce; my noble Patron by spoiling him of his only proper pastor; my poor self, by forceing me to forsake my most dear and sweet Congregation; and to cast my self on a new patron, and a new Presbyterie, and new People, who, to this hour, hes not declared the least signification of their desyre towards my ministry. I am sure ye will be very loath to doe wrong to us all, who are so many, and in us be the preparative to make way for the great grief and hurt of manie more, even of all the Congregations, all the Presbyteries, all the Patrons, all the Pastors in the whole land.

Possibly my Reasons hes not been heard by manie of the Commissioners, and perchance the mynd of some, who hes heard, does not assent unto them upon some evill grounded prejudices, or some wrong conceptions of me, readily formed in them thir dayes bygone by my suiters sollicitation; herefore I may be permitted, before voyceing, to prepare some farder considerations in private to some few, who shall be appoynted to hear me, in speciall, I wish to the Right Honorable my Lord Argyle, my Lord Rothes, and my Lord Loudoun, and to the Right Reverend the Moderator, Mr. Alexander Henderson, and Mr. Robert Murray.

[Baillie's MS. also contains "Reasons" against his proposed Translation, which were given in to the Synod of Glasgow, in October or November

1639. These Reasons however are substantially the same as the above submitted to the Assembly, with the exception of the following passages.]—

Page 445, line 15, after *transportation*, the paragraph reads :

Certainlie if ye will take it upon you to putt me away from my Flock, there is no flocke in the land can be secure halfe a year of their dearest Pastors; for my people are among the most considerable congregations in the whole land, large twelve hundreth communicants; into it a prime Earle of our land, with his noble familie, full of hopefull children; a verie well-deserving Lord, with his familie; lykwayes also, a number of Gentlemen and Freeholders, and a multitude of verie zelous and vertuous Commons, all which, from the verie begining were als readie to venture their lyves and estates for our common cause as any earl, any lord, any gentlemen, any yeomen in the whole land, without any exception: If such a people fould be spoyled of their pastor, that a fyfth or sixt part of the Town of Glasgowe may be supplied, let the world judge.

Page 445, line 36, this second paragraph continues :

—expect hereafter at the hands of Synod? And lest any Presbyterie fould thinke our Presbyterie unreasonable in denying their consent to my transportation, leaving their other Reasons to their own Declaration, I motion bot one, They finde themselves necessitat to grant at once to the Cittie and Univerfitie of Glasgowe, my two nearest neighbours. The Univerfitie is in fute of Mr. D. Dickson on my right hand, whom albeit we all know to be the rarest jewell we have, yet seeing a necessitie, through the multitude of his powerfull and importunate owners, to quat him to some, we resolved to oblishe Glasgowe, by our willing deliverance of so excellent a gift into their armes. On my left hand our reverend brother Mr. R. Bell of Dalry is on Glasgowe's lite, whom we all know both for lyffe and doctrine to be a very gracious youth; we cannot be so cruell as to refuse to our ancient most reverend Father his beloved sonne to be to him a staffe in his extreme old age, and comfortable successor in his owne tyme. Seing therfor a necessitie layd upon them, to give to Glasgowe two of their verie worthiest members, they cannot bot think it all the injustice of the world that any should presse them to cutt off me a third of their members. True I onlie now am motioned heir, but the skill of my wyfe suiters in this their method, I doubt not is palpable to all; for in the other two they know well that necessitie is layd on the Presbyterie to consent to their transportation, and that in me alone there is left to them a freedome to assent or dissent as they find meett. This is the Reason wherefor I am first fought; bot I hope, when Irwine alone hes granted to Glasgowe two of hir members in one year, sho fall be thocht verie reasonable in refuseing of a third.

Page 445, line 39, for the words *ye gave, &c.* to page 446, line 7, *and with him, &c.* is substituted :

—the whole Kingdome hes newlie seene, and none more than this Cittie.

Ye know what great respect the last Generall Assemblie shew to the just deservings of that our noble Earl. Ye heard yesterday how the prime members of our present Parliament, under their hand, did send yow their requeists for to doe his Lordship no favor but due reason. Iff ye thinke meitt to goe out of the way of our last Generall Assemblie, to neglect that Earle whom they so much regarded, and not him alone bot so many of our best earles, lords, and barons, and cheiffest ministers, who hes beene God's ministers, to keepe all our heads on our craigs, and to preserve to us and our posteritie that religion which must save our souls, and these liberties of Scotland which are our greatest worldlie comfort, and glorie, such men, we may if we please, neglect; and that at this verie tyme when they are still imployed, to the hazard of all they have, for securing of us in our religion, liberties, lyves and all, which yett are no wayes sett without the reache of the plotting heads of our enemies: fall Synods so soone begin to contemne the great and just grievances of the peers of our land. The late unhappines of such incircumspection in our good Bishops may scarre us from all beginnings, from all appearances of such injustice. Now how great and just a greiffe my removeal would be to my Lord Eglinton, if our Parliament could have permitted his Lordship's presence, I doubt no bot he would have verie passionatelie declared, *and with him, if they were requyred, all his noble Children,—*

Page 446, line 21, at the end of this third paragraph is added:—

And truelie his Lordship hes reason to expect so great ane hurt from none lesse than the good Toune of Glasgow, the memorie of his late service to them ought not so soon to be buried. Not onlie was he most willing to imploy his paynes, his meanes in leiding their troupes, but for their honor to passe by all his owne followers, and place the saifguard of his verie person in the hands of their company. When by his Crowner's oath he engadged his lyfe in their conduct, he would never have expected their earnestnes to spoyl him of his onlie Pastor, one not of the least comforts, as he is pleased oft to protest, he enjoyes in his lyffe. If this so grave Assemblie can countenance, let be further, so great and so fresh an ingratitude, we will shortlie see.

XLVIII.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EARL OF LOUDOUN

NOVEMBER 1ST 1639.

[From Baillie's M.S. Letters and Journals.]

THAT we may enjoy Religion according to the Confession of Faith in this Kingdom, without incroaching upon any other.

That we intend not to impair the King's greatnes and authority.

Item, To give ane true Information of all our proceedings, and to clear us against all whatsomever.

Item, That the affairs of this Kirk and Kingdom may be settled according to the Articles of Pacification.

Item, That the Registers of Parliaments be patent.

Item, If the King will not condescend to goe on in Parliament without interruption, that the King prorogat the Parliament with the consent of the Estates, according to the conditions he hes taken up with him.

Item, To advertise whom ye think fitting to come up for the King his farder information, if necessity require.

Item, To give frequent and sure advertisements to us ; together with your advice.

Item, To remember these who are resident within this Kingdom, who are pressed and troubled for refusing oaths in England and Ireland.

Item, He taketh with him ane roll of all the Acts past or not past, and gets ane warrand or approbation of the Counsell to goe up.

XLIX.

LETTER FROM ARCHIBALD JOHNSTONE OF WARRISTON, TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE. DECEMBER 25TH 1639.

[Orig. in the Editor's possession.—At Page 237 of Vol. I, there is inserted a Letter from Baillie addressed to Johnstone of Warriston, then Clerk of the General Assembly, respecting the disputed settlement of the Parish of Glassford. The following is Johnstone's answer. On the cover it has this title, "A Letter in an^r to a case of Glaffuird, *de jure populi in electione ministrorum*." Notwithstanding its great length, it has been printed entire, as it enters so fully upon the subject of Patronage, and the Popular election of Ministers to vacant parishes,—questions of more than ordinary importance at the present time. Some peculiarities of orthography, (such as the use of *w* for *v*, in *verie*, *never*, *even*, &c.,) have been changed.]

LOVEING BROTHER,

I HAIFF redd your Questione, and albeit I haiff beine at the poynt of death, and presentlie verie unweill in my body, and never had greiter and more heterogeneous studies lyeing upon me, yet I find myselff obleigit to ansuer that untymous Questione as I can, in a suddaintie, without studie, ffor the quhilk I haiff not a momentis tyme. As for the Hypothesis, I think it nowayes fallis on the subsumptione, becaus, albeit, the wordis of the Rati-ficatorie Act of Glasgow war takine in the strickest sence, yet He culd never be thocht ather to haiff fallin within the narrative of being thrust upone the congregatiōe, or of the certificatione of being *reus ambitus*, and feiking a presentatione without advyse of the Presbyterie ; feing he was focht and spokine to be the Congregatione, and desyred to feik the presentatione ;

feing he was defyred by many of the Presbyterie to accept the presentatione; feing the Presbyterie quho, even be that Act, is the onlie judge of *Ambitus*, hes not repellit, bot approvit his proceedingis, by the receptione of his tryalls; feing the pariochineris acquiesced efter his tryalls; and, lastlie, feing the Provinciall Assemblie, efter the motione of this Questiou, have approvine both him and the Presbyterie: quhairunto the Pariochineris hes acquiesced by not appealling unto the Generall Assemblie, so that even be that fourt heid of the First Book of Discipline they culd never be hard to complaine of a violent intrusion, and can never complaine of that presentatione, quhilk was grantit eftir thair awine desyr, and is approvine be thes to quhom the admissioun properlie pertenis, be that thrid and twelff chapter of the Secound Book of Discipline.

As for the Thesis, Quhither we be obleidgit by the Covenant, under the curse of the law, to refus, and resist even by armes, the accepting of any persone presented be a patrone, before he obtaine the Electione of the congregatione and Presbyterie, &c. (the fourth chapter of the First Book, thrid and 12 chapter of the Secound Book of Discipline, cited for the affirmatiue, &c. quhilk I neid not repeat,) I ansuer:—

Primo, With a regrait, from a verie greived heart, to hear of the presumptione of any phantastick persones to darr now, in a settled Kirk, efter so great and so lait stormes threatning her ruine, by dissentione to move new nationall Questiones, so unnecessar in this caice, so unproper for the proponers, so dangerous in the effectis, quhilk being universall, and alyk concerning all the Church, suld onelie be proponit to the haill Church, and onelie suld be decydit thairby, gif any member did propone the Questione; zea, it may be even quhen the haill Assemblie of the Kirk thinkis fitter to suppress the Questiones, and tolerat rather quhat is complanit upone nor rais a new forme. And thairfoir my subsequest Ansueris ar not so much to tak upone me exactlie to determine, bot to sett downe the groundis quhairby they may be now freed of thes fantasies, and goe on in the ordinarie way with the rest of the Congregations. And gif they haiff any scruple, quhairin they find not present satisfactione, (as it is moir difficult to satisfie a fantastick ignorance nor a judicious understanding,) lett thame represent it unto the nixt Generall Assemblie, quhairunto the King himselff, by ane Act 1597, is requereid onelie to propone his scruples anent the gouvernement of the Kirk, and that *animo ædificandi et non tentandi*.

Secoundlie, To tell now the groundis, as they come in my head, without methode or order. They mistake our oathe to manteine the Discipline of this Kirk, as gif that war to manteine the Book of Discipline, and all that thairin ar, albeit perhapis they be not poyntis of discipline; and thairfoir, to eschew some scruples anent teyndis and patronages, we eschewed, at Glasgow, to renew that Ordinance of ministeris subscriyving the Book of Discipline; quhilk, quhen all is done, was never subscriyvit be any congregation; and that Book is, albeit a cleir one, yet bot one *vidimus* of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, quhilk may be alswell gadderit out of any uther Actis of Assemblies, (quhairof that hes onelie its

force,) ather befoir, at the tyme, and after that Book, and from the constant practife of our Kirk befoir, at the tyme, and efter-hend the fwearing of the Confession of Faith, 1580 and 1590; quhilk thrie groundis, joyned togidder, we observe and followis in our Act of Glasgow anent Episcopacie and the Fyve Articles, &c. And quhair thair ar any discrepance betuix any claus of that Book, and the constant straine of all uther Actis of the Kirk, in perpetuall practife thairefter, we ar to judge that claus of the Book, to be thairby abrogate and rescindit, and past fra be the Kirk itselff; at the leift, the contrarie thair of, suffered and tolerated, directlie and expresse, by the haill Kirk, (quhilk hes greateft interest, and quhos Actis being maid by the Commissioners from the particular Kirkis of the kingdome, imports the consent of the haill congregations,) and so cannot be quarrellit nor challengit be any particular member thairefter, without advyfs of the haill repealling thefs, Actis, quhairby they tolerat the famen; as I can instance, throw our haill Affemblies, from tyme to tyme, both befoir and efter that Book, quhair of I will add some for example:—As in the secund sessioun, June 1563, That patrones direct Presentations of vacant benefices to Superintendents; June 1565, Sefs. 2., siclyke, July 1567, Sefs. 3, & Sefs. 5, in the Articles of Affemblie and Counfall; in Dec^r 1567, Sefs. 5, the Commissioners of the Kirk ordaine to dispone all benefices presented be their just patrones; July 1568, Sefs. 4, July 1569, Sefs. 5. That all dimissiounes of benefices be maid in the handis of the Kirk, the patronages alwayes being reservit to the lawfull patrones; in March 1570, Sefs. 2, & Sefs. 3; Aug. 1573, Sefs. 8.—All quhilk pre-cited Actis being posterior to the First Book of Discipline, (quhilk, quhen all is done, we haiff never sworne to maintaine, in 1580, befoir the quhilk tyme it was even mony wayes altered be the Secund Book of Discipline, quhilk Secund Book is onlie then insert in the Register,) may cleir the scruple from the fourt head of that Book: especially gif ye will joyne with these Actis of the Affemblie the 7 Act of Parliament 1567, anent admiffion of ministers, with direct reservation of laick patronages, q^{lk} is thair subjoynd to the ratificatione of the Large Confession of Faith; and the 20 Act and the 28 Act of the same Parliament, quhairin both the King's patronages ar confirmit, and laick patronages declared not to be prejudgit; and the 41 Act of the secund Parliament and 52 Act of the third Parliat, in the yeiris 1571 & 1572, of the same nature. Sicklyk in the tyme of the drawing up of the Secund Book of Discipline, in Aprill 1578, in July 1578, in July 1579, the Visitors quho war appoynted to grant collatione of benefices, was prohibited to grant collatione to these benefices quhairin thair was any serving the cuir, bot to him that served the cuir; and in the Affemblie 1580, July Sefs. 9, that Act renewed, with an article to the King to present ministers serving at the cuir to thair vacand benefices; quhilk is renewed in the 7 Sefs. 1581, in April, quhilk is the Affemblie appoynting the Covenant and registrating the Book of Discipline. The Affemblie 1580, Sefs. 10, in the Articles presented to the King, craves, in one, the Book of Policie to be establisched; in the uther, that all presentationes be direct to the Commissioners of the Kirk. In that notable

Assemblie of Glasgow, in April 1581, quhilk, as I said befor, registratis the Book of Policie, and injoynes the Confessioun, in the 7 Sessiou, one of the Kirkis Articles to the King is, That vacand benefices may be disponed to the ministers of the Kirk: and the King in his Ansueris both promisseth to establisch the Book of Policie, and demandeth at the Assemblie quhat fuld be the forme of his presentatione, quhom to directed, and quhom be the collatione sal be grantit; and declairing alwayes laick patronages to remaine haill, except it be with consent of the patrones. And in the 9 Sessioun, efter registering the Book of Policie, and ordaining the Confessioun of Faith to be subscrivit immediatelie, in the same Sessioun, day, and leiff of the book of Assemblies, they, in thair Ansuer to the Kingis Articles, requires that all presentations be direct to Presbyteries: quhilk is a cleir grund to cleir the Assemblie did allay [mitigate] the Book of Discipline in that poynt, and did, not by thair injoyning the Confessioun of Faith, and thairin ane Oath to manteine the discipline of this Kirk, meane absolutelie to tye us to the resisting of all presentations granted be patrones, befor the electione of the people and Presbyterie, seing they themselves craives thes presentations to be direct to Presbyteries. But to goe on:—In the Assemblie 1582, Sefs. 5, in the Kingis Articles and Assemblie's Ansueris, presentatione be the King and admissioun be the Kirk, ar acknowledged; and in the 12 Sefs. that notabill Act quhairupone we did summarlie excommunicat the Prelatis in Glasgow, declaires to be nowayes prejudiciall to laick patrones in thair presentations unto the tyme the lawes be reformat according unto the word of God. In October 1582, Sefs. 16, in the Assemblie's Articles to the King and Conventione, That all presentations be direct to Presbyteries; and supplicatis the Kingis Majestie not to grant blank presentations to any man, bot cheiflie to regaird these quhom Universties or Presbyteries recommendis to his Majesty. In October 1583, Sefs. 8, That Presbyteries dispoone benefices coming in the Kirkis handis, *Jure devoluto*. In May 1586, in the Articles of the Assemblie thair is fyve severall actis, all presupponing the rycht of patronages, and complaining that they war not direct unto Presbyteries, and demaunding, that quhair laifull collations had not beine grantit be the Kirk, that the patrones wald grant new presentations to any qualified ministeris, that the Kirk thairupone nicht grant collatione. In August 1588, Sefs. 5, and in June 1589, Sefs. 8, the Kirk in thair Articles regraitis the Kingis disponing away of his awine patronages; and in the Sefs. 19, the Assemblie craives informatione from everie Presbyterie of the leaving of everie pareoche, quhither it be a severall benefice or annex, and quhither at the King's presentatione or of a laick patrone: It is to be remarkit that this was the tyme of the renewing of the Covenant againe. And in July 1591, as in the Sessioun 4, it ordains the Book of Discipline to be subscrivit; so in Sefs. 18, complains of the Kingis disponing his patronages, and demaundis of the King to dispoone the comoun kirkis to ministers. In the Assemblie in March 1596, efter that in the 7 Sefs. these corruptions are sett down, quhilk ar ratified in our Act of Glasgow in the 12 Sefs, it is ordainit, that ilk Presbyterie fuld give presentations, *Jure devoluto*, of all benefices of cuires be-

longing to laick patrones, efter 6 moneth. In March 1597, Sefs. 4, anent laick patronages, the Kirk lamentis that patrones reteins the fruitis of thair benefices, quhen perfones presented be them are not admittit be Presbyteries. With thir Actis of the Kirk, giff ye will joyne the Actis of the Parliament 1581, the 99 Act ratifieing, amongst utheris, the 7 Act of Parliament 1567, anent the admiffione of thame that fall be presented to benefices haiffand cuir of the ministerie; and the 100, & 101, & 102 Actis of the said Parliament, all declairing ministers most be presented to benefices by the King, and uther laick patronages; with the claus anent laick patronages, in the 29 Act, Parliament 1587; but above all, with the 114 Act of the 12 Parliament, 1592, that notable Act, registrat in 1593 in the books of Affemblie, establisching the liberties and assemblies of the Kirk, yet with exprefs reservation of presentatione to laick patronages; repeatit againe in the subsequent Act 115, with the 163 Act, Parliament 1593, and with many uther Actis of Parliament of that kynd, quhilk Actis of Affemblies and of Parliament, backed with continuall observatione, both before, at the tyme, and efter that book, cleiris the meaning of any claus thairin, or els schawis that it hes never come in practise, is obsolet, and the contrarie thair of continuallie tolerated, so that not onlie thair is *desuetudo*, quhich enervatis the force of any constitutione, bot thair is also *contraria consuetudo* warranted be the auctoritie of contrarie constitutions since the famen.

I haiff infisit the more on this generall, that ye quho hes mair leaser nor I may draw the particular consequences thairfra, not for the establisching of the richt of Patronages quhair of the toleratione *plusquam sufficit*. Bot for cleiring of the people's myndis from thair scruple of the Covenant:—

Thridlie, Albeit they war bund to the Book of Discipline, yet they mistak it very farr. For thair is tuo pairtis of the Book of Discipline verie far different as it is sett down in itself. The first ten chapteris being onelie the positive part of Discipline and Governement (quhairin that claus of the third chapter dois not condemne Patronages, bot makis thair presentatione to be no part of thair calling, bot onelie the Presbyterie's admiffione of them with consent of the Congregatione.) The tua last chapteris not being sett doune be way of position and statute, bot be way of complaint of abuses in the elevint chapter, and of supplicatione for reformatione in the twelt, and that in the yeir 1579, quhilk both shawes that they micht weill desyr such a poynt of discipline, bot that they never had obtained it, and that they had tolerated the want of it; as also, that the Generall Affemblie herself did no moir bot supplicat the civill poweris for grant of the famen; quhich doeth both cleir that our oathe in the Covenant to continew in the discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, is not to continew in such a poynt of discipline *quæ solummodo optabatur*, bot in ane prescryved, ordained, and practised discipline; quhairas even these chapteris abstenis fra ecclesiastick injunctions, and prohibitions to Presbyteries to ressave ministers upone the presentatione of patronages, and Presbyteries in those times did not refuis the same; and siclyk doeth cleir how far fantasie misleads these people, quho being bot privat perfonis, wald fight for that quhilk even the Generall Affemblie her

selff (in that Book of Discipline quhilk they abuse) did tolerat, wald not ordaine the contrarie, but only supplicat the Estait for redress.

Fourthlie, Quhen all is done, they mistak even these clausfes of the 12 chapter of the Secund Book of Discipline, and the Act of the Assemblie 1596, ratified in Glasgou; for in these the patronage or presentatione to benefice is not takine for that quhilk we call now a presentatione, as separat from collatione and institutione. Bot as I fall cleir yow from the Actis of Assemblie and Parliament, presentatione than was instead of all, without getting any collatione, admissioun, or examinatione, be the Kirk, Presbyterie, or Congregatione at all; ffor in June 1563, Sefs. 2, the Kirk petitiones the Queine that Superintendents nicht haiff the collatione of benefices. In June 1565, Sefs. 2, the Assemblie petitiones the Queine, that vacant benefices may be disponit to ministers be tryall and admissioun of Superintendents. The Queine, in Dec^r 1565, mistaking thair petitione, ansuered, That shoe could not quyte the patronages of benefices out of her handis, and so defraud the patrimonie of the Croun. The Assemblie reply is, That it was not thair mynd that shoe suld defraud her selff of her just patronages; bot that quhensoever her Ma. or any uther patrone, dois present any personage to a benefice, that the persone presented suld be tryed and examined be the Superintendents of the Kirk; and as the presentatione of benefices pertenis to the patrone, so aucht the collatione thereof, be law and reasone, apperteine to the Kirk, of the quhilk collatione the Kirk suld no more be defraudit (this schawes they war defraudit) mair nor the patrone of thair presentatione; ffor utherwayes, gif it sal be leifome to the patrones absolutlie to present (that is, *pleno jure*, to plant, instead of collatione and all) quhom ever they pleas, without tryall or examinatione, quhat can abyd in the Kirk of God bot ignorance without ordor. In Februar 1568, Sefs. 2, the Assemblie supplicat the Regent for reductione of all benefices gevin to any personis aganis the Act of Parliament, without tryall of the Superintendents. In March 1570, Sefs. 2, in the Articles presentit to the Regent and Counsaill anent the jurisdictione of the Kirk, that the electione, examinatione, and admissioun of them that ar admittit to the ministerie, charge of soulls, and ecclesiasticall benefices, thair suspensione and deprivatione belongs to the jurisdictione of the Kirk; joyned with thair first desyr that his Grace and Counsaill grant and consent that na dispositione of any benefice be made to any persone without admissioun and collatione of the Kirk, following upone just presentationes (quhair be the way they mak presentatione frome the patrone and electione of the Kirk, by the admissioun from or of the Presbyterie, to be compatabell,) and gif any dispositione of benefices be maid to any persone otherwayes, that it be brocht back and reducit; quhilk schawes that many war grantit without admissioun of the Kirk. In July 1580, Sefs. 10, it is one of the Assemblie's Articles, that na presentatione of benefices be direct bot to the Commissioners of the Kirk; and gif any utherwayes be ressavit, that thair admissioun be declairit null. Lykas the King's questione, in Aprill 1581, Quhat sal be the forme of presentatione, and of collatione or admissioun, and quha fall give the collatione? schawes that poynt was not setled at that tyme

Siclyk, that notabill Act of the 12 Sefs. Aprill 1582, The Affemblic or-
danis that na man pretend to ecclesiasticall functione, office, or benefice, be
any absolute gift, collatione, admiffione, of the Civill magistrate or patrone,
be lettres of horning, or any uther meanis than is establisched be the Word
of God, and Actis of the Generall Kirk, and hitherto ordinarlie used within
this Reformit Kirk of Scotland, under the paine of summar excommunica-
tione, without prejudice alwayes to any patrones in thair presentationes,
unto the tyme the laues be reformit: quhilk Act, albeit it war alone, dois
notablie cleir (especially being joyned with the subsequent complaint to the
King, against his geving of benefices, *pleno jure*;) both that the presenta-
tions condemnit in the Book of Discipline, and the seiking of presentations
without advyse of the Presbyterie, is meant be thair absolute giftis and
dispositions from patrones, *pleno jure*, without admiffioun or collatione
from the Kirk or the Presbyterie. This poynt is farder cleired by the re-
newed Articles of the Affemblic, in October 1582, That presentations be
directed to Presbyteries as gif they had not beine directit befor; and be the
continued regraitis and complaintis of the Affemblic, March 1586, desyring
that all giftis and benefices haifeing cuir of foullis annex to them, dis-
ponit be the King, *pleno jure*, and not qualified persons presentit to them,
with ordinar tryall and collatione following thairupone, may be declaired
null, according to the lawes already maid, ather be way of actione or ex-
ceptione; and that all presentations, giftis of benefices of cuir, disposed
utherwayes than to qualified ministers, or in any extraordinarie forme not
allowabill be the comoun law of the municipall lawes sof this realm, and
forme observit in this Reformit Kirk, may be annullit, and new pretenta-
tions direct to Presbyteries. Add to thir Actis of the Affemblic the 20
Act of the Parliament 1567, quhairin the Quein's giftis and provisiouns to
benefices under her Privie Seall ar declaired laufull, full, and perfite titles
and rychtis, as gif the saidis provisionis had past upone supplications to
Rome, and Bullis past thairupone, (that is, instead of presentatione, col-
latione, and confirmatione;) quhilk is renewit in the 28 Act of the same
Parliament, and is confirmit be the 41 Act of the 2 Parliament, K. Jam.
6, quhair the neirest of kin to the deceased persone in the campe gettis
from the King presentatione, provisioun, and collatione of the benefice.
Sicklyk as be the first Act, Par. 9, 182 Act Parl. 13, and 274 Act Parliat
15. The King had absolute power, *pleno jure*, to provyd and dispo-
ne Prelacies, Abacies, and Pryories, haifeing many kirkis of cuir annexit; so
he disponit, *pleno jure*, many uther benefices *de facto*, quhair of the Kirk
so oft complained. Thir groundis being joyned with this consideratione,
that the said 12 chapter of the Book of Discipline mentiones Patronages
and presentations, without any word of collationes, as includit under the
word of patronage, and mentiones the patronages used in the Pope's Kirk,
in sua far as they intrude any over the Kirkis haifeing *curam animarum*;
quhairby, indeid, ather the Pope, *pleno jure ac supereminenti vicarij
Christi*, or the bischope and the patrone, in tyme of Poperie did, without
all consent of the congregatione, intrude men upon them, and the King

sicklyk, by his dispositiones of *pleno jure* as is aforesaid; quhairas the presentatione being direct to the Presbyterie, and the persone tryit befor the congregatione, and admittit be the Presbyterie, whilk being composed of some delegatis from the Kirk-Session of every pareoch, importis in thair Actis the consent of the haill; and a persone so admittit can never be said to be intrudit upone a congregatione, even according to the definitione sett down in that fourt heid of the First Book of Discipline: bot violent intrusione we call not, quhen the counsaill of the Church offerris to thame a sufficient man to instruct thame, quhom they ar not forcit to admitt befor examinatione, and efter it may be compellit by the censurs of the Church to resseve the persone appointit, in the same page. And farder, that 12 chapter reserving the patronages of benefices not haiffeing *curam animarum* to be disponsit, (that is, both presentit and collatit,) quhen they vaik, as they ar required be Act of Parliament, to witt, the 12 Act 1567, quhilk is without any collatione at all, confirmis that the word of patronage and presentatione is takine for these absolute dispositiones, *pleno jure*, in benefices haiffeing *curam animarum*, alsweil as in those that wants it; because without equivocatione one and the same word used in the same chapter for expressing the same thing cannot be weil takine in divers senses. And as for that Act 1596, quhich, in its awine bosome, presupposeth the standing of patronages, may be interpret be the foirsaidis grundis, to meane of these quho seikis thir absolute dispositiones, for utherwayes thair is no great necessitie to craive the advyse of the Presbyterie befor the seiking of any ordinar presentatione, seing that is to be directit to the Presbyterie, quho thairupone admit, or not admitt, as they find caus or impediment; quhilk interpretatione is the moir confirmit by the expressing of this Act, as it war the onelie remedie of the abuse complenit of in the narrative, quhilk onelie holdis trew in my interpretatione of the necessitie of the Presbyterie's advyse in seiking of these presentations of *pleno jure*, quhairin thair advyse was not to be takine in the collationating; utherwayes the reassone of the Act could not inferr the conclusion of the Act, nor the Statute war the onelie remedie of the abuse; for in the ordinarie presentations, that ar not *pleno jure*, even the Presbyterie may impede the thrusting of any upone the congregatione, and not admitt quhen the haill congregatione is averse; for heir I most profess *ingenue* that ground quhilk is layed universallie be all the Actis of our Assemblie, That none can be thrust and intrudit upone the Congregatione and Presbyterie; *Nam in hoc matrimonio quasi contrahendo, dissensus partium est maximo impedimento*, and quhair thair is ane universal averfenes of the people, I think the Presbyterie suld not bot admitt that universall exceptione against a partie presentit, quho, albeit fitt for the ministerie, yet is not *aptus ad hoc ministerium*, quhairunto thair is ane universall oppositione, upone apparant groundis and reassones, and settled affectiones. And to tell yow my thochtis, as they ay come into my head, (quhilk breidis confusione at the first dyteing, & I haiff not ane momentis tyme to revise, bot ye will mak your best use of it;) I think the pareoch hes *quandam speciem vocis negativæ* at the leist, quhilk yit takis

no wayes away the patrones right of patronage, no moir nor quhen the Presbyterie refus to admitt, upone any other poynt, as of not qualificatione for the ministerie, so for unaptnes to that ministerie, (quhilk was ane of the Overtures presentit to the last Assemblie,) as the Presbyteries not admissioun for ane uther caus, so the pareoche not consenting, albeit it impedis, *Effectum unius presentationis, tamen non tollit jus patronatus*: Bot he may present, one efter another, and, gif the pareoche be unreaasonable, I think the Presbyterie suld regulat the inordinat obstinacie of the congregatioun, gif thair oppositione be seine to be of will, and not of witt. And, on the uther part, I think, the patrones priviledge of presenting, takis not away thair right of consenting, and is not *ex natura rei*, (albeit *frequentissime ex abusu*,) incompatabill with election, ffor to use thair awine similitude *a matrimonio*, in law, *matrimonia sunt liberrima et solo consensu partium contrahuntur*. Yet a parent or a friendis moveing of any match, is not incompatabill with the parties libertie to choose the persone presentit. Albeit wardis of mareage, especially backit with fingill and doubill availles, be sic a thraldome as will be, be all meanis shunned, so suld Patronages be evited be all meanis, as a thraldome of the Kirk. Bot as for the tyme, quhither any freind to the partie, or the partie to thair freindis, be the first proponer of the match, I think thair is no so essentiall a difference, *quoad ordinem et prioritatem*, gif the match be maid with consent of parties; and so our Kirk hes seemed to suffer presentations to preceid, and admissions be the Presbyterie, with consent of the congregatioun, to follow: quhilk both answeris one part of your letter, and confirms my interpretatione of the Act 1596; quhilk is not so to be understood *in sensu contradictorio* to all uther Actis and practise of Assemblies, both befor and senfyn, seing nether it expresse repeallis thame, nor they it, bot is to be interpret *in sensu compatibili*, according to the ordinar reull *interpretandi ambigua*. For to confirme quhat is above written, fra the book, from quence I suspect the Reidar hes gadderit his collections from Scripture, quhairof you mentione in your lettre, to witt, from the Inglis Popish Ceremonies, chapter 8, pag. 167, in the end, he affirmes onelie, that because Patronages and presentations to benefices doe often prejudge the frie and lawfull electione which Godis word craiveth; thairfoir, that the Secund Book of Discipline, chapter 12, disapproveth thame, and addeth, not that we think a man, presentit to a benefice that hath *curam animarum*, cannot be lawfullie electit; bot becaus of the often and ordinarie abuse of this unnecessary customes, we culd wisch it abolisched by princes. And, lastlie, this Act 1596, in the strickest sence, dois onelie repell thes that seikis presentations directlie, and indirectlie the sollicitatione and moyans, and dois nather impeded patrones to grant presentationes to quhom they will, nor young men to accept of presentations unsocht, and offerit to them, even without the advyse of the Presbyterie.

Fyftlie, Thes people wald consider, that be alledging of the Covenant, they break the Covenant, quhilk gif it injoyne the observatioun of any poynt of discipline, it injoynis most the verie fundatioun of the Governement

in the subordination of privat personis to the Congregatione, Congregationes to the Presbyteries, Presbyteries to the Synodis, and of the Synodis to the Generall Assemblies, untill the quhilk they fuld ascend *gradatim*, by ordor in thair complaints, and not tak upone thame, not onelie the place of Presbyteries, Synodis, or Assemblies, bot mor nor they dar doe, or fuld doe. Thes people will fight quhen they onelie may supplicat. Lykas thairby they break the first and positive part of that Book of Discipline, upone pretence of a pendicle complaint and petitione. They wald remember also, that by thair Covenant, they fuld eschew all divisiōe & dangerous motiōe, quhair of treulie I know none so great as this war to putt the Nobilitie, Gentry, and Ministerie, be the eares togider; farder, appeirantlie they forgett the verie claus of thair applicatione, quhilk tyes thame in that Covenant, to witt, That they fuld onelie labour, be all meanis lawfull, to recover the puritie and libertie of the Gospell, as it was establischt and professit befor the said novationes, and that quhen the corruptions of the Governement of the Kirk ar tryed be ane frie Assemblie and Parliament: Quhairupone they wald be remembrit, *First*, That it is hard to schow that point of Discipline to haiff beine establischt and professit as a libertie of the Gospell befor the foirsaid novations, for till this hour, as is befor said, it was not establischt be Statutorie Actis of the Assemblie, bot the contrarie tolerated: It was not establischt be Lawis of the Cuntrey: It was not establischt be practice. All that can be said, that it was wisht for and supplicated for; and so aucht we to doe, even as much as they did, to compleine of the abuse, and supplicat superior poweris. *Secundlie*, That quhair thair is a questiōe, quhither it be a corruptione or not, it aucht to be first tryed be the Assemblie and Parliament, as even Episcopacie itself was tryed, befor being undetermined, and no wayes declaired to be abjured in the Covenant, untill the Assemblie fand the famen. *Thridlie*, That thair hes beine ane Assemblie and Parliament, and yit they did never complaine of the famen; and it may be quhen thair was better headis in the Assemblie and Parliament to consider the prejudices of the Kirk, nor the Reidar of Glaffuird; yit they fand maist convenient for the Kirk at this tyme to silence these questions, and tolerat many thingis (quhair of they wald faine haiff redres) for the setling of the substantiall Governement of this Kirk; & not onelie did declair that they intendit not at this tyme to tak away patronages, bot also war most gladlie content of the Act of Rescission in Parliament, quhilk ratifies the Act of Parliament 1592, quhairin Laick Patronages ar expresse reserved. Albeit ye be mistakine in one poynt of your letter, for we craived not in the Articles to Presbyteries, the patronages of any kirkis; bot on the contrair, that these kirkis annexit to prelacies, *tanquam ecclesie quæ nunquam fuerunt patronatæ*, may be disponsit be Presbyteries *ex jure communi ecclesie, et non ex peculiari privilegio juris patronatus*. Now in that quhilk concernis the haill Kirk, quhen the haill Kirk itself and Parliament, does toleratt and reserve, is it not *inaudita audacia*, that any particular persones, quho are not so much as fitt for any place in the meanest judicatorie of the Kirk, fall tak upone thame to questiōe quhat the Assem-

blie directlie reservis, and to resist quhat the Generall Assemblie expresse toleratis. Iff this be sufferit, adew with all Ordour, Discipline, and Government. And gif the Presbyterie censure not exemplarlie this incendiary, they are lyabill to the Synod; and the Synod, gif they neglect, to the Generall Assemblie. *Fourthlie*, They wald remember that they suld not bache the Covenant to the defence of everie fantasie: Seing it is a nationall Oathe, it most abyde a nationall interpretatione in any questione, quhair of the enteres is universall; and in that oathe, putting the caise it war a poynt of Discipline, yet they ar onelie bund to labour to recover it by all lawfull meanis. Now lett thame consider, gif they be so strictelie bund to recover that quhilk was never had, and so was never lost. As also gif it be a poynt of thair duetie of laboring, and ane lauffull meane to privat persons to threatine with fyre and suord to resist thair Presbyterie, to quhom they suld onelie complaine; and upone thair injustice, appeall to the Synod, and upone thair neglect or wrong, unto the Generall Assemblie. As for thair goeing to Dunse Law, trewlie none culd haiff thocht it lawfull for privat personis, gif they had not beine following the publict Magistratis and Peeres of the land, *qui sunt et a Deo cincti gladio ad bonum et ad iram*, and gif they had not beine following the body of the people, *cujus universitas est rea promittendi in fœdere cum Deo ac cum Rege*. Giff they be so willing to fight, I wouder that the Reidar (quhome I know not, *ne nomine tenus*) sturres thame not up to fight for the maintenance of thair owine teyndis, in paying a grote thair of to any uther bot to the Mr. Reidar and poore of the Parioche; seing they may alswell mistak the passage of the 12 chapter of the Book of Discipline; and quhilk yit may be answerit upone the like grundis, as I have answerit the former.

Brother, I am unweill in my body. I am wearied dyteing [dictating], and thairfor will I end with this memento: That ye knaw quhat consequences useth to be drawine from any of my paperis or letteris; and thairfor that ye will use it, as I intend it, not to the manteining of Patronages, quhairfra I wisch, and fall labour be all lawfull meanis to recover the libertie of this Kirk, (quhilk is all the Covenant can import;) but onelie to the furnishing of grundis for removeing of these scrouples from people, quho, albeit ignorant and rasch, yit perhapis ar zealous, and so wald be satisfied with reassone, befor they grew so unreasonnable as onelie to trust to the reassone of armes. And quhairas, perhapis, in the venting of my thochtis, as they come in my head, I may seeme moir confused, and sometymes perhapis contradictorie, becaus I haiff not tyme to revise; I leave it to your awin judgment to cast these grundis on your awin mould, and draw out your awin consequences. Thus, haifeing intendit to be as short in the Theas [Thesis], as I was in the Hypothes, I haiff beine drawine to this lenth by my expectatione, becaus in the writting of the first syde, I hard it was a Question venting els quhair. So that, quhen ye haiff done with this my paper, ye will send it back to my self, quho fall rest ever,

Your affuired Freind and Brother,

Edinburgh, the 25 of December 1639.

[A. JOHNSTONE.]

L.

THE LETTER OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH TO
PRESBYTRIES.—EDINBURGH, 3D MARCH 1640.

[From Baillie's MS. Letters and Journals.]

REVEREND AND WELL-BELOVED IN THE LORD,

WE stand, at this tyme, in the chieft watch-tower of this Kirk, to give warning to danger, which we have formerly done, and hes been received by yow with due attention and regard. By common consent of the Estates, now here convened, and by so many of the Ministry that were present, it is concluded, that it be most necessary, that all take the cause of God to heart, throughout the whole Kingdom; renew their humiliation and repentance, with their earnest prayers to God for mercie, for help, and delyverance, in this day of trouble; and, for this end, a publick and solemn Fast be sanctified in all the Kirks, the tyme to be the 12 of Aprile, which is the second Lord's day of the next moneth; and where it may conveniently be had, (as we see not but all other affairs ought to give tyme to this exigence and extremitie,) upon the tenth day of the same Aprile, the people being drawn together from their labours, they be the more deeply affected with the sense of their need. Ordinary and perpetuall Causes of Humiliation are both too weel known to your self, from your particular acquaintance with the minds and lyfe of the people committed to your charge; such as are grofs, ignorant, strong inclination to superstition, charming, inchantments, forcerie, common blasphemie, without any kynd of reverence to the blessed name of God, profanation of the Lord's day, the sanctification thair of, in many places neglected, and in other places abridged to ane hour of customarie service, without either personall or family worship, and without inward worship in publick, which is the cause, not only of the former sins, but also of much uncleanness, intemperance, and fraudulent and violent dealing, as are to be seen everie where; these, and the lyke sins, have called long for a judgment upon this nation, but now their cry is greater, by reason of the late obligation of our Covenant with God, and the notable mercies of God toward us: We verily believe that no nation on earth is so far ingaged as we are to draw near to God, and that no Christian Kirk will be found where the multitude is farder from God; which should wound our hearts, and make us to search into the causes and remedies, as we will answer to God, and before his Son Jesus Christ.

But remitting and recommending causes of that kynd to your own pastorall knowledge, care, and zeal, we wold have yow to take notice from us of the speciall and extraordinary Causes of this intended Humiliation:—

1. The perfidious dealing of some, the perfunctorious dealing of others,

and the indifference and luke-warmness in the cause of God, notwithstanding our solemn Oath and Subscription to the contrair: When the cruell plotts and undermynding policies of some Covenanters shall be discovered unto yow, as they are already known, and confessed in part, ye will wonder at their atheism, and how Satan could so far prevail with them to the breaking of all bands, not onlie of religion, but of naturall affection which they owe to their native countrey and compatriots; this would be pressed on all, that they who stand take heed lest they be seduced, and may stand to sincerity, for the preventing of their temporall and eternall ruine.

2. We have all cause to lament and bewail the desolate condition of many Congregations, as of sheep without a shepherd, which is a matter of mourning any tyme, for the great danger of souls redeemed by the Son of God; but at this tyme of common calamity, most deplorable, when people have so great need to be directed, strengthened, and encouraged, for the just defence of their religion, liberties, lyfes, and estates.

3. Although somewhat was done in the late Assembly, for ridding us of many evils, and for settling the ancient and right order of this Kirk, yet have we small advantage thereby, since the Act of Parliament is denied for Ratifying what was concluded in the Assembly, our religion lyeth unsecured, and our hope that way disappointed; we speak the truth, against all who are making division to suggest lies to the contrarie. The Ratification of the Acts of the Assembly was refused, except with limitations and declarations, which were contrarie to their meaning, and to the mind of all the Assembly, and wold have put us in worse case than if they had not been ratified at all; one Act rescinding particular Acts standing in vigour to the contrair, (although nothing more necessary, reasonable, and usuall,) was also denied; many particulars, proponed by the Ministrie, for the good of the Kirk, were rejected; the Prelats still keep their former title and subscriptions, state and respect, and their service is in als high esteem, and als much pleaded for, be word and wryte, as ever before. Thus the table hes been covered, and meat presented, and we goe away hungrie and without help, and which should make us cry to the Lord, that of his free grace, he wold be pleased to end his own work, and for that effect, to inclyne to grant a free Parliament, and otherwayes to strengthen us to undergoe the greatest difficulties in our own defence, the cause being the same, but the righteousness thereof much more clear and manifest then before the Pacification.

4. As for our present temporall condition, and incumbent evils, the Act of Pacification was refused, except it should import the acknowledgement of our rebellion against the King, and thus, for all the peace that was made with us, are we still reputed rebels. The meanes for releiving the great charges bestowed on this great work since the beginning, they are denied. The Kingdom has neither Councill, Session, nor any common Judicatorie fitting for ministration of justice; a main cause of many injuries which good and harmless men sustain from their oppressors, and honest men suffer at the hands of their creditors. We know not whether we ought to deplore the

want of judicatories and justice, or to admire the immediate hand of God, keeping the Kingdome in some kynd of order and internall peace during this so long silence of law and justice; which the Lord may continue and preserve us from intestine division, and deliver us from the former distresses, we have great need to pray.

5. All duties, in all truth and loyaltie, have been carefullie and particularlie performed on our syde; the Articles of Pacification kept to the uttermost, and all forces dismissed; all moderation used in our propositions and proceedings in Parliament; humble and ready obedience was given to the prorogation of the Parliament by his Majestie's mere authoritie, without any precedent or practise of the lyk before; Commissioners sent to render the Reasons of our just desyres; and nothing which befeemed good subjects, or might either pacifie or satisfie, left unassayed by us; and that, by the prevalent malice of our enemies, nothing can be accepted, all favour denyed, fortifications are made, and great garrisons are kept at Berwick, and Carlile; the Castle of Edinburgh furnished with men and munition to destroy the Toun; armies, by sea and land, preparing, both from England and Ireland, to infest and invade the Kingdom on all sydes, on the west, south, and north; a terrible commission to kill, destroy, and subdue, given to the Generall Northumberland; all arts and wayes used for working division amongst ourselves; and, as we are informed, it is denyed before his Majestie, that ever the Commisionar consented in the Assemblie to the abolishing of Episcopacie; or that there was any Act of Counsell for subscriyving the Covenant.

The Lord our God, whose Kirk we are, and whose cause we maintain, shall receive great glorie, his people great comfort, and his enemies and ours great confusion, if we shall now find help and deliverance. It is tyme, therefore, to lift up our prayer to God, and to stirr up ourselves and others to humiliation of heart, and reformation of lyfe, to exhort all to take the cause to heart, with the contributing of their uttermost endeavors, and hazarding of their lyves, to follow such worthies as shall have charge over them, for their own defence, and to wait for peace and a prosperous success from God, in whom we continue,

Your affectionate Brethren in the Lord,

Edinburgh 23d March 1640.

ALEXR. HENDERSON.

M. W. COLVILL.

MASTER HARYE ROLLOCK.

LI.

BAILLIE'S OVERTURES RESPECTING THE COLLEGE OF GLASGOW.

[From the same.—These Overtures have no date, but they were probably submitted to the General Assembly at Aberdeen, in August 1640, along

with the "Report of the Visitors of the Universitie of Glasgow," &c. mentioned in the List of the unprinted Acts of Assembly for that year.]

THE Overtures of the Principall, and the Town-Ministers and Proveist, who are best acquaint with the Colledge affairs, wold first be heard ; only out of the memory of our old wishes and regrates, I propone these following Considerations for the advancement of Piety, Learning, Discipline and Good Manners, in that House.

FOR PIETY.

1. The Principal wold see that the Sunday be well spent, be the Masters and Schollars ; the Hebdomader, in his prayers and readings, from seven to half eight, wold be carefull to waken and dispose the hearts of all for the publick and private exercises of religion, which all the day are to follow ; from half eight to nyne, the Masters wold be in their class, teaching and examining the catechetick lesson ; the generall and classick Censors wold see there be no tumult or dinne as uses in going to the church, and entring in the seats ; that there be no clattering, reading, sleeping, in time of divine service ; that betwixt sermons there be reading and conference in the schools and chambers ; that vaging in the classes and before the gate be not suffered ; that about half-five the Master come to his classe, and spend an hour in hearing a compt of the tuo sermons, and applying of them, by his own pious and pithie discourse, to his schollars use ; the rest of the tyme, till fix, to be spent in the Catechise.

2. That the doctrine of Paræus, which is ordained in the Four yeirs to be gone through twice, may be the more carefully learned, it wold be made a part of the yeirly examinations ; the Dean of Facultie wold have this task and no more, to examine every one upon the Catechise, and the Magistrates on his Miscellanea, anent Poperie, Arminianism, and Lutheranism, first *axiomaticè*, and then by fyllogistick objections ; at the Laureation also some theologicall theses wold be proponed, that then the schollars might give a proof what they have profited by their Sunday's catechetick lectors.

3. The Principall, when he is at the table, wold say the grace, and when he is disposed, note upon the chapter, also say the prayer whenever he falls to be in the Hall. The Hebdomadar wold read and pray at night as in the morning ; the Masters wold see every schollar have a Bible, and Paræus, and be assured that in the houses where they board, they did dayly read Scripture, pray, sing Psalmes, and conferr on Scriptures.

FOR LEARNING.

1. In the First yeir, a shorter course wold be taken for the Greek Grammer : too much of it is learned perquire, which only might be read and referred to practise ; a pity that the first oration of Isocrates, and the first book of Homer, according to the perpetuall custome of old, should not be gotten perquire be all of any capacity. A course wold be taken that the Greek learned in the First yeir be not, as commonly it is, forgot in the yeirs following ; for this effect, some Greek exercises wold be had in all the

yeirs, as it is in forreign Univerfities. Aristotle's text wold be read in Greek; fome Greek thefes and haranges wold be made by the fchollars themfelves, which at once wold be eafie and pleafant. In the end of the Firft yeir, in the place of the Rhetorick which was of old, the little Logick fyftem, or a compend of Hiftorie may be taught. It wold be carefully provyded that boyes be not received fo raw from the Grammer Schools, as oft they are, for their own irreparable lofs, and the Univerfities difgrace, which is not able to help the faults of the firft concoction, by all the labours they can take in the fecond or third.

2. In the Second yeir it were good that the *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας* and the *Priores* were taught, as in Edinburgh and Saint Andrews; for this effect not only the notes of Categories and Porphyry might be fhorter, but alfo the Hebrew tongue might be caft to the Third or Fourth yeir, yet fo that Buxtorf's litle grammer and fome Pfalmes be ever treuly taught in fome claffe; which, with the Principall's publick lectors from the text, might enable the firft claffe, at their Laureation, to give fome proof of their knowledge in that language, either by ane Hebrew oration, or ane analyfis on fome text of Scripture. The old exercifes in the Second yeir of making thefes and analyfes on the Saturday, and declamationes once a week after May, wold be carefully preferved. It were good, as in Edinburgh, that the fchollars declame publickly, as many as could do it themfelves. Borrowed thefes, theams, and declamations wold be difgraced.

3. In the Third yeir, befyd the reft of the Logick, Ethick, and Politick, which whiles was taught, the Mathematicks wold be better learned than this long time they have been; Ramus's Arithmetick, with Schoner's Notes, Euclid's Geometrie, with Clavius's Notes, are notable; fome pleafant and ufefull examples wold be ufed, or fome practifes of the Mechanicks and Military Fortifications might be added. If the Phyficks *axiomaticè* could in this yeir be overtaken, it were very good.

4. In the Fourth yeir, befyd the compleat Phyfick, *De Anima*, and all the reft, the Metaphyfick wold be taught; alfo Aftronomie and Geographie, with Anatomie, wold not be neglected; every one wold be learned to name all the bones of a fkeleton, all the ftars of the third magnitude in our horizon, all the lynes, countreys, and chief tounes in the great mapp. If all thir could be taught from print in one uniforme courfe, as it is among the Jefuits, whether in a fhorter way in two yeir, as in France, or in a longer way of five or fix yeirs, as in England, it wold fpare much needlefs travell in dyting and wryting, and gain much good tyme both to fchollars and mafters. At the Laureation lefs meat and more exercife wold be had. A demonftration from the Mathematicks, whereupon the Anatomie wold be ufed.

FOR DISCIPLINE AND MANNERS.

1. No Mafter wold mell [medle] with his Colleague's fchollars, to caufe the public Cenfor put out their faults, neither wold any be too indulgent to their own; for hence not only difcipline is enervate, but other Mafters which

cannot condescend to the lyke breach of order, are maligned by their own and the rest of the schollars as too precise.

2. No fault wold be punished by the purse, for this is but a pain to the parent, and a way to cause the moneyed schollar take leave to break order, and the poorer, when, for fault of money they are belted, to grudge.

3. The Masters ordinarily wold keep their hours precisely from 7 to 9 dyting and examining the last lesson. It is a negligence intollerable to leave many lessons to be examined together from 11 to 12; from 1 punctually to 2. Masters after dinner wold spend no tyme in mutual discourse, for this marrs the most profitable exercise of their schollar's disputes: from half five to fix.

4. It wold be laid on the Principall, as a chief part of his office, to call for a book of all the four classes, to read through all the dictats of every Master, to try the keeping of his hours, to admonish where he finds negligence, to complain, where he finds incorrigible obstinacie, to the Facultie; which, for that and other ends, should meet at least every moneth; the evident neglects of the Regents ought to be laid to the Principall's charge, if he do not discharge himself of them once a moneth to the Facultie.

5. All the schollars wold ly within the gates; very oft many schollars learns debauchery of all kynds by coming to Colledges. At nyne hours, after the bell, every Master wold visit the chambers of their own schollars. There wold be in every chamber a sworn Cenfor; no tobacco at all would be blown within the gates, nor drink fetched to any chamber, but on the Master or Pedagog's warrant. It wold be the Principall's part to understand that all the Masters and Pedagoges were in their chamber nightly after the bell.

6. In tyme of play, it were good that, as of old, the Hebdomader went to the fields, at least that the Cenfor cry'd the catalogue there; that all after the play came tymly to their classe, that the Master might see none had been at drink. Play-days wold be ordinar, and none extraordinar on any request. Cards, dyce, tables, wold be banished, and other manly and profitable playes entertained. A field in the Colledge-yaird wold be thought on for catch-pile, butts, rivers, boules, pell-mell, byas and the lyke.

7. A course wold be taken with some Noblemen and gentlemen, who cannot had foot with their classe, that they leave not the Colledge, as oft they doe, without any letters at all. They wold be taught privatly Latine stories, the structure of a Sylogisme, Geographie, Astronomie, Anatomie, above all, the Catechise, and such other easie and pleasant studies.

8. Yow wold keep a correspondence with all the Universities of the Kingdom, and all the schools of the Diocesie; schools ar seminaries to Universities. Every Presbyterie wold take heed that everie minister, in the visitation of his families, did exhort all children to be sent to schools till they could read the Bible, and those of better ingines to be longer continued. At the visitation of churches, schools also wold be visited. In tyme of the Synod, everie Moderator wold report to the Facultie the state of all the schools of their whole Presbyterie, and carry back again the Facultie's

directions for the ordering of schools. The Commissioners of all the Universities to the Generall Assemblie wold have particular instructions to meet among themselves for advising anent the common scholastick weel. No Univerfitie wold receive from another any schollar without a testimoniall. The orders of every Univerfitie wold be communicate to all, that so there might be procured a nationall conformitie in schools, as there is in the churches. Every Master wold yeirly provyde three copies of his Dictats, to be sent to the three Universities. By this publick cognition every one might be stirred up to diligence, and every one might be helped by his neighbour's labors, till at last some of the best ingines and greatest experience, did fall on a Course of Philosophie which all might approve, and follow in all our Universities with little change.

9. The Thefes and some of the haranges, at the Laureation or other publick acts of the Professors, whether of Divinity or Physick, wold be put in print; for it were both the profite and the credit of the Univerfitie, that the pains taken therein were published. Exactions of money for banquetings, computations, for the master or porter, for laureation gloves, and such lyke needles burdens, wold be clean abolished. The Masters, colledges, and stipends wold be brought to a competency; the schollars wold change their red and light coloured gounes in grave apparel; no Regent wold be admitted ordinarily without competition and tryall in all the sciences taught in any of the classes; the publick Librarie wold at last be put in such ane order, that it wold be for service, the old promised contribution for it wold be sought in, and a new one from voluntar offerers required, that a stock might be had for its yeirly advancement.

LII.

THE BOND OF THE MARQUIS OF MONTROSE, &c.
1640—1641.

[At pages 374 and 375 of Vol. 1st, and 262 of Vol. 2d, Baillie makes particular mention of the Bond drawn up by Montrose, which was signed by himself and his friends at Cumbernauld in August 1640. (Napier's Life of Montrose, p. 136.) The following copy is from Sir James Balfour's MS. marked 33. 1. 1. No. 53. Advocates Library. A second copy is preserved in the Balcarras MSS. vol. ix. No. 96. A third, also in a contemporary hand, is in the Editor's possession. These copies differ in a number of minute particulars, but not of sufficient importance to require to be pointed out. From the same source is added the Explanatory Declaration which Montrose and his friends were constrained by the Scottish Parliament to subscribe in January 1641; and also, as connected with these papers, the General Assembly's Declaration in regard to the law-

fulness of such Bonds, which was "penned" by Henderson," the Moderator, (*supra*, p. 375.) This last is contained both in Baillie's MS., the Acts of Assembly, and in the Acts of Parliament, but the latter copy has been preferred.]

(1.) THE COPY OF THE BAND SUBSCRIBED BY MONTROSE AND THE REST OF THESE NOBLEMEN.

Whereas We Under-Subscribers, out of our duty to Religion, King, and Country, were forced to join ourselves in a Covenant for the maintenance and defence of either, and every one of other, in that behalf: Now finding how that, by the particular and indirect practicking of a few, the Country, and Cause now depending, does so much suffer, do heartily hereby Bind and oblige ourselves, out of our duty to all these respects above mentionat, but chiefly and mainly that Covenant, which we have soe solemnlie sworne and already signed, to wed and study all public ends which may tend to the safety both of Religion, Laws, and Liberties of this poor Kingdom; And as we are to make an account before that Great Judge at the last day, that we shall contribute one with another, in a unanimous and joint way, in whatsoever may concern the public or this cause, to the hazard of our lives, fortunes, and estates, neither of us doing, consulting, nor condescending in any point, without the consent and approbation of the whole, in so far as they can be conveniently had, and time may allow. And likewise we swear and protest, by the same Oath, that, in so far as may consist with the good and weal of the public, that every one of us shall join and adhere to others, and their interests, against all persons and causes whatsoever, so what shall be done to one, (with reservation foresaid,) shall be equally resented and taken as done to the whole number. In witness whereof, &c.

(*The subscribers of the principal Bond, and in this order:—*)

MARSCHELL, MONTROSE, WIGTON, KINGHORNE, HOME, ATHOLL,
MAR, PERTH, BOYD, GALLOWAY, STORMONTH, SEAFORTH,
ERSKING, KILCUBRIGHT, AMONT, DRUMMOND, JOHNSTON,
LOUR, D. CARNEGIE, MASTER OF LOUR.

(2.) THE COPY OF THE DECLARATION SUBSCRIVIT BE MONTROSE AND THE REST OF THESE NOBLEMEN THAT DID SUBSCRYVE THE BAND.

WE Undersubscryvers, conceaving that their was some indirect practicking against the publict, which induced us to enter in ane particular Band among ourselves, conceived be us not to be prejudiciall to the Covenant. And because the adversaries to the common cause did heirby build their hopes, that we thairby intendit ane divisione, which was and is contrare to our minds and intentions. And also, that the Committee thought it incumbent to them to interpose themselves in the seeming breech, alswell to stop the mouths of our common enemies, as to remove all other mistakings and apparent divisions. Therefore We, to free ourselves of all such suspicions,

and to testifie our sincere affectione to the publicte, declair, that what was done by us, in subscryving that Band, was done out of no evill or divisive intentione against our Nationall Oath; and that the Band should breed no offence to any persone, to the prejudice of the publict, we have delyvered the samen, to be disposed upon as may best tend to the publict behove; and that no jealousies, mistakinges, or heart-burnings, be entertained by us heir-after, but that all and every one of us, joynd in the Nationall Covenant, may, according as we are obliged, be knit together as ane man, to the maintenance of Religione, King, and Country, shall eshew all occasions which may give cause of offence to the publict. Lykeas We are not accessorie to any other Bandes besids this, according as We have alreadie declaired.

Sub^t at Ed^r, 28 of Ja^{ry} 1641.

(The subscrivers of this Declaratione are these :)

MAR, MONTROSE, WIGTON, KINGHORNE, HOME, GALLOWAY, SEAFORTH,
ERSKING, KILCUBRIGHT, DRUMMOND, JONSTOUNE, LOUR.

(3.) DECLARATIONE OF THE ASSEMBLIE ANENT THE BAND SUBSCRYVIT BE
SUM NOBLEMEN.

AT Edinburgh, 9 Aug. 1641, the quhilk day Mr. Andro Cant and Mr. John Strang, commissiounars from the Generall Assemblie, compeirit judicillie in Parliament in presence of the Estates therein conveyned, and producit the Act and Declaratione underwritten, quhairof the tennor followis :

THE Assemblie, taking to their consideration the Questiou proposed unto them concerning a Band, the coppie whereof was presented befor them from the Parliament, doeth find and Declair, that Bands of this and the lyke nature may not lawfullie be maid. By whiche declaratione the Assemblie doeth not intend to bring anie censure, for what is past and by the wisdom and cair of the Committie of the Parliament is takin away, upoun anie persoun, who being required by the Moderator and the Clerk, shall under his hand declair befor them, that, as the Assemblie doeth find that the Subscryveris ar not astricted by their Oath to the tennor of said Band, so he findeth himselff not to be astricted by his oath to the tennor thereof; bot the intention of the Assemblie is meerlie to prevent the lyk in tyme cuming.

Quhilk Declaratione abouementionat, the said Mr. Andro Cant & Mr. John Strang, Commissiounars sent be the Generall Assemblie, producit from the Generall Assemblie, as the judgement of the Assemblie anent Bands, aggrieing in nature to the coppie of the Band represented to the Assemblie be the Parliament.

LIII.

GENERAL SIR A. LESLEY TO THE COMMITTEE OF
PARLIAMENT.—2D SEPTEMBER 1640.

[From a transcript by Sir James Balfour; but his peculiar orthography has not been retained. Baillie (vol. i. p. 258,) evidently refers to this letter when he says, "They have written to the Committee of Estates for a recrew." It does not necessarily follow that this letter was written by the General himself; but there is no good ground to accuse him, as often has been done, of inability either to read or write.]

MY LORDS,

I WILL pafse over in filence what hath paffed in our march hitherto, be-
cause of the Committee's letters from this, that have maid full mentioune
thairof. God mixes our proceidings with guid, fucces againft our enemies,
and evill cariage of our awine fouldiours, that both our feares and our hopes
ar equall. It is the fingular bleffing of God that heth putt Newcaftell in our
hands, where there is fo great ftore of cornes aboue ane ordinarie meafure,
armes for many thoufands. So that it is our beft to halt heir for tyme un-
till we give ordor for what forces may be expected from yow, and what we
are to look for before our hands from thefe our fupposed freindis. It will
not be unknowin to your Lordships how neceffar it is for me to labour to
ftrenthen this armie, upon the weifair whereof fo much dependis, and how
it belongeth to your Lordships to confider aright what ftrong garifones muft
be left in Newcaftell when we march forduart, and what a weakening that
will be to the armie; togedder with a multitude of runawayes who abandon
the armie, and fallis under the handis of the countrie pepill, who cuttis them
of, as I am certanlie perfwadit. In regaird of theis premeffis, and the repu-
tatione that will follow to our prefent armie by ane recrew that fall come
from thence, your Lordships will be diligent, according to the tennor of the
Committee's letters from this, to fend the Earll of Merfchell, with his rege-
ment and horfmen, togedder with Amiffeildis companies that ar fent, to be
upone the Borderis, with whom yowe may fend all the runawayes that may
be apprehendit or any uther men who will come, although they want armes,
becaus there ar ftore heir of armes in the armie. As for Monroe I doubt not
bot he is commandit before this to come to the Border, where he may ftay
and attend what imployment fall be put in his handis, when he comes there.
In the meane tyme Merfchell and all the forces that can be gottin there be-
fide, moft be fent with all diligence to Newcaftell, where they will find ftore
of all provifionne before them, fo that they neid not to emptie the countrie of
any more victuall, than that will ferve them for their awin march. Iff I
have omittit any other perticular that fould not be forgottin, I know it is
containet in the Committee's letters, and what is wanting in both, your
Wifdomes will fupply, according to the eftate of effaires as they do reveill.

So referving any forder to the nixt occafioune, and wifcheing Godis gud bliffing upon us all who ar weak instrumentis in this greatt work.

I reft,

Yowr moft affectionat friend and fervant,

(*sic sub.*)

A. LESLIE.

From our leagor at Gatsfyd hill, above Newcaftell, 2d of September 1640.

[Indorfed] Generall Leslie's letter to the Committee of Parliament at Edinburghe from Newcaftle, 2d Sept. 1640.

LIV.

THE EARL OF ARGYLE TO JAMES DOUGLAS OF STANIPETH.

[Orig.—in the Editor's poffeffion.—The address of the Letter is not preferved, but it is indorfed, in an old hand. "Arguyl's letter to Stanipeth." It was apparently a circular letter, addreffed to various other perfons. A tranfcript of it, with fome flicht variations, occurs among Sir James Balfour's MSS. A. 2. 50, No. 24, indorfed, "E. of Argyle's letter to the Wolunteirs."]

MOST AFFECTIONAT FREIND,

As never ony pure natioun hes done and venturit more for thair religioun and liberties with greater encouragment for affurance of fucces from Godis dealing with us then this Kingdome, fo it is not now to be doubtit that ony gentilman of honour will be wanting to croun his endeavour by puting to his hand in the conclufioun of it, quhidder by a fair treattie (quhilk is to be wifhit), or by armes (gif neceffitie vrge us to it). And for this effect as thes of the Committee heir hes gevin me charge to inveit all gentilmen volun-teiris quho defyres not thair courage and affection to this caus to be doubtit; thairfoir as on of that number, I mak bold to intreat yow to let me haiff your company, and with Godis affiftance we may be verrie helpfull to our freindis; and I fall fhair with yow in euerie condition it fall pleife God to bring ws in. The particular ordouris for the time and place of randi-vous is to be fchawin by your Committie; ye ar to be frie of all toylfum dewties, and to haiff frie quarteris for meat and ludging eftir the randiuous. Thus I expect your prefens at our randivous, as I fall be fpecialie tyed to remane,

Your affectioned freind,

Edr. 19th Sepr. 1640.

ARGYLL.

I intreat yow to inveit and incourage all thes whom ye haiff intres and acquaintance [with] to cum furth.

LV.

LETTERS FROM ALEXANDER BALFOUR TO HIS BROTHER
SIR JAMES BALFOUR OF DENMYLNE.

DECEMBER 1640.

[From Balfour's MSS., Advocates Library, A. 2. 50, Nos. 49 and 51.—

The first letter shews, what indeed is evident enough from Baillie's own words, that he was accustomed to address the same letter of intelligence to different persons. Thus, of his letter to the Presbytery of Irvine, 12th Dec. 1640, (vol. i. p. 283–288,) he sent nearly a verbatim copy to Mr. David Dickson, who was then at Newcastle with the Scottish army; and of this letter Balfour sent a copy to his brother the Lord Lyon, at Edinburgh, which is still preserved in the above volume; and another transcript of the same letter occurs in a volume marked "Historical Miscellanies," W. 3. 12:—]

RICHT HONOR^{LL}, AND MY DIREST BROTHER,

I have fent yow within the packet the surest newes of all, the copie of Mr. Robert Baylie's Letter to Mr. David Dik, wherein ye may haue varietie and ful information of what hes past. The Parliament goes flowlie on but furlie. It is his Majesties youngest daughter is dead; the second is spoken for in mariage to the Prince of Orange sonne. The 24 of this instant, John Malcolme, generall adjutant quarter-master, came from Court to Newcastle, who shawes us that the fourt article concerning Incendiaries is concludit simpliciter without limetation. Canterb. wes comitted to the Blak-rodd befor his way coming, and, he thinkes, be now is fent to the Towar. The Lord Keper fall goe that same way. Portugall has revolted from Spain, and chossen the nereft of blood for their king. 20 thousand pund sterling came for our armie yesternight; our brother Michall fall be lieutenant within this tuo dayes; it is alredie done, but the ceremonie is not as yet, till Elcho be at leifur. Alex. Cuningame, merchant of Craill, who wes imprisoned longe for refusing the oath, is relefed & coming home. I rest with the wishes of God's blissing to your selfe and bedfellow. I pray yow remember my ferwife to hir. Because of tyme I could not wreat to Balvard, my L. Lundores. So I fall remaine your lowingest Brother to serue yow,

ALEX. BALFOUR.

Yow may haue within the packet "Gramercie good Scott."

[Newcastle, December 1640.]

For his much honored brother my Lord Lyon King
of Armes, and of Kennard, Kny^t. These.

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY DEREST BROTHER,

IN my last packet, sent with Balfarge, ye had what then occurred ; since, we heir that the Lord Keper Finche is fled, after he hard that Canterbury was committed to the Touar : thear is sex moe of the Bishops imprisoned, and some sex of the Judges. The Prince Palatin is sent for be the Parliament, and order is giuen to bring with all heast from Martin Trumpe the double of the Spanish commiffion giuen to the fleit, whilk he preferued in that conflick. Some courfe is a taken that thear may be on[e] Confession of Faith, on[e] Directione for worship, on[e] Catechisme, on[e] forme of Government for God's house in boith Kingdomes : and ther is great houns of it ; God Almichtie funder it, for our peace fall ne'ar be sure till then. The Tretie goes on floulie but furlie, as the Parliament does. We ar in good health, and prayes for yours. Present my seruise to your bedfellow, my Lady Lindoris, Balward, Lathrisk, and our sifter. The Laird of Forther, shew him, his uncle the Mester Falconer is dead. I rest

Newcastle the
29th of Dec. [1640.]

Your most affectionat Brother to serue yow,

ALEX. BALFOUR.

For my much honored brother, Sir James Balfour of Kynnard,
Knight, Lyon King of Armes. These.

LVI.

JOHN LORD MAITLAND TO LORD BALMERINOC.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio LXVI, No. 88.—It has no address, but according to a conjecture of Lord Hailes, (who omits the first part of the letter,) it was probably as above. By “MacCalen,” the Earl of Argyle is to be understood.]

MY NOBLE LORD,

ALTHOUGHT I will not write with any freedom by this bearer, yet becaus I was abroad when Arthur Erskine was sent away, with such a fray to stop MacCalen for some dayes, I thocht I could not but let you know, that the violence of that anger, I hope, is past, which his Majestie was in about that Paper which was given in the 24th February ; and I believ the Paper which was given in yesterday to clear our intentions, will stop all the violent courfes was spoke of, either by proclamations, or otherwise. In the mean time, I beleev that Paper was not altogether fruitles, for the City was content to lend 160,000 libs. to the Parliament yesterday, which they refused before. This will, I hope, doe good to our army, when we get our proportion of it. The Prince Elector is landed, and beis heir to day. This day St. George's Feast is magnifickly kept ; and yesterday Canterbury was put in the

Tower. Ther will ane expres goe within a day or two; so till then yee shall hear no more from,

Your Lordship's nearest Friend and Servant,

London, the 2 of March 1641.

Jo: MAITLAND.

LVII.

THE INVENTAR OF CANTERBURIE PAPERS, SUBSCRYVED BE ADAM BLAIR.—17TH JUNE 1641.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, LXVI. No. 39.—The following Inventory contains the List of Papers referred to in the Charge of the Scottish Commissioners against Archbishop Laud, attested by Adam Blair, Clerk to the Commission. It appears, however, that these Papers were not made use of in the Process. The above title is the indorsation by Johnstone of Warriston. Of these Papers and Letters, several have been preserved, and are included in the Appendix of the present work.—Adam Blair, who had been employed as Clerk to the Lords and other Commissioners for the Treaty, presented a petition to the Parliament of Scotland “to take tryal of his carriage in the said employment,” (Acts of Parl. vol. 5, pp. 414, 417,) and an Act of exoneration and approbation in his favour was passed, 25th Sept. 1641.]

I PRODUCE fourteen Letters of the Bishop of Canterburie's to the Bishope of Dumblane :

Item, four Letters from the B. of Canterbury to the B. of Rofs.

Item, one Letter from Canterbury to the Arch B. of S^t Andrewes.

Item, one Letter from the B. of London to Rofs.

Item, one Letter from my Lord Stirling to the B. of Rofs.

Item, two feveral papers of Memores and Instructions from S^t Andrewes, be Rofs to Canterbury.

Item, one writ copy of the Canons, interlyned with the English hand.

Item, ane wther copy, writtin by S^t Andrewes, and subscribed by our Prelats, having one page prefixed, injoyning that ode Canon hide behind the courteen; and another page subjoynd anent the Service-Book.

Item, ane troughe of New Corrections of that Second Book.

Item, the Scottish printed Canons themselves.

Item, two English Service-Books all interlyned with one Scotts Service-Book.

Item, the Acts of the Affemblie.

Item, the Book of the English Canons.

Item, their Book of Subsidies.

Item, the Prayer read in the Kirks against us.

Item, Alex^r Cunynghame's Depositione.

Item, ane copy of the Printer's Examinatione.

Item, our Paper, gevin in the 14 of December.

[Item,] Mr. Ewen & Mr. Young's Depositiones before my Lord Whar-toun.

Item, the printed Charge against Canterburrie, with the Probation written vpon the margine therof.

Item, fyve other Letters from Canterburrie to Rofs, which are only wfed to prove the hand-write.

Item, one Letter from Rapho to Keir. Tuo Letters from the King to the Counfell and Session. Tuo copies of Letters from S^t Andrews and Keir to the King and Canterburrie.

17 Januarij 1641.

Receaved be me, from Mr. Archebald Jonstoune, the whole Letters and Papers conteined in this Inventar, wherof I have receaved ane double, and obleiges me to redeliver the fame.

AD. BLAIR.

[On the same paper is the scroll of some Interrogatories intended apparently to be put to Robert Young, the King's Printer, respecting the Book of Common Prayer, 1637. The names here left blank, are so in the original; and by "Mr. Ewen" is meant Evan Tyler, printer and bookseller in Edinburgh.]

What book was the principall scroll whair of he printed?

What warrand had he for printing the fame?

Who gaive him the warrand and the cobby?

Whos hand-writ was the warrand?

Whos hand-writ was the alterationes of the first book?

Whos hand is the alterationes of the tuo books producit?

Whither the bookis producit be the just coppie of the principall book?

Whom to was that principall delyvered?

Giff these tuo be not the bookis taikine from Mr. Ewen in Ed^r?

What Mr. Canterbury Secretary said to Mr. Young anent our getting Canterburrie's Letters?

What Letters ar of Mr. hand-writ, or of what wther Secretaris?

What Canterbury said to Mr. Young about prepairing the Letters, and spairing of his awine woyage.

What vy^r thing he knowis anent the progres of that buffines?

What alterationes or paperis refaued he from Canterbury, or Mr. or any wther in his name, for to send down to his man Mr. Ewen attending the pres at Ed^r?

Whither Mr. Ewen printed of thir tuo bookis, or of the principall?

LVIII.

SUPPLICATION TO THE KING, FROM THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY; AND THE KING'S ANSWER.

[Wodrow MSS., Folio LXV. No. 67.—The date of this Supplication was probably December 1641; and had reference to the following passage in the King's letter to the Assembly which met in July that year, at St. Andrews, viz. "And that We will take into Our Royall consideration, by what meanes the Churches belonging to Our presentation, when any of them shall happen to vaik, may be best provided with well qualified Preachers," &c.]

UNTO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE,
THE HUMBLE SUPPLICATIOUN OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE
GENERALL ASSEMBLY.

HUMBLIE SHEWING,

WHEREAS your sacred Majestie wes graciouſlie pleaſed to declair, in the Inſtructiones ſent downe with the Erle of Dumfermling and Lord Lowdown to the Parliament, your Majesties pious and royall [purpoſe]s, for to ſet downe ane ſolid courſe, by the advyſe of the Kirk, whereby theſe Kirkes, which are at your Majesties preſentatioun, might, from tyme to tyme, be filled with the moſt honeſt and able men; and to renew the ſamen declaratioun in your Majesties pious letter to the late Generall Affembly, who recommended the ſame to us their Commiſſioners; and ſeing the qualificatioun of the perſones fitteſt for theſe places, now in your Majesties neceſſitat abſence from this your native Kingdome, cannot be ſo weill knowne to your Majestie, Therefore, be way of our moſt humble advyſe, without preſuming to preſcryve to your Royall wiſdome, we doe repreſent this Overture to your Majesties ſerious conſideratioun, that upon your Majesties directioun, the ſeverall Preſbytries of this Kirk might collect the liſtis of ſuch qualified expectantis, whom, in thair owne conſcience, they wold firſt provyd to any Kirk at thair owne diſpoſitione, and repreſent them to the Synodis, and the Synodis to elect out of all theſe liſtis ane number [a blank in the MS.] of thoſe whom they, on certane knowledge, judge moſt fit for the Miniſtrie, and worthy the firſt proviſioun; with power to the Synodis to adde to or alter theſe Rolls gevine in by the Preſbyteries, and then repreſent the ſame to the nixt Generall Affembly, who might of new reſyne theſe liſtis of the Synodis, and adde to or alter the ſamen as they think moſt expedient. That this Roll of the Generall Affembly being reported to every Preſbitrie, when any Kirk at your Majesties donatioun ſhall vaik, the Preſbitrie, with conſent of the haill, at the leaſt, of the moſt and beſt pairt of the Congregatioun, may mak ane lite of ſex

out of that roll of the Generall Affemblie, and fend them, with the reafson thereof, to the procurators and agent for the Kirk; that they, haveing ad-dreffed the famen to thefe who fall now be defigned by your Majeftie for re-ceaveing thereof, and representing the famen to your Majeftie, one of that leit might be prefented by your Majeftie to that vacand Kirk, and your Majefties gracious anfwer returned in the famen way.

And feing there is fo evident a neceffitie of an conftant and certane way of convoyance of the humble defyres of the Kirk to your Sacred Majeftie, anent thefe prefentatiouns and other greivances and affaires of the Kirk, emergent from tyme to tyme, and of the returne of your gracious Majefties directiouns and anfueris to the Kirk thair Synodis and Prefbiteries, as wes acknow-ledged and urged by the Generall Affemblie of Edinburgh, 1639, in pre-fence of your Majefties Commiffioner, and as it is practifed by other Re-formed Kirkis, in the lyk caice of Royall abfence, we doe therefore, in all humilitie, repreſent to your Majefties royall confideratioun, That your Ma-jeftie might be graciouslie pleaſed to appoint ſome of truſt, that attendis your Royall perfone abroad, for to receive from the Procurator and agentis of the Kirk, theſe leits of the Prefbiteries, with any uther informatioun of the greivances and defyres of the Synodis or Prefbiteries, and to returne to thame in the famen way your Majefties gracious pleaſour thereanent, And feing, WILLIAM MURRAY, of whoſe faithfull ſervice your Majeſtie heſ had long prooſe, and of whoſe abilities and good affectioun we haif lairge ex-perience at this tyme in the publiſt affaires of the Kirk, hath the honor to attend your Royall perfone in your Bedchamber, and thaireby continowall occaſioun of giveing informatioun, and receiveing direction from your Royall Majeſtie, in the affaires of the Kirk: Therefoire we doe, with all ernestneſs and humilitie, intreat that your Majeſtie may be pleaſed to lay upon him the chaarge of the agenting of the affaires of the Kirk about your Majeſtie; Lykas we, for our pairt, doe heartely recommend him to your Majeſtie for that effect, being confident that the Generall Affemblie ſhall approve this our recommendatioun, and prove thankfull to your Majeſtie for this and all others your Majeſtie's Royall favouris to the Kirk of Scotland.

And becaus the commone effaires of the Kirk, ſuch as ar the directing of Commiſſions of Kirk for Viſitatioun of the Iſles and Highlands, for planting Religion there, which will alſo bring them to civility, and to the obedience of your Majeſtie and the lawes of the country; the ſupporting the Widowes and orphanes of poore deceaſed Miniſters; the ſending of Commiſſioners from the Generall Affemblie to your Majeſtie upon fundrie neceſſar emergent occaſions of the Kirk; the chaarges which he, who agents the effaires of the Kirk about your Majeſtie, will be put unto for the good of the Kirk; becaus all theſe, and many uthers, generall effaires and neceſſities of the Kirk, will requyre yeirly chaarges; We doe there-foire, in this as in uther matters, humblie intreat that your Majeſtie, from your Royall bountie and wiſdome, of which we have of large experience, may be pleaſed to ſeperat ſome competent means for theſe ſo neceſſarie effaires which tend to the good of the whole Kirk, which, by the direc-

tion of the Generall Affemblie, may be employed and distributed as the necessitie of the Kirk shall requyre.

HIS MAJESTY'S ANSWER.

CHARLES R.

WE haveing taken to our serious consideration the petition within written, presented unto us be the Commissioners of the Generall Affemblie at Edinburgh, and haveing seriously pondered the Overturs proponed for the plantation of the Churches at our Presentation, are graciously pleased to declare, That We approve the same, and promise hereafter only for to present to those Churches of our patronage one out of the leits of sex, which shall be sent up to us from the Presbyterie within the which the vacant Church lyeth. Likewise, We having had long proof of the faithfulness of WILLIAM MURRAY, who attends us in our Bed-chamber, do hereby declare that We most willingly accept of their recommendation of him for his receiving of these leits, and agenting the other affaires of the Church, directed to him from the Presbyteries and Officers of the Church. And further, We haveing considered the third part of the petition, for our separating some competent means to supplye the yearly charges of the generall necessities of the Church therein expressed, We are graciously pleased, out of our Royall bounty, to declare hereby our resolution for to separate yearly, out of our rentis and renewis, the summe of Fyve hundred pounds sterling, to be distributed and employed be the yearly Generall Assemblies upon these pious and necessary uses: And as we shall be thinking upon the particular places and wayes of allocating the same, for the more sure and easy payment thereof out of our rentis; So, in the meantime, we require, for the further assurance and declaration of this our pious and bountifull intention to that Church, that this our Answer, with the Petition, be registrat in the books of the Commissioners from the Generall Affemblie at Edinburgh.

Whythall, the 3 of January 1642.

LIX.

REASONS FOR APPOINTING RULING ELDERS AS
COMMISSIONERS TO THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES
AT WESTMINSTER. BY MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

NOVEMBER 1642.

[From Baillie's Manuscript.—This author states (*supra* p. 55,) that his Motion in November 1642, for the appointment of Elders to attend the Westminster Assembly, was not seconded; but having drawn up and communicated these Reasons to Argyle and Warriston, that it was next day carried without opposition.]

UPON supposition, that the desyre of the English Parliament, of sending some Ministers to their Assembly as Commissioners from our Generall Assembly, to assist them in setting such a Government in their Church, such a Confession of Faith, Catechisme, and Directorie of Worship, as our Generall Assembly petitioned them for ; consider if it be not necessar to send up with Ministers some Ruling Elders, for these Reasons :

1. It seemes to have been the constant practise of our Church, since our late Reformation, and that according to many constitutions of Assemblies, to join in all Commissions Ecclesiastick some Ruling Elders with Ministers.

2. If in this verie solemne Commission from our Generall Assembly to a forraine natione, and that to ane Ecclesiastick Assembly convocat by Parliament to settle the Doctrine, and Government, and Discipline of two whole Kingdomes, for all tyme to come, we should neglect to send any Elders at all, by this, our practise, we should teach the English, that in Ecclesiastick matters of greatest concernment, Ruling Elders may be neglected ; yea we should confirme that commoune error of too many of the English, that Church affaires should be handled be Divines alone.

3. The want of Ruling Elders would deprive the Ministers to be employed of that counsell and credit which they will find altogether necessar for them.

4. The excluding of Ruling Elders from a Commission of this nature, may call in question the validity of the Commission ; may hazard the approbation of it by the next Generall Assembly ; may give just offence to all Ruling Elders ; may make all the actions of these Ministers more unpleasant, and of lesse authoritie with the bodie of any natione.

5. In joyning of Ruling Elders, there appears no inconvenient but one, that Divines alone, and no Ruling Elders, are exprest in the Parliament of England's declaratione to us : To this fundry things may be answered.

Were it not therfore convenient, that before any appoyntment of Ministers, it should be weel considered, at leist in a private meiting of some Ministers and some Ruling Elders, what were best to be done in this matter ?

LX.

THE JUST DOUBLE OF THE KING'S LETTER TO THE TOWNE OF GLASGOW.—APRIL 1643.

[From Baillie's Manuscript.]

TRUSTIE and well beloved We greet yow well. Since nothing on earth can be more deare to us then the preservation of the affection of our people, and amongst them none more than of these of our Native Kingdome ; which as the long and uninterrupted government of us and our predeceffors over them, doth give us just reason in a more near and speciall manner to chal-

lenge from them, so may they justlie expect a particular tenderneffe from us in every thing which may contribute to their happineffe; bot knowing what industrie is used (by scattering seditious pamphlets, and employing private agents and instruments, to give bad impressions of us and our proceedings, and under pretence of a danger to Religion and Government) to corrupt their fidelities and affections, and to engage them in an unjust quarrell against us their King; We cannot therefore bot endeavour to remove these jealousies and secure their fears, from all possibilitie of any hazard to either of these from us: We have therefore thought fitt to require yow to call together your fellow-burgeffes, and all such others as have any dependance upon yow, and in our name to shew them our willingness to give all the assurances they can desire, or we possiblie grant, (if more can be given then allreadie is,) in preserving inviolablie all these graces and favours which We have of late granted to that our Kingdome; and that We doe faithfullie promise never to goe to the contrare of any thing there established, either in the Ecclesiasticall or Civill government, bot that We will inviolablie keep the same according to the Laws of that our Kingdome; and We do with God so to bleffe our proceedings and posteritie, as We doe reallie make good and performe this promise. We hope this will give so full satisfiacion to all that shall heare of this our solemne protestation, that no such persons as studie division, or go about to weaken the confidence betwixt us and our people, and justlie deserve the name and punishment of Incendiaries, shall be [screened] from the hand of justice; and all such others as shall endeavour peace and unitie, and obedience to us and our laws, may expect that protection and encrease of favours from us which their fidelitie deserves. So expecting your care heirof, We bid you heartilie Farewell.

From Our Court at Oxford, Aprile 21st 1643.

THE EARL OF LANERICK, TO THE MAGISTRATES OF GLASGOW.

ASSURED FRIENDS,

HIS Majestie was pleased to command me to convoy unto yow this inclosed Letter from him, wherein he fullie expresth his gracious resolution of preserving inviolablie what he hath established amongst us in Church and State. I will never so much injure your affections to his Majestie's service, as to believe you, or any in your Toune, will ever question the truth of these his Majestie's gracious expressions toward yow; bot that yow will receive them with such thankfullness as may encourage him to continue and encrease his favour toward yow, wherein none shall think themselves happier to be ane instrument, than

Your Servant and Fellow-Burgeffe,

Hammiltone, 24th May 1643.

LANERICK.

LXI.

MR. SAMUEL RUTHERFURD TO MR. THOMAS WYLIE.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. 4to XXIX., No. 21.]

REVERENT AND DEAR BROTHER,

I nether can nor dar writt to yow anent the buffienes, in respect it is my cafe mor as youres, and yee writt to me that whiche I fould writt to yow. If grace pay not our debtes and band furtie for ws, I see not how I fall mak a reckoneing for on[e] foull, farre les for multitudes; only it is Godes will that we putt grace to the outmost, and ingadge Chrif for his own work: if he refuse charges to his own factores the lost bankrupter will redound to him; bot he may not be an lofer, nor can his glorie suffer. Bot I most entreit yow for the helpe of your prayeres, as yow will doo any thing out of Heavin for me, and poffible to yow. I am now called for to England: the governament of [the] Lordes Houfe in England and Ireland is to be handleed. My heart beareth me witnes, and the Lord whoe is greater knoweth, my faith was never prouder then to be a comone roughe contrey barrowman in Anwoth; and that I could not look at the honor of beeing an meaffon to lay the foundationes for many generationes, and to build the waft places of Zion in an other kingdome, or to have an hand or finger in that carved work in the cedar and almughe trees in that new Temple. I defyr bot to len an fchoott, and to cry Grace, Grace upon the building. I hope yee will helpe my weaknes in this, and seek helpe to me from otheres, as if I had nameed them, and interceed for the favour of my Fatheres feaes, windes, and tydes, and for the victorie of stronge and prevailing trueth. Grace be with yow,

Yours in Chrif,

S. Andrewes, the 20th of Oct^r 1643.

SAMUEL RUTHERFURD.

For my reverent and dear Brother Mr. Thomas Wyllie,

Minifter at Borge.

LXII.

LETTER FROM THE SCOTISH COMMISSIONERS AT LONDON.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio XXV., No. 18.—Baillie mentions this letter, *supra* p. 131: “Also we wrote (he says) a common letter to the Commission of our Church desyring a letter from them to us for more speed, &c.”]

REVEREND AND LOVING BROTHER,

THE flow progresse of Reformation here is apprehended both by vs, and

others who would advance this work with vs, as that which may prove of very dangerous consequence; neither doth it proceed only from negligence or slacknes, that the work is so much retarded, but from the deliberat endeavours of some who think to gaine the acceffion of much strength to themselves in this unsettled condition of affaires. But for vs, wee are like to gaine nothing, but to lose much by delays; for helping whereof, wee have thought fitt to communicat our thoughts to yow, that yow may, from your owne motion, procure an earnest Letter from the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly to vs, and that to this purpose following, That though yow rest confident of our faithfulness in prosecuting the work wee were sent for, and have also matter of blessing God for the hopefull beginnings of Reformation here, especially since the swearing and subscribing of the Covenant by the Honourable Houses of the Parliament, the Assembly of Divines, and Cittie of London; yet yow cannot conceale your great griefe that the work moveth so slowly; and that for quickning our proceedings, yow thought fitt to make knowne vnto vs, your thoughts and feares of great inconveniences and sad effects which may follow vpon the losse, at least the small improvement, of so much pretious time, that either the common enemy may grow stronger, or the intestine rupture and disease more incurable before the remedy be prepared, that errors may spread and sects multiply, the authors and spreaders of the same being carefull to fish in troubled watters; That after so much tyme yow did expect to heare from vs of a greater progresse and matureing of business; That yow wonder yow heare of nothing done concerning a Directory of Worship, it being so necessary for both Kingdomes, and the Act of the last Generall Assembly, pressing yow and vs to the speedy preparation of a Directory for the vse of the Church of Scotland; That yow desire vs to represent these your thoughts to the Committee of the Lords and Commons with whom wee treat, and to the Reverend Assembly, hoping that they and we wil be carefull to redeeme time, and to avoide delayes, as great prejudices to these common ends proposed in the Solemne League and Covenant. To this, or the like purpose, yow will frame the Letter, so that it may be showne to them. We shall expect it, with all convenient diligence, from the first meeting of the Commissioners. And soe we rest,

London, the second
of January 1644.

Your affectionat Brethren,

JO. MAITLAND.

ALEX^R. HENDERSON.

SAMWEL RUTHERFURD.

R. BAILLIE.

GEO. GILLESPIE.

If yow be at the Armie yow
may write home, and take such course
as that the Commissioners may meet and
write to the purpose aboue mentioned.

To our Reverend and Loving Brother Mr. Robert Douglas,
Minister at Edinburgh, these.

LXIII.

MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON TO MR. ROBERT DOUGLAS.

[Orig—Wodrow MSS. Folio, XXV. Nos. 13, 16, 17, 24.—The first letter has no signature or date, but is in Henderson's hand, and was written between the 1st and 8th October 1643; and the second is considerably injured.]

No. I.

SIR,—I wryte to you before of the proceedings of your Commiffioners heere. Now the Covenant is taken by the Houfe of Commouns, and the Affembly, with whom your Commiffioners, againft their formar refolution, were, by their friends and for the good of the caufe, perfuaded to joyne. The Houfe of the Lords is to take it fhortly. And it hath beine taken the laft Lord's day by a great pairt of the City in their feuerall parifhes. If the Scottifh army were heere, the Couenant wold go through the more eafily. Althogh diligence hath beene ufed for moneyes, yet the multitude of their great burthens, and a fecret malignant pairty, do fo retarde the bufines, that it is to be feired the money come not in fuch proportion nor fo timeoufly as is there expected. But if the army were marched, it is thoght that there will be abundance of moneyes. In this cafe, I confefse, there is great neid of wifedome; which I hope God will give to thofe there who loue the truth, which by all appeirance will be borne doune heere firft, and nixt there, if help come not from thence. I know that both your Commiffioners heere and the Affembly expect fome more Minifters to be fent, which wold be done with diligence. If the Army come, there will be a neceffity of Commiffioners from the State, of which ye will heare with Mr. Hatcher. Wifhing you all happines, I am your oune Freind.

I wnderftand that your Commiffioners have writen a commoun letter to the Lord Warieftoune; becaufe it containeth civile bufines, from that you will learne more then is heere expreffed.

For Mr. Robert Douglas, minifter at Edin^{bgh}. Thefe.

No. II.

THERE be a great many godly, learned, and [wife] men in this Affembly, and well affected to [the] Gouernment of the Reformed Churches. There is no danger from the Affembly for [Prela]cy, all the danger is from the other fyde, which gathereth ftrenth by delayes, both in the Parl^t and the miferably diftracted City.

A committee of both Houfes and of the Affembly is appointed to meit

with your Commiffioners, but have done nothing, becaufe thofe of the Houfes cannot attend the dyets. In the meane time, the Affembly (where your Commifs. ar fometimes præfent) is exercifed in difputes and velitations about the Officers of the Church. Thofe of the Houfes who ar well affected and honeft ar ouerpreffed with multitude and weight of affaires; others have an wnderhand working to impede them and the publict good.

They are brocht low, and the danger is palpable. Sir W^m. Waller is brocht low. The Englifh forces in pairt ar landed at Bristoll, and moe ar expected. The French, alfo, are certanely looked for, (Some words erased.) There is no vifible meane wnder heaven for their delyuerance and your fafety, but—1. That your army march with fpeed. . . . (Some words erased.) And I wifh that they be humbled in themfelues, that they may trust in God, and yet that they come with all their ftrenth. The laft time, [our gr]eat men fent out their pooreft feruants, now I wifh they may fend their fones, and the ftroongeft. Never was there a more honorable and neceffary expedition; if we fuccumbe, the Reformed Religion and the people of God are for the prefent wndone, and Poperie will prevail. 2. That there be a godly, honeft, wife, and active Committee fent hither; which is much defired by the Englifh, who are perplexed and wearied, and know not what to doe, and will be content to be directed by them in all affaires. 3. That our brethren of the Minifterie be hafted hither, for we are too few both in realitie and in fhew for fo great a work. I doubt not but my Lord Chancellor, Argyle, &c. will warne them to be wife, and to be war of men. If it fhall pleafe the Lord to bring our Army into England, to fend a pertinent commiffion hither, and fome to joyne with the Commiffioners of the Kirk, there is hope of a bleffing from heaven; And all prouing cordiall and faithfull, they may haue as great power in managing of maters heere as at home; for againe I fay all are wearied heere, and perplexed, and ar earneftly defireous of help.

I can not exprefle my conceptions of affaires as I wold, yet what I fay [is not] from any infligation without, but from my certane knowledge and inward fenfe, and will be found to be fure and reall. The Lord, [I] know, hath called Scotland to this work, and [he will] doe it by them; he gave the

[Other six lines wanting, except a few words at the beginning of each line.]

London, Novemb. 3, 1643.

No. III.

REVEREND AND LOVING BROTHER,

We hope before this time Mr. Chifley hath fully acquainted you with all our affaires and defires. Some particular paffages haue fallen out fuccefffully of late for the Parliament, which is from [a] fpeciall providence to wphold their fainting fpirits till our Army come, which is fo earneftly defired and fo much longed for. The Affembly is proceed-

ing [with the] Officers of the Church, and is now debaiting whither [the] *diaconissa* be a fyft officer and perpetuall in [the chur]ch.

We ar informed that my Lord M[ait]land is to be recalled, which troubleth ws exceidingly, because his Lo^s. præfence and paines heere haue beine more wfefull then any of ws could at the first haue conceaued; and if we fhall want his Lo. heirafter, not onely fhall our respect, which we haue neid of in this place, be diminifhed, but we fhall not know how or by what meanes to deale with the Houfes of Parl., wpon which the Affembly doth altogether depend in their order of proceeding, and in taking particulars to their confideration. My Lord is well acquainted with the cheifeft members of both Houfes, hath dexterity in dealing with them, and is much honoured by them; but we can nether attend theire times, nor will they be fo acceffible to ws when we want his Lordfhip; we therefore all of ws do wifhe, that whofoeuer be fent hither, he be not taken from ws at this time, and that fome courfe be taken about this by thofe that haue fpeciall hand in the publict, and wifhe well wnto it. We haue writen more largely to the Marques of Argyle, and do intreat you to look wnto it as a mater that concerneth oure fucceffe heere very much. Remembering my duty to your Wyfe, I reft your louing Brother.

ALEXR. HENDERSON.

London, Decemb. 29, 1643. The day of
your much expected randeuous.

To the Reuerend my louing brother, Mr. Robert Douglas,
minifter at Edinburgh. Thefe.

No. IV.

REUEREND AND LOUING BROTHER,

ALTHOUGH the berar thinketh himfelf fomewhat hardly wfed, yet doth he acknowledge himfelf much bound to your extraordinary care and kyndnes, for which, I hope, he will all his dayes be thankfull. Concerning that which you wryte of Mr. George Gillespie, I haue expreffed my mynd to Sir John Smyth, which he will communicate with yow, and fhall alwayes be ready to do that, by your advyce, which may conduc moft for the publict, but haue not fpoken any word of it to himfelf.

We expect that there fhall be a Generall Affembly in January, according to our letter fent long ago to the Commiffioners, although we haue not yet receaued their anfwer, that we may refolue who of ws, and at what time, fhall come doune with the Directory and Gouvernement, and, if it be poffible, with the Catechifme.

We are forie for that which we heare, both of warre, and the beginning of the peft, amongft many other your troubles, yet can I not interpret them but as preparations for greater comfort rather then meanes of destruction;

and prayes the Lord who visiteth his people in mercy, to sanctify their visitation wnto them.

Before these can come to your hands, you will heare of the introduction to a treaty of peace, but what the event shall be, the Lord knoweth, and our hopes are not great. Yesternight the House of Commouns hath passed a vote, that during the warre none of either of the Houses shall haue any place in warre or state, which, for the greatnes and importance of the mater, and the secreit and sudden contruying and concluding of it, is a mater of astonishment to many. Whether the Lords, who by this meane are fecluded from all place and command, will agree to it, we know not, but there is a great noyse and busines heer about it. I long extremely to see you, and would be content to come at this time, but I will not choose but obey. The grace of the Lord be with you, your wyfe and children,

Your louing Brother,

London, Decemb. 10th 1644.

ALEX^R HENDERSON.

To the Reuerend my louing brother, Master Robert Douglas,
minister at Edinburgh. These.

LXIV.

MR. THOMAS HENDERSON TO MR. ROBERT DOUGLAS.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio XXV., No. 23.]

REUEREND SIR,

I HAD no purpose to make any relation of the busines of Newcastle; but onely thought to print the Letters, whill the Commiffioners heir did recommend it to me; w^{ch} I have done accordinglie in great hast not touching any particulars, (w^{ch} I could not take upon me, feing I came not hither instructed for that purpose), but setting down these things w^{ch} can displeas no Regiment nor officer whatsoeuer, and may conduce most to the reputation of the Army in generall. My Lo. Chancello^r and Mr. Alex^r. [Henderson,] and the rest of the Commiffioners, are weell enough pleased with the frame of it, and I should be fory that any of the Army should think euill of it, since indeed I had no pleafour nor will to doe it.

There is a greater noyse of the King's disadvantage at this last meitting, than any thing I can learn in particular: I can perceave no thing but that the minds of men are very dangerouſlie affected to our Army and our Nation; especially since the successe of Newcastle; our profession and our practises, though never so faire and unblamable, will never serue to unit us firmly, whill it pleas God, busines be of an other condition. Wee hear

the Queen hes gotten great contributions in France, and wes honorably welcomed in Paris, whence it is reported thee hes sent an exprefs to Rome and the Italian Princes. I dare not trouble yow, Sir, only give me leave to entreat yow not to forget how much I desire to be esteemed.

Your very affectionat Seruand,

M. T. HENDERSON.

SIR,

Yow will be pleased to acquaint his Excell. heirwith, and if need be, yow may shew him the Commiffioners judgment and your owen. If there be any letters with you for me, I pray Sr. let them be directed hither in haft.

London, 5th Nov^r. 1644.

For the Reverend Mr. Robert Douglas and Mr. John Smith,
with the Scottish army at Newcastle, or elfewhere. These.

LXV.

PAPERS CONCERNING THE LORD SAVILE'S BUSINESS.

[From Baillie's Manuscript.—It was thought proper to insert these Papers, although they have no special reference to Scottish affairs, not merely because they were included by the Editor of Baillie's Letters, in 1775, but from Baillie himself having been implicated in the proceedings regarding Lord Digby's intercepted Letter on the Propositions sent to the King, *vide supra* pp. 281–285. See also Journals of the Houses of Lords and Commons, between April 1645 and May 1646.]

[MINUTE OF THE COMMITTEE OF BOTH KINGDOMS.]

DIE SATURNI, 12TH APRYLE 1645.

E. Northumberland,	Mr. Pierpoint,	Earl Lowdown.
E. Manchester,	Sir Henry Vane sen.	Mr. Barclay.
Lo. Sey,	Sir Arth. Hefilrige,	
	Mr. Browne,	

ORDERED,

That my Lord Sey and Seall, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Sollicitor, and Mr. Crew, have power to treat with such as shall be imployed by them for delyvering up any confiderable garifone of the enemie's, or bringing over any confiderable force, and for discoverie of such as give the enemie intelligence

28th Apryle. The Sub-committee went to Windfore.

6TH MAY 1645.

E. Effex,	Mr. Pierpoint,	Mr. Kennedie.
E. Northumberland,	Sir Gilbert Gerard,	
E. Manchester,	Mr. Sollicitour,	
E. Warwick,	Mr. Wallop,	
Lo. Sey,		
Lo. Wharton,		

The Lord Sey, Mr. Crew, and Mr. Sollicitor, shall have power to treat with any for bringing in any of the forces or garifons of the King, or to find out such as give intelligence.

7TH MAY 1645.

That the Earle of Lowdon be added to this Sub-committee, or in his absence the Lord Warifstone.

[LORD DIGBY'S INTERCEPTED LETTER,]

TETBURY, THE 26TH MAY 1645.

DEAR GOVERNOUR,

Iust as this messenger wes taking horfe, I receaved yours of the 22d, for which I thank yow, assureing yow, that nothing can come more welcome to me then your kindnes. The reason of any limitation in your order concerning the oath, wes cheiffie not to give ombrage to my Lord Southampton, if it had been generall. I have not tym to wryt at large both to yow and my brother Secretarie in cypher, and therefor I must referr yow to his letter; wherein yow will fie, how designes ly. The letter to LLL conteaned nothing bot a dislyke of my answer to the Propositions yow wot of, as not at all satisfactorie. All is villanie and jugling among them. Dear William, adieu. Let us hear from yow often.

I am your faithfull friend and fervant,

GEO. DIGBY.

For my Noble friend Colonell William Legg,
Governour of Oxford.

6TH JUNE 1645.

That upon the report of the Sub-committee, to whom power was given for to treat with any concerning the delyvering up of any towne, or part of the enemie's horfe, and for finding out any that keep intelligence, that Order be vacated, it being declared by the Sub-committee, that there is no more hope of the delyverie of Oxford, the feige being raised.

PAPER GIVEN IN BY MY LORD WARRISTON TO THE COMMITTEE OF BOTH
KINGDOMES, 12TH JUNE 1645; TOGETHER WITH THE LORD
CHANCELLOR'S DECLARATION.

ALL my knowledge concerning the Sub-committee is this only, That this Sub-committee was made first, and then renewed, without putting any of our number upon it; yea, none of us remarking that such a thing was appoynted.

That within two dayes after the renewing of it, some of the members of the Houses of this Committee called for the order, and defyred some of our number to be added. Wheirupon, about the 7th of May, my Lord Chancellor was added, and I in his absence.

That untill the afternoon, quhairin the report was made to the Committee, being the 6th of June, I was never called to that Sub-committee.

That the day, before the report, my Lo. Sey was pleased to tell me this in generall. That the busines was some overtures for the surrendering of Oxford, and bringing over to the Parliament some of the King's horses, and that he would take some tyme to communicat the particulars to my Lo. Chancellor, and to me. That at that meeting, immediatlie befor the report, my Lo. Sey told me, that it wes Goreing's horse should have been brought over. That Col. Legg wes the man that should surrender Oxford, and that the Lord Savill wes the man that did deall with the one and the other, and who assured him of it; as also, that he had revealed to a lady, by deciphering a letter come from him to Oxford, that Mr. Hollis wes the man that keepest weekly correspondence with Digby; but withall that now he heard the businests wold faill. Whereupon we all resolved, for preventing jealousies and misreports of the Sub-committee, to make our report to the Committee, and to defyre the vacating of that order, and to speak nothing of Mr. Hollis, becaus we conceived ther was no sufficient ground to call any man's name in question, or make it good: And so the report was made. Since the report, yesternight my L. Sey was pleased to tell me the rest of the circumstances, which now his Lo. reportes to the Committee, and to schew to me my Lord Savill's letter to my Lady Temple.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR OF SCOTLAND did further declare, that he did not know that there was any such Committee appoynted, nor any such order or power given to them, neither when it was first appoynted, nor when it is again renewed; but that his first knowledge of it was upon the 7th of May, at which tyme he and my Lord Warriston were added to that Sub-committee, but that he wes never called to that Sub-committee, nor did meet with them, nor knew any thing at all of the busines, till the Sub-committee was vacated; after which tyme my Lo. Sey was pleased to acquaint him therwith.

[ANONYMOUS LETTER TO THE SCOTISH COMMISSIONERS.]

These inclosed, being the Lo. Savill's owne wrytings, are put into your hands for publict use by a well-wisher of the Parliament. They came bot a few houres since to his knowledge that presents them. Now yow have them, let them not sleep long without a due improvement. He cannot deny them to be his wryting, if he be duly examined, which is left to your wisdom by 12 July 1645.

Your's and the Parliament's servant,

These were found amongst Mr. Howard's papers.

[THE SCOTISH COMMISSIONERS TO THE SPEAKER.]

SIR,

These three papers inclosed, which cam to our hands yesterday after eight of the clock, as written by the Lo. Savill, and found amongst the papers of Mr. Howard, we found, upon our perusal of them, to contain matters of so great importance and publict concernment, that we resolved, according to our obligation in the Covenant, and that duetie which our place and trust require of us, to tak the first occasion to communicat them to the honorable House of Commons, the Committee of both Kingdomes not fitting this morning, that in their wisdom they may with all speed, and before the matter be divulged, make the best use of them for the publict good. As we doubt not bot this our service wil be acceptable to the honourable Houses of Parliament so are we willing what further we know of this busines, and by this occasion is brought to our remembrance to communicat, also in such a way as may give most satisfiſſation to the honourable Houses, and acquit us of our duetie ; who continue,

Your affectionat and humble servants

Worcester House, 14th July 1645.

[FIRST PAPER.]

Then the Independents began to court me againe, and did assure me, if I would quyte Effex his partie, and joyne myself to them, and make a protestation not to betray them by any designe, nor by joyning in armes against them, they would quyte their votes, call me to London againe, and treat and advyse with me concerning the peace of the kingdom. Which being so just according to my own heart, (all the power being in them) I am now in London againe, in a more probable way to doe good, if I may know from my Lord D. what way to do it.

Effex is now of no power at all of himself to do any thing. The Admiralltie is in commiſſion : they are confident of a great navie this summer. Young Sir H[arry Vane] is goeing to bring up the Scots armie, which, by reason of the good success lately in Scotland, they assure themselves will

come, Sir Tho. F[airfax] will get ane armie, a great one, they think; one part thereof is designed to go to Taunton presently. They say they have certain intelligence from France, the King can have no hopes of any forces from thence, nor from Ireland neither, where they shall have 18,000 men to keep them doing.

[SECOND PAPER.]

That being never weary in desyring the peace of this poore kingdome, notwithstanding all his former endeavours, which, God knowes, he hath continuallie used, he cannot bot once more, in a tyme when there is no arguments to perswade him, bot his unfained love to his people and their peace, to reflect againe upon the three Propositions made at Uxbridge, and once more to make these Offers.

1. That the busines in Ireland, he will leave it as it is already settled by Act of Parliament.

2. As for the Militia, he will agree to the tyme, not doubting bot that such persones shall be named on both sides, as both may confide in.

3. For the Church-Government, iff that which he hath offered doe not satisfie, he shall come up to his Parliament and advyse with them about it; where yow may hope to receave all reasonable satisfaction from him in the third, that he hath schewed so great a desyre to comply with yow in the two former.

Our friends say, D[igby] hath sent no answer to the message desyred, but that it is unreasonable at any tyme, and unseasonable at this; that the King is gone, and nothing of all they fear was intended; that S[avile] hath had ill grounds, or worse advyse, for his hopes. They wonder that so much reason should not be hearkened unto better. They confesse D. faith most rationallie, that many things may be hearkened unto upon a certane conclusion, the verie overture of which before might weaken the hands that must fight for them; but the same ground they alleadge from the treatie, that many things for the church, at a treatie here, after other things are agreed, might be condescended unto, the overture of which before might weaken the partie, and destroy their cause.

They are, in conclusion so much unsatisfied with that part of the answer, which S. acquainted them with, all concerning the message desyred, that being in such a distemper, S. thought it neither safe for him, nor the cause, hereafter to make them any new offers for their own particular satisfaction or hopes; or to desyre (as D. requyres) from them any probabilities for the undertaking at this tyme; becaus S. is confident if he should, they would look upon them, not as offers, but as baits, to make them obnoxious to the other partie, to act against them when it wes known; and it would destroy S. in their suspitious breasts, that he should never be able to resume it againe hereafter if there should be occasion. Iff yow can but beatt or disgrace Fairfaxe his Independent armie, Essex and the Scots will be greater than ever, which I assure yow they look for certainlie; and if they be, S.

knowes they will be wyfer than they wer, and affures D., S. will not only revive but improve the former designe, and doe the King's buffines the safest, speediest, and noblest way; and shall not omitt neither, when they are in a better temper, to offer what is desyred to this other syde. And albeit that S. will have alse many witneses as yow have freinds here, of his unfained endeavours to serve yow, though with hazard of all he hath; and let not D. imagine that ever it came into the heart of S. to doe any offices for him but what a just man might, and ane innocent man should desyr. Pray, desyre the Duchefs of Buckinghame to fend the man scho did to Non-such as soone as scho can.

[THIRD PAPER.]

COUSIGNE,

UPON conference this night with my Lord Sey, it is held fitt that we should not fend a pafs to Jo. Cary before your returne; when we shall understand how far L. will communicat himself unto him, and whither he will be willing to putt the buffines into his hands. The Parliament forces are now about Wallingford, so as I am doubtfull whether he will come to that place he appointed; but I am sure yow will doe that which yow think fittest, and your returne wil be much wished I assure yow. I wrote, that they of Oxford need not fear the advance of Fairfax his armie speedily; but I now beleive the contrarie of which I thought fitt to lett yow know. Iff yow could this evening stepp up hither, it would not be amisse. Adieu.

DIE LUNÆ, 14TH JULY 1645.

Sir Hen. Mildmay, Mr. Bainton, and Mr. Earle, are appointed to goe to the Scots Commiissioners, to desyre them to be present at the Committee this afternoone, appointed to examine the Lord Savill.

HEN. ELSINGE, Cler. P. D. Com.

[THE SCOTISH COMMISSIONERS TO THE COMMITTEE OF BOTH KINGDOMS.]

As the conscience of our Solemn League and Covenant, and the sence of that dutie which, from our speciall trust and interest we owe to the publict, and is expected from us did lay a necessitie upon us to communicat some Papers of publict concernment which came to our hands unto the honorable House of Commons; soe doe we upon the same grounds, and upon the desyre of the honorable House of Commons, imparted to us by this Committee, offer for the present, such other particulars as did make us apprehend there hath been some underhand dealing about Propositions of peace contrarie to the Covenant and Treaty; and before these matters come to publict agitation, to expresse our thoughts thereof to severall members of this Committee of both Kingdomes, and will give light to the former paper.

First, about the 23d of Apryle, the Lord Chancellor made knowne unto us who are joyned with him in commiffion, that the Lord Savile, after his coming hither from Oxford, fent one unto his L. to fhew his defire to come and fpeak with him; unto which my Lord Chancellor returned his anfwer by Mr. Traill, That he was latelie come from the enemies quarters, and was not reconciled to the Parliament; and therefor could not grant his defire. Upon this occafion, he difcovered himfelf this farre to Mr. Traill, that fome here had made their addreffes by their agents to His Majeftie upon thefe termes, That if His Majeftie would make good what he had declaired concerning Toleration in matters of Religion, they wold adhere unto him, and come and refide in his quarters; and that he had a way of intelligence with the Queen for bringing about ane accommodation betwixt King and Parliament.

After the Lord Savile had taken the proteftation for the Parliament, he came unexpectedlie upon my Lord Chancellor, when under phyfick; and after prefaceing of his reconcilment to the Parliament, and of his taking the oath, whereby he was now a free man, and might be fpoken with, he entered immediatelie upon a difcourfe, that he wondered why the Scottifh Commiffioners wes foe averfe from the peace of the Kingdomes, which others both here and at Oxford were foe much inclined unto; that for himfelf he come from Oxford with the Kings knowledge, and as much truft and favour as ever he had before; and that he came to this place with no other intention, but to ufe his beft endeavours for bringing about peace, wherein he wifhed his Lordship's concurrence. My Lord Chancellor anfwered, That the Commiffioners from Scotland had concurred with this kingdome in propofitions of peace, and that it wes a great unhappinefs in the King to refufe the three Propofitions offered unto him at Uxbridge, without the granting whereof it wes bot follie to think upon any treatie, or to intertaine any hope of peace. At this my Lord Chancellor wes forced, by his phyfick, to break off abruptlie.

This the Lord Savile is faid to have taken as ane affront to himfelf, and a figne of the Lord Chancellor's averfnes from his intentions of peace, and therefore did neither come nor fend thereafter unto him; which may give the meaning of that which he writeth in one of his letters, "That the Scots would be wifer then they were." My Lord Chancellor after he had refused to treat with Savile, had information from perfons of truft, and well affected to the Parliament, That he kepted frequent meetings with others, and with their knowledge fent meffengers diverfe times to Oxford, and that he treated with them upon the three Propofitions; concerning the Militia, that they were willing the King fhould have the choife of the 4th or 3d part of the commiffion; concerning Ireland, that the King fhould reftore all things to the condition they were in before the beginning of the troubles; and fome way fhould be thought upon for repaireing the loffes of the Proteftants, without destroying the natives; and concerning Church-bufines, all things to be delayed till the Kings coming up to London. That if they agreed to this treaty, the Queen was to have the honour of it, and was to be moved to write to the King, and that fhe herfelf fhould

receive satisfaction and liberty also to Henry Jermyn; that the persons who treated should have the power to dispose of all places; that when he questioned, What if the people here should grumble at it? it was answered, That there an army was sure against such: and the question being made to him, What if the King shall refuse? it was answered, That Goring and his officers would be for it, and join with their forces. All these particulars were, by my Lord Chancellor, related to divers of us, and written down at this time by some of us in our diurnals, which may be a sufficient ground against all suspicion of fiction or forgery upon our part. The same also were by his Lordship repeated afterwards, upon the occasion of the business of the Sub-committee, and of Mr. Cranford's relation, and certain interrogatories were drawn up upon them.

The information which my Lord Chancellor received, and did relate to us concerning the privy way of treating, was mightily confirmed by some letters of intelligence, written from France about the same time; which did contain the same articles of giving content to the King concerning the Militia, and delaying the Church-business, and all other matters, till his coming to London; and that it was moved to the Queen to deal for this effect with his Majesty, upon these considerations:—

That the Scots had no power here, and were averse from peace; that their opposites had all power in the Houses, in the city, in the army, and in the navy: That Presbyteriall government would be more powerfull, permanent, and prejudiciall to Monarchie, and to the recoverie of regall power in Church-matters; but Independencie being weak in itself, and so near unto disorder and confusion, would call quicklie for a remedie, and open a way for the King to return to his own power; and that the one side was in their principles for libertie of conscience, and therefore would be compliant with the Catholicks of his Majesty's party in the three kingdoms; but the Presbyterians were more rigid, and would oppose toleration of diverse religions in his Majesty's dominions.

These discoveries formerly made by Savile's propositions, by information from others, and by letters from France, were renewed to our sense, and further confirmed unto us by other emergents; as by Digby's intercepted letter to Legge, mentioning the dislike of his answer to the propositions sent to Oxford, as being not at all satisfactorie; by the naming and meeting of a Sub-committee, without our knowledge, as is more fully expressed in the papers given in by the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Wariston, the 12th of May, to be reported to both Houses; and by the King's intercepted letters, especiallie that to the Queen, concerning a proposition from a person at London, whom he calls one of the most considerable London rebels, for renewing the treatie upon her motion, with a pre-assurance of submitting to reason.

We add also, when some of our number went to Oxford, with the propositions of peace, it was told them, that there was one there agenting privilie for a partie at London; which, when some of the English commissioners were acquainted with, they told, that here was one come from London to the Lord Cottington at that time, as at severall times before. We have also

been advertised from the Earl of Lauderdale, that the secret concerning the surprize of Oxford at an advantageous place, communicated by Mr. Napier to a Sub-committee of three persons, of which number his Lordship was one, is found now by the intercepted letters to have been discovered at Oxford to some, and by them particularly written to the King; which his Lordship wonders how it comes to pass, and we now hear to be a truth, although the letter itself, which beareth so much, was not communicated unto us with the other letters.

These particulars so much cleared and confirmed unto us, we conceive to be of so great importance, that (were the persons concerned never so dear unto us) we could not, without great guiltiness, conceal them from the Honorable Houses; which they will therefore take to their consideration, and do what in their wisdom may seem most for the weal of the publick.

[FROM THE SAME.] 24TH JULY 1645.

WE being desired, by a message from the Honorable House of Commons, to be present at this Committee, appointed for the examination of the Lord Savile, and having heard his elusory answer concerning his intention and pretention, we have thought fit, for acquitting ourselves of the trust put upon us, to represent our thoughts concerning that answer of his, the only seeming strength and advantage in all his defences.

That his real intention was to do the King's business, and to bring out new and unsafe propositions of peace; and that the business of Goring and Legge, and the finding out of the King's intelligencer here, were but pretentions, it may thus appear:—

1. By Mr. Howard's flying out of the kingdom, when the Lord Savile was challenged upon underhand dealings; it being clear, by the Lord Savile's letter to Mr. Howard, that Mr. Howard knew of the reality of his intentions; which is also confessed by Savile himself; so that there had been nothing to fright away Mr. Howard, and make him flee, if the real intention had been to do service to the Parliament, and not to the King.

2. The Lord Savile's own papers (which we did formerly communicate) do testify against him, that he endeavoured to do the King all possible service; for he kept ordinary correspondence with those at Oxford, and gave them intelligence of such things as might be most for their advantage and our prejudice; as that concerning the Scots army's march southward, and that Sir Thomas Fairfax was to gett a great armie; and a part thereof designed to go to Taunton. He wrote also what intelligence was here at this time from France and Ireland, the Parliament's forces being about Wallingford; he did intimate, in his letter to Mr. Howard, John Cary's danger if he should adventure to come to the place appointed. And having formerly written, that they of Oxford should not fear the advance of Sir Thomas Fairfax's army speedily, he did thereafter recall that intelligence, and wrote the contrary, lest his former intelligence had made the enemy slack in their

preparations. He wrote also concerning divisions and factions here; that Effex hath no power; that the Independents are the prevailing party: wherefore he recommendeth the beating or disgracing of Sir Thomas Fairfax his army. He puts the enemy in hopes, that Effex and the Scotts will be wiser than they were, and will hearken more to peace than they did; and informeth, that in the mean tyme the Independents were courting him, and treating with him concerning the peace of the kingdomes; and when they were unsatisfied with the Lord Digby's answer concerning the message, he gave notice how unsatisfied they were, and promiseth to deal with them at a fitter season. These things being laid together doe declare, that he did, both really and intentionally, endeavour to strengthen the enemy, and to weaken the Parliament, by acquainting those at Oxford, with the condition of our affaires, our intelligence, our intentions, the posture and motion of our armies, our strength, our weakness, our divisions, and such other things as might most encourage and be useful to the enemy, and endanger our affaires; so that when he tells us, that all these were but pretensions, it calls to mind Solomon's observation, "As a madman that casteth firebrands, arrows, and death, so is the man that deceiveth his neighbour, and faith, Am not I in sport?"

3. In the end of his large paper he bids assure Digby, that he will doe the King's business the safest, the speediest, and the noblest way; and that they at Oxford shall understand from their friends here, his unfeigned desires to serve them, though with the hazard of all he hath; these friends of theirs whom they will trust, being witnesses of his proceedings. But if he had been doing service to the Parliament, as now he professeth, why did he either fear the hazard of all he hath, or acquaint the Oxfordian intelligencers here with what he did?

4. In the beginning of his first paper, he intimates to them at Oxford, that the protestation that some here offered unto him, and that which they desired and advised, was all according to his own heart. No wise man would write so to them at Oxford, if they at Oxford had not real testimonies of his desires to serve them; otherwise it had been a ready way to break his credit and trust at Oxford.

5. He did most really, and seriously, and with great affirmations and assurances, deal with some persons here toward the making of a peace, and bringing about a new message from the King, which might be accepted here; and particularly he endeavoured to persuade the Lord Chancellor to this business, as is expressed in our other paper. This not being well relished by the Lord Chancellor, he applyeth himself to others whom he designeth in those papers. And the whole course of his proceedings doe declare, that he came hither from Oxford to gain a party for the King, whomsoever he should find most willing and useful for his ends, concerning new Propositions of peace.

6. That which he calls his pretention is found to have been really acted, and diligently prosecuted by him, as appears not only by his own handwriting, which is instead of many witnesses, but also by the Lord Digby's letter, relating to the same business, and by the King's letter to the Queen, the

13th of March 1645, intimating the Lord Savile's purpose to go to her, in order to a new treatie. But for that which he calls his real intention, there appeareth no real evidence for it, neither by his own papers, nor by any letter of his correspondents; nor doth he shew any warrant from the Sub-committee for making a pretention of peace.

7. The Lord Savile did confesse, before the Committee, that the Propositions which he sent to Oxford, and which he desired might be sent hither in a message from the King, were such as he really desired might be sent from the King, and which he is confident should be accepted by those whom he calls his friends here, and the prevalent party. And whereas he saith, he thought those Propositions to be the same with the three propositions which were treated upon at Uxbridge, it would soon appear, that the propositions were substantiallie different, if they be compared together; yea, the L. Savile himself could not be ignorant that these propositions of his were not the same with those treated upon at Uxbridge; for he well knew, that the King had absolutelie refused to grant these propositions, except they be mollified and altered; so that he could never have made that a colour or pretext for another design, to desire that the King should send back the Parliament's own propositions, and now offer what he had refused at Uxbridge.

8. The Lord Savile said before the Committee, that the end why he sent those advertisements to Oxford, was to find out the party on which the King relies here, he having heard much at Oxford of two parties here; and that the Lord Digby said at the Lord Dorset's house, that the King hath a party here greater than all his armies; and being employed, as he saith, by the Sub-committee, to try out who are the King's partie here, this, he said, was the ground and reason of writing those papers, whereupon he is now challenged: yet this his pretence is overthrown by his own papers, by which he himself communicates to those at Oxford, intelligence concerning two parties here, and which of the two parties courts and treats with him about peace, and hath the power in their hands, and what party it was that had desired him to join himself to them by protestation, and to quit the other party. But how can this be a way to make them at Oxford to discover to him the King's party here, while he himself discovereth to them which is the party here that is both weakest and most unwilling for peace? neither doth it at all appear that he wrote to any at Oxford for finding out the King's party here.

9. That which the Lord Savile saith was but his pretention, is really coincident with the design which the enemy hath been driving on all this while past, as is evident by the Queen's letter to the King, for casting of religion to be treated of in the last place, the same is found in Savile's papers and propositions sent to Oxford. It is also evident by the King's letter to the Duke of Richmond, putting him in mind to cajole the Independents and the Scots, which is the very same that Savile endeavoured to do, and when he could not prevail one way, he applied himself another way. It doth further appear by that letter to the Duke of Richmond, and by some of the King's letters to the Queen, that (although it was not the Queen's mind,) yet there

were thoughts of bringing the King to London, and divers about the King were for it ; which is another circumstance coincident with the Lord Savile's papers.

10. There can be no such credit given to what the Lord Savile alledgeth, when he was a prisoner under examination, and fearing to lose a party whose protection he desireth and expecteth, as for that which is found under Savile and Digby their own hands, having past between them in a secret way of correspondence, and now discovered and brought to light by a secret providence of God, without their knowledge, and against their desire ; and Digby's intercepted letter agreeing with Savile's papers, in the progress and way of the business, and the one answering the other, as face answereth to face, both shewing that propositions were sent to Oxford, that Digby sent an answer thereunto, and that this answer was communicated by the Lord Savile to those here whom he thought most willing to make peace : whereupon Savile perceiving they were not satisfied with Digby's answer, did intimate to Digby that they were not satisfied, but displeased and distempered, and gave this occasion to Digby to write his opinion in that letter which was intercepted, in which CCC signifieth John Cary, who was Mr. Howard's correspondent, which the Lord Savile himself confesseth. Beside all this, the Lord Savile's answer and expressions before the Committee were contradictory one to another, and therefore the less to be trusted.

11. The 4th article of the Solemn League and Covenant, bindeth us to endeavour the discovery, trial, and condign punishment of all such evil instruments as hinder the Reformation of religion, divide the King from his people, or one of the Kingdomes from another, or make any faction or parties amongst the people, contrare to the Covenant. This article must be applied, and performed, either according to the reality of mens actions, or according to the interpretations which men will put upon their own actions. If the former, then the Lord Savile falleth within the compass of that article, his actions being really a hindering of the Reformation of religion, and a dividing the King from his best subjects, and of the Kingdomes one from another, and making a faction or party contrare to the Covenant. If the latter, then the greatest Incendiary or traitor may shelter himself under this evasion, that he did intend some great good, and to doe service to the Parliament, which, that he might the better do, he did insinuate himself in a handsome way of compliance with those at Oxford, to make them to trust him the more. It is not to be forgotten, that the thing which he calls his intention here, he persuadeth them at Oxford to be but a pretention, and that which he calls his pretention here, he persuades them at Oxford to be his real intention ; so that in this case he must needs be examined according to the nature and reality of his actions and divisive motions.

LXVI.

LETTERS FROM MR. GEORGE GILLESPIE, AT LONDON,
IN THE YEAR 1644 TO 1647.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio XXV. No. 20., and XXVII. Nos. 25 to 35, inclusive. The following letters of George Gillespie, while resident in London as one of the Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, are now first published. It is scarcely necessary to observe how highly he was esteemed for his acuteness, learning, and talents as a public speaker. The manner in which Baillie on several occasions speaks of “this brave youth,” as “a singular ornament of our Church,” is alike creditable to both. Gillespie was born 21st January 1613, was admitted minister of Wemys in Fife 26th April 1638, and translated to Edinburgh in 1642, was one of the four ministers deputed from Scotland to attend the Westminster Assembly of Divines in 1643, and was chosen Moderator of the General Assembly at Edinburgh, August 1648, but died that year on the 16th December. His “Aaron’s Rod Blossoming,” and other works, are well known, and deservedly valued. His Notes of Proceedings of the Westminster Assembly, from September 1643 to October 1644, still exist in manuscript, and are worthy of publication.

It may be noticed that Milton’s commentators have fallen into an error in supposing that George Gillespie the Divine was alluded to, in his sonnet on the detractors of his work entitled “Tetrachordon,”

—Why is it harder, Sirs, than Gordon,
Colkitto, or Macdonald, or Galasp?
Those rugged names to our like mouths grow sleek,
That would have made Quintilian stare and gasp.

The allusion is to the name of Allaster Macdonald Macgillespie, (Alexander Macdonald son of Archibald,) otherwise known by the name of Colkittoch.]

No. 1.

REVEREND AND LOVING BROTHER,

I RECEIVED your’s of Ag. 26. Our letter to the Commissioners of the Generall Affembly was drauen vp more full and plaine (according to your wifhes,) but it was not thought fitt to fend it so, but rather generally, for fear of giving offence either to one party or other, before the time come of settling all by commone consent. The late disperfion of the Lord Generall’s foot army in the West, and the enemies getting all their armes and ammunition, and 26 peece of canon, also the daily increaffing diuifions in Manchester’s army (which is appointed to march to the West,) hath occasioned an extraordinary fast here on Thursday next. The Affembly hath spent three Seflions

in searching the causes of so great a judgement; which, if they get not some impediment, they are to-morrow to represent to the Parliament. In this meane time, greif is added to our sorrow by the sad neues from Scotland. O that it were God's good pleasure to give vp Newcastle to your army; never could such a thing come more seasonably. We are doing all that is possible to put on the settling of a Government in the Church. We have got this proposition voted in the Assembly, That it is agreeable to the Scripture that the Church be governed by severall sorts of Assemblies. The next proposition voted by the Assembly to be debated is, That these Assemblies are congregationall, classically and synodically; which I hope shall be within few dayes concluded. This course both layes a foundation to goe upon in the propositions to be sent to the King, and vnites the Assembly so farre in their judgement, before we come to the power of each of these Assemblies, about which their opinions are very much divided. So with my best respects to yourself and Mr. John Smith, I rest,

Your affectionat Brother,

Worcester House, Sept. 10, 1644.

GEO. GILLESPIE.

Be pleased to send the inclosed with a sure hand to Ed^r.

For my Reverend and loving Brother, Mr. Robert Douglass,
minister at Ed^r, now in the Scots army.

No. 2.

REVEREND AND LOVING FATHER,

I HAVE received no letter from you since that of Jun. 8; but my longing to hear from you was never so great as now, when that place in which ye live is so vnexpectedly made the seat of a new warre, and I am very apprehensive how deeply, not only your estate, but yourself and yours may be involved in that calamity. There is at this time a coincidency of many things which call for a deep humiliation: the ordinary humiliations have become more customary then lively, but God hath given some sharp wakenings at this time to both Kingdomes. On Saturday last, when the House of Commons were vpon new objections against the votes of the Assembly concerning Ordination, many in the House not being satisfied that ordination should be held forth as an ordinance of Christ, and that ministers are set over people (which is a scripture word), at that very time their debates were broken off with the sad neues of the dispercion of their forces in the West. The Lord Generall's army being reduced to great straits, chiefly through want of victuals, his horse brake through the King's army, with no losse, and left the foot army to shift for themselves, wherevpon the foot were forced to take what quarter they could get from the enemy. So the enemy hath got 26 peice of canon, and all their ammunition and armes, except that every officer above the degree of a corporall got leave to march off with his sword and pistoll. In the meane time, while that wholle foot army is dissolved, the

the King hath in the West an army of 16,000 horse and foot, and may easily get a greater number now. Nay, there are none to oppose his coming to London, except Manchester's army, and it is miserably rent and divided by means of Lieutenant-Generall Cromwell and his party of Independents, who think themselves the strongest part of that army, and are accusing Gen.-Major Crawford, and other chief officers in that army, who are not of their mind, having the advantage against them, not only in regard of swearing, and other prophaneſſe, but in regard of plundering, false muſters, and disobeying orders. However, that army is appointed to march to the West; but their divisions are daily greater and greater: all this hath occasioned the appointment of an extraordinary fast this week on Thursday. The Assembly hath spent three ſeſſions in ſearching the cauſes of God's great diſpleaſure, having firſt ſolemnly called vpon God to diſcover theſe cauſes vnto them. Now at laſt they have agreed vpon the Cauſes, which they divide in foure ſorts. 1. Their owne finnes. 2. The Parliament's finnes. 3. The finnes of the Armies; and, 4. The finnes of the People; all which they have reckoned forth particularlie. While we were vpon theſe conſultations, grief hath been added to our ſorrow by newes of the running away of our men that went againſt Montroſe and the Iriſhes, and of the enemies getting their canon and armes. We vnderſtand alſo by the intercepted letters of the Lord Goreing to the Prince of Orange, that the Queen is very confident of obtaining aſſiſtance from France, and hath gotten great promiſes both from the Queen Mother and the Cardinall. Affuredly God will carry on his owne worke, but he will have vs all more humbled and better ſifted and tried. It feares me Scotland ſhall drink deeper of the cup, and that forraine enemy, after an intestine warre, looks like the fulfilling of Mr. John Welſh's letter to my Lady Fleeming. The Lord hath now his furnace and fire in all theſe three Kingdomes: God grant they may loſſe nothing but their droſſe, and then come forth as gold tried in the fire. The Houſe of Commons hath now agreed vpon the ordinance for Ordination, and hath therein acknowledged the ſending forth and ſetting apart of miniſters to be an ordinance of Chriſt, and have alſo kept in the word of being ſet over people. I did diſcharge my conſcience in ſpeaking home to ſome of our beſt acquaintance in the Houſe, which others alſo did for their owne part. It is a heartbreak to vs that the progreſſe is ſo ſmall after our being here a whole year, yea that there is ſuch a ſtumbling in the very threshold of our buſineſſe in the Parliament. We are doing all that lieth in our power, but the publick aſſemblies are oftner deſerted than aſſiſted. I can ſay no more, but I pray God that ye and yours may be kept in the ſecret place of the Almighty, and that no evill may come near your tabernacle. If it be his bleſſed pleaſure, God ſend me comfortable newes from you, for in longing exceedinglie for them, I reſt

Your affectionat ſonne,

GEO. GILLESPIE.

Worceſter Houſe, Sept. 11, 1644.

We are trying how farre the Assemblie will agree vpon the government against the Independants before we come to those things wherein they differ among themselves; whereby also there may be a good foundation laid to goe vpon in the Propositions to be sent to the King, so farre as they concerne religion. We have got this proposition already voted in the Assemblie, That it is agreeable to Scripture that the Church be governed by severall sorts of Assemblies. The next proposition stated to be debated (which I hope shall be also shortly voted) is, that these assemblies are Congregationall, Clafficall, and Synodicall.

To my reverend and loving father, Mr. Robert Morray,
Minister at Methven. G. G.

No. 3. •

MY DEAR HEART,

I wrote to you yesterday by Robert Wallace, with whom I sent a boxe, beside that which I sent by Mr. Abraham Hoome. Let me know whether ye receive in them these things mentioned in my letters. When ye writ, let me know what estate your Father and Mother are in, and what ye heare of M. John Rou and my sifter. I wish your Father and Mother may be with you in Ed^r, if the enemy come againe in those bounds, and that they send to the Reth or Ed^r the speciall things in their House. We are very instant and buffie to get the Directory and forme of Government perfected in the Assembly, that what they have done may be transmitted to the Parliament here, and when they have given their opinion of it, before it be concluded by Act of Parliament, it must be sent to Scotland; and for that end, a Generall Assembly called there, it may be in February or thereabout, vnto which Assembly some must come from this, and others stay here, while this Assembly shall be going on with the Confession of Faith and commone Catechisme. I shall wish to know your Father's opinion about this. So, with my love to your sifter and other freinds, whom I vse to name, I commend you to God, that he may be a comforter and husband to you, and a father to the little ones. I rest,

Your's, my Dear Heart,

Worcester House,

GEO. GILLESPIE.

Nov^r 6, 1644.

For my most loving friend, Margaret Morray, wife to
Mr. George Gillespie, in Ed^r. G. G.

No. 4. •

Worcester House, Nov^r 22, 1644.

REVEREND AND DEAR FATHER,

Our employments at this time are more and heavier, because things draw

toward a conclusion, which hath disabled me from writting to you oftimes when I had a great mind to it. The Lord be comfortable to you and yours, and hide you and them vnder the shadou of his wings, and let you all be counted his in the day that he makes vp his jewells; that he may spare you in the day of evill, and that ye may escape whiles the pit is digged for the wicked. I am very apprehensive that your Wife kill her selfe with greif and a burthened spirit: The Lord sustaine her. We have written doune to the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly concerning the calling of the Assembly about the time of the next Session of the Parliament in January; that the Directory to be sent doune by some of vs, may be then agreed to by the Church and Kingdome of Scotland, and then be returned hither for a full conclusion of that part of vniformity. The Directory (except some parts which are not ready, nor yet will breed much controverfy) is all before the Parliament with the Preface, and sent from the Assembly *nemine contradicente*. The Independents have agreed to it all, which will make it passe the sooner in Parliament. Three of our Commissioners, with fixe Parliament men, are nou at the King with the propositions of peace, but no answer yet come from them. We are nou about drauing vp answers to 8 sheets of paper given in by the Independents, containing their dissenting reasons against that proposition, sent vp to the Parliament, that the Scripture holds out that many particular congregations may be vnder one Presbyteriall Government. I must here break off, and rest,

Your affectionat Sonne,

GEO. GILLESPIE

Let great care be had of choosung Commissioners for the Assembly.

To my Reverend and loving Father, Mr. R^t Morray,
Minister at Methven. G. G.

No. 5.

LOVING FRIEND,

I RECEIVED one of your's by the post yesterday, which was of an old date, and this day I received by a skipper of Kirkaldy, letters from thence, yet none from you which seems strange to me. I have not much leifure nou to writ, having been abroad all day till nou, that the post is going. Let me knou by the first occasion your receipt of what I wrote by Sir Charles Areskūn, and your resolution therein, for I am more and more confirmed in the judgement which then I wrote to you. My Lord Lauderdale intends to be at home against the meeting of the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly, on the secound Wednesday of May, with the letters which are to be sent to that meeting. All the well affected here were much comforted with the neues of the late good succeffe of our forces. God grant, that sinne vnrepented, and want of humiliation, provoke not the Lord to break off the course of his mercies. The warre here is still in an vnsetled condition, by

occasion of the new moulding of the armies, and the going off or putting off of the most of the able and experienced officers. I shall never look that things can goe right without a good vnderstanding and mutuall confidence, entertained betuixt the two Kingdomes, which all that are well-affected should endeavour to strengthen, and to see that it be not weakened; for it hath been, and must still be, the strength of this cause, vnder God.

Present my service to your grandmother, your sister, and all friends, where you are. If hereafter I get not letters by every post, as also by every shippe that comes out of that place, it will make me more carelesse of writing. So commending you and your children to the blessing of God, I rest.

London, Apr 29, 1645.

To my lov. Friend, Marg. Morray, Wife to Mr. G. Gillespy.

No. 6.

[The two passages printed in italics have been erased in the original.]

Sr.

London, May 9, 1645.

THE Assembly here, after diverse propositions, voted against separation and gathering churches out of churches, and for the active power of the magistrat in suppressing heresies or sects which can not be suppressed by the doctrine and discipline of the church, are now thinking to make ready a practicable Directory for Church-government, and for that effect, have appointed a committee to methodise their particular votes, and to mould them into a platforme. The Parliament have made an Ordinance for restraining popular preaching, an abuse which was beginning in their armies, and that through want of ministers as a principall occasion. That Ordinance, with some other papers, I have sent herewith. We have had a great debate with many Parliament-men about the examination of scandalous facts, Whether it should be committed to the Justice of Peace, and the inflicting of the censure only left to the Ecclesiasticall Court, vpon a certificat from him of the fact proved. In the issue the House of Commons hath voted, that in capitall cases, the examination of the fact shall be by the civill judge only, and that in all other scandalls, the examination shall be left to the Eldership or Classis. They intend with all speed to erect Elderships in London, as a leading case to other places.

Prince Rupert and Goreing are joined together, and make 9000. Prince Maurice is marching vp to them with 2000. So the King's forces, to the number of 11,000, are now at and about Oxford. Sr Thomas Fairfax new moulded army is at Abbingdon. It is much wondred that your forces in Scotland have done no more against James Graham, having had severall opportunities to doe more, as the information is here, which makes many

think that all instruments doe not their part, and drau not equally in the yoke. The Remonstrance to the King is not yet sent, but it is now resolved that it shall be sent. The Act of the Gen. Assembly, approving the Directory, is sent downe to this meeting of your's, with severall alterations. *The only difficulty is how that Act shall be altered, especially in the forme of it, (and some what in the matter,) after it hath not only past the Gen. Assembly, but is also ratified and recorded in Parliament, and whether it may not prove res mali exempli that so solempne an Act of a Gen. Assembly be thus altered.*

I hope God shall direct you that are there what is fittest. We have represented our thoughts with submission; and things of that nature wold be done with the least noise or observance. I desire to know what is done about the Directory of excommunication which we left with the Commissioners of the Gen. Assembly. As for the interest of Sessions in discipline, though Mr. David Calderwood affirmed that the Church of Scotland did approve of no such kind of Assembly as having any power in the government of the Church; yet, beside what I alledged against his opinion there, when I have lookt over the old Generall Assemblies, I find clear Acts for Sessions and their power, both before the Secound Book of Discipline was agreed vpon and after. I shall name but two that ye may make vse thereof in case there be any occasion. In the Generall Assembly at Ed^r, 1586, Sefs. 18, are these words anent particular kirks, If they be lafullie ruled by sufficient Minister and Session, they have power and jurisdiction in their owne congregation in matters ecclesiasticall to take order therewith, and things that they can not decide, to bring them to the Presbytery. In the Gen. Assembly at Dundie in May 1597, Sefs. 7, it is appointed that all Sessions be elected with consent of their owne congregations; and that all Sessions, Presbyteries, and Provincials vse such forme in all their proceses as may be found lafull and formall, and able to abide triall, &c. I have noted diverse others, whereby it is clear that as there were Sessions in Scotland 20 years before there were Presbyteries, so the Sessions were continued with their power after the erecting of Presbyteries. In other things I have laboured to get satisfaction to Mr. David in what he desired, yet in this I must differ from him, and hold it necessary, that Sessions have a certaine power in church censures, so that they hold within their owne sphere and be subordinat to Presbyteries and Synods. *Remember my service to Mr. James Bonner whom I suppose ye will see at this meeting, and tell him I thought to have sent his case of Spectacles this night by the post, but I shall send it this week by my Lord Lauderdale.* God be with you, and send vs good neues from you.

I pray you be carefull that the Act of the Gen. Assembly, approving the Directory, be not so altered as to make it a straiter imposition, and take heed that it containe still an approbation of the Preface set before the Directory, for which I could give many reasons. I shall only say this, that the more straitly it be imposed, it will the more breed scruples, and creat controversies, which wyse men should doe well to prevent, and the rather, lest we crosse

the principles of the good old Nonconformists, by too strait impositions of things in their owne nature indifferent, such as many (tho' not all) be in the Directory. Sure I am the Directory had never past the Assembly of Divines, if it had not been for the qualifications in the Preface. This is only for yourself, except ye hear any controversy about it in your meeting.

There is a draught of the Act about the Directory agreed vpon here, and sent doune to your meeting, having no alteration but in words, and the substance being the same, only it is thought clearer, and that it will sound better here. This draught of the Act, in the discerning part of it, doth not only approve the preface of the Directory, but saith that the preface expresth the intent and meaning of the Directory, and relative to this, it is said after, that such rules and practises are to be laid aside as are contrary to the intent of this Directory. Let no noise be made of any question in the businesse, but let it be quietly and calmly settled.

There came letters here yesternight advertising that the King, with all his army, is marching northwards.

Deliver the enclosed to my wife.

The House of Commons hath past other two votes, fore against the mind of the Eraftian party, that the eldership shall examine scandalls by two witnesses, and that they shall examine the witnesses vpon oath. These and the other votes before mentioned are very much thought of here for the behoof of Church Governement.

I desire when you writ to me, you may not subscribe, for I know all your hands that vsed to writ, and I have no mind that Mercurius Aulicus get any of your letters to print, as they have lately printed at Oxford letters from Lanerick, Wareston, Panmure, the Master of Balmerinloch, and others, which were intercepted coming from Scotland to London, after the end of your Parliament.

For the right Reverend Mr. Robert Morray, Minister at Methven ;

or,

For Mr. Patrick Gillespie, Minister at Kirkaldy.

No. 7.

London, May 21, 1645.

REVEREND AND LOVING FATHER,

It is a wonder to me that I have not to this day one line from you, though we get constantly letters every week by the merchant packald, beside other occasions. If it were never so litle that were to be written, it wold satisfy to know that litle. I have sent you here inclosed your spectacle case, your staffe is beside me, which I shall send by the first occasion. The Notes vpon the Bible are not yet come forth.

I wrote to you before my mind concerning my Wife's comming vp, that ye may seek God in the businesse, who, I hope, will be so gracious to vs, as by his owne providence, and the manifestation of his will, one way or other,

to cast the ballance which way he thinks fittest for our happineffe and the glory of his great name. If I had knouen what I knou nou, I had brought her with me; but I did not imagine to be kept here the fourth part of that time, which nou I see my stay here will drau vnto: I am very desirous of her comming (if God cast not in some invincible impediment) and that Annas and Mr. John come with her; I hope it shall prove for the good and comfort of their oune soules, as well as for my contentment. If I myself were a free man, I wold rather choose London then any place I knou for my oune edification, and for aboundance of pretious occasions.

It is very much desired that both your Armie in this kingdome, and your Committee which is with it, may be recrooted. There are diuerse votes past in the House of Commons about church-governement. There is a committee of Parliament men, with the assistance of some members of the Assemblée, set apart to drau vp a practicall Directory for church-governement, by methodising and moulding vp these materialls, many of which are already agreed vpon.

The neu moulded army here is first to block vp and then to beseige Oxford; which some in our armie doe interpret as if this army intend to lie aside and doe nothing, but keep themselvs strong together till our army be destroyed by the King's army, who still bends his forces northward. On the other part, this army apprehends that our army will not advance southward, but let all the burthen of the warre fall vpon them, as thinking them but fresh-water souldiers. Again in the north, the counties crie out they are exhausted and vndone for ever, the Scottish armie have taken so much money off them by assessments; and now the Parliament having forbidden those assessments, our armie cries out they will be starved, wherevpon the Parliament hath giuen them leave to take free quarter and billet, vpon tickets given for what soever is so taken, but doe not permit them to fesse. This pleaseth the common souldiers, but not the officers, who say still they must have moneys. And nou lately the generall persons of our army have had severall meetings at Knesbrough and Yorke, concerning their marching southward to meet the King, who goes to raise the seige of Chester, (a good passe for more Irish;) they demand such conditions, of 8 dayes victualls, and 4000 lib. of money in hand, and draughts for their artillery and ammunition, as they knou (say the English) we can not performe, and though we could, we have no assurance of their marching, though all the Northerne Counties crie out to have them gone, because they are vndone. I might enlarge my self vpon this sad subject, which hath made some of our countrymen, from more passion than deliberation, both to say and writ, that they fear it turne to a nationall quarrell; which I pray God I never live to see, neither think I, in conscience, there is any just cause of such a quarrell, though I am as readie as another to complain of any injurie, and in all right wayes to demand a redresse. I wish the mutuall jealousies and misunderstandings may be turned into mutuall confidence and good correspondence, such as was at the coming in of our army, that we may not ruine our oune cause, and strengthen our enemies by our divisions. I have written my thoughts freely, trusting to this occa-

fion as faffe, that ye may make the best vse of thefe things, and communicat the fame to fuch as ye think fitt, that differences may be compofed, and paffions allayed rather then increaffed. I hold correſpondence with Mr. Frederik, nou in the army, for the fame end ; and to the fame purpoſe there are letters gone from this to ſome of our noblemen at home.

I muſt break off, with my love remembred to your wife, to Mr. John and Mary, to Mr. Alex^r Malach and his wife, and Mr. John Malach and his wife, and George Morray and his wife. I commend you all to God, and remains,

Your's, &c.

For the Right Reverend, Mr. Robert Morray,
Minifter at Methven. G. G.

No. 8.

SIR,

I PRESENTLY received yours of Jul. 27, but no other ſince your daughters came here. They are well and Mr. John, I have read your letter to them. Ye may writ every week by the packald, and let us knou hou it ſtands with your ſelf, your family, your houſe, and pariſh, and with the publik. I think it a great judgement that ſuch an opportunity was loſt, and that our forces, at leaſt our horſe, could not have overtaken the fleeing enemy, or ſtopped their going to the hills. Our Army in this kingdome is now beſieging Hereford, where there are not above 200 foldiers within the toun to maintaine the works. The ordinance of both Houſes, for erecting a Provinciall Synod and twelve Preſbyteries in London, within the lines of communication, is finiſhed, only there is ſome queſtion about the old priviledge of noblemen's chaplains, but it is almoſt agreed, for the Lords profeſſe they will have their chaplains ſubject to the claſſes. We hear the King is gone back to Oxford with 1200 horſe, to make a diverſion of Sir Thomas Fairfax army or ours, and to wipe off the diſhonour of being ſhut up in Wales. I reſt in haſt,

Yours.

London, Ag. 5, 1645.

For the Right Reverend Mr. Robert Morray,
minifter at Methven. G.G.

No. 9.

REVEREND AND DEAR FATHER,

London, Feb. 27, 1646.

I AM not able to writ much, nor yet are ye, I knou ; but, I beſeech you, let us have but a line or two every week, only to tell us how ye are, for your daughters are extremely troubled with fears of the worſt when they can not hear. We are all well, and ſo is the child, bleſſed be the Lord.

Many letters have passed between the King and Parliament, but as small hopes of peace as before. A new motion here is in the Parliament to invite the Prince hither, fearing he goe beyond sea to a Popish match. We have it for certaine, that the King had a resolution to come to the Scots army, and Sinklar received letters, not only for himself, but for Lieut.-Gen. Lesly, but the L.-Gen. would not receive them; for the present the army is well resolved, since some disaffected persons went from it. Calumnies are dispersed here of our nation, and even of the Commissioners here, as having been on a privat dealing with the King and Queen, which hath made the Commissioners give in a paper to the Parliament, defying the divell and all calumniators in the world to find the least ground for such a thing, and pressing it to be tried to the vtmost, according to the Article of the Covenant in that behalf.

There is no great progresse in the accommodation with Independents; for the present we are pressing that the Parliament may settle the rule according to the advice of the Assembly, that then we may know the better what exceptions to admit of. We are waiting also for an answer from the Commissioners of the Gen. Assembly. This with my love to your wife: the Lord be comfortable to you and her, I rest,
Yours.

[To Mr. Robert Morray, Minister of Methven.]

No. 10.

[This letter refers to the trial of William Murray, afterwards Earl of Dysart, and nephew of the Minister of Methven, to whom it was addressed by George Gillespie, his son-in-law: *Vide supra*, p. 481.]

S^R.

London, Jul. 3, 1646.

WE received yours of Jun. 23, and are comforted thereby. Blessed be our mercifull God that hath granted vs our desires hitherto, in sparing both you and your wife and the dear Lady Reth, as like wife our young ones brought through so many infirmities. The Lord grant that all the rich mercies bestowed on you and vs may be improved to his glory, to whom we owe ourselves and all that is ours. If my book (which I hope shall now be all printed within a fortnight) and other things had not hindered me, I had before this given you a further account about your Nephew, I being desired to bear witnesse of what I knew concerning his purpose of going to Italy, went to the Martiall Court who vsed me with great respects, and told me that they had not desired to speak with me in the quality of a witnesse to be judicially examined, knowing that to be inconsistent with the nature of my employment here, but only that I might freely and voluntarily declare vnto them what I knew concerning such a particular, and that they would trust my word as much as my oath. So the manner of proceeding being cleared, I told them I was the more willing to declare my knowledge

concerning that particular, that the gentleman concerned in it had done very good offices to diverse of our best ministry in Scotland, and namely, to Mr. David Calderwood, who, after he had suffered much for his book, *Altare Damascenum*, and had been hanged as a traitour if he had been found in the Prelats time, yet by that gentleman a living was procured to him from the King. The Judge-Advocat interrupted me here, and said the particular was so remarkable that he would take it in writing, because, said he, Christ hath promised that whoever gives to one of his disciples a cup of cold water, shall in no wise lose his reward. This being set downe in writting, I declared concerning the particular, that about July or August 1644, his wife told me shee heard a report, that her husband was to goe to Italy, and desired me to writ to him and dissuade him, which I did, vsing this argument, that it wold be interpreted as a negotiation against the Parliament, whereupon he wrote backe to me, that he would lay aside that purpose according to my advice, withall, purging himself of meddling in the publik businesse. Which letter I had kept by me, and, at their desire, left it with them. This declaration of mine, given vnder my hand, and such like things, have done him good. The points vpon which he is accused are not proved. His friends are confident he shall come off as to his life: the day of judging him is Thursday next. Means will be vsed afterward for his full liberty. I have spoken tuice with him, and have carried some messages from him [to] M^r Kallamore.

So farre I wrote on Tuesday last. I was yesterday at your Nepheu's finall triall; the Martiall Court being a double jury of 24, have acquit him without one dissenting voice. When the sentence of absolution was read, there was a great humming among the people, as they vse when they are well pleased. He went to the Toure againe, intending this day to petition the Parliament, that he may be no longer vnder any restraint, being nou acquit. The Lord grant that he may be acquit at the tribunall of heaven, and may be a better man in his life. The Propositions of peace, I hope, shall be shortly sent to the King, being agreed to by the Parliament, and by your Commissioners already. I commend you, your wife and children, to the grace of Christ, and rests, Your's.

[To Mr. Robert Morray.]

No. 11.

SIR,

London, Dec^r 8, 1646.

THIS day I received your's of Dec. 1, and am sorry that I wrote to you about that particular in Ed^r. I am still of the mind I wrote last. I would not have it brought to a publik hearing, only I thought good to have it tried what could be done by fair meanes in that businesse, having received nothing of the monthly allowance here since August last. When I received your letter, I was with my wife at Richmond, having had advertisement yesterday of the child's sicknesse, both in teething and a boyle vnder her arme, which here they are all wayes suspicious of to be the sicknesse, which

made vs not to goe in to see her, lest any suspition should be brought vpon this our company, for we have more to look to than our selves. We have settled a course for vsing all meanes to the child, and have in our thoughts quit her, yet not despairing, but desiring to submit and let God doe whatever is good in his eyes. If we should never have more comfort of her in this world, I must say singular mercy hath been shewed to vs already in her person. My wife is troubled with an encrease of defluxions, for which we are about to vse meanes, as the cutting of her hair to be made in a hair-mutch, the putting in of an issue, and rules of diet. God give a blessing to the meanes. I wish the like were vsed for Mr. John, for I perceived in him the same infirmity.

I am afraid of that parliamentary approbation of the capitulation with the rebels; and I am glad that the truth wants not a witnesse from the Ministry. I must tell you, from what I vnderstand, all that are well affected have cause to be diligent there for preventing a neu warre, for if the old Laird goe home, as he intends, and neu forces be brought from Ireland, to joyne with those enemies already within your borders, it is best to look to it in time. It is intended to be acted, not inacted, to make vp a neu army after the returne of this. Some eminent persons, both in the State and the army, are strongly tempted. And shall that nation, that hath all wayes professed so much zeal for the Covenant, make the breach? The Lord forbid that ever we see that blak day. It is that which the prime Sectaries long for. The House of Commons hath this day agreed to the paper of your Commissioners, concerning the money and garrisons, so that the first 100,000 lib. shall be received, and the other 100,000 lib. shall be on the other side of the Teeffe before the delivery of the garrisons. I have sent herewith the ansuer of the House of Commons to your Commissioners paper concerning the King, I could not get another, being but just nou come to toune, therefore this must serue you both, together with a neu paper, concerning Mr. Challoner's speech; so, with our love to your wife and all friends, I commend you to God, and rests, Your's.

[To Mr. Robert Morray.]

No. 12.

SIR,

I KNOW ye are desirous to know of our estate, and so are we to know of your's. It hath pleased the Lord to afflict my youngest sonne with an extreme fore kinkhoft, and we doe not look for his life if it continue thus. The Lord sanctify all his rods, and make me, for my part, learne my lessons better in whatsoever he is teaching me. The child is brought over to be in my oune family, that we may see all duty done to him; your other friends here are in their ordinary health, and I am in a course of means for my health. I can say nothing yet positively concerning the time of my returne; but I have written to Mr. Ro^t Douglass to get me a warrand, and have also given him a rise and occasion to move it. Amongst many other

reasons which make me desire it, one is for that purpose whereof my Lady Wareston spake to you, for I should think it an affliction to me, if a friend's kyndnesse to me and myne, should turne to their oune greater prejudice. I am sorry to hear of your Nepheu's intention to goe to France, for I fear it be for his evill, not only interpretatively, but really. The Parliament here is resolved to disband all of their army that will not goe for Ireland, and they are the more bent upon disbanding them, because of a petition of theirs, which hath so offended the Parliament, that they have made a declaration against it, warning all who will adhere to it, that they shall be proceeded against as enemies to the State. It were a long story to writ the progresse of this businesse; but in summe, the Independent party is for the present sunk vnder water in the Parliament, and runne doune. The Assembly, within two or three dayes, will end all the scripturall proofs of the Confession of Faith, after which the report of the recommitted Catechisme is to come in. The Answer to the Questions of the House of Commones sleeps all this while.

If ye could get a good lade for me against Whitfunday, I should be glad of it. There is a drapberry cloak here for you, brought from France, but there are so many ships taken, that we must keep it till a better occasion. So, with our love to your wife, Mr. John, Mary, and Mr. Alex^r Mallach, and all other friends, I beseech the Lord to be comfortable to you and your's, and to be near you in all things which ye call vpon him for, I rest,

London, March 30, 1647.

Your's,

[To Mr. Robert Morray, &c.]

[GEORGE GILLESPIE.]

LXVII.

MAJOR-GENERAL MIDDLETON TO MR. ROBERT DOUGLAS.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio XXV. No. 36.]

HONORED SIR,

IT hes pleased God (efter my long sicknes) to enable me to come to the feilds. And I doubt not bot by God's blessing, vpon my endeavours in the work in hand, thair are many now in rebellion that will desire to forsake that course. I doubt bot yee know that I haue power to weaken the rebels, by taking off such from them as I think most fit, and may contribute most for the good of the service. And becaus thair are a great many of them, yea even of the greatest of them that ar Excommunicat, I know it will be one of thair cheefest demaunds that they will ask of me, what satisfioun I will give them anent that censure of Excommunicatioun. And albeit I be able to give them satisfioun for the civill part, yet I must forbear in that part anent the Kirk censure, till I be better informed. Wherefor I haue sent expresse to yow for this purpose to know what satisfioun I can promise to them for the poynt of Excommunicatioun. That according

to your information, I may proceed in doeing what is fitteft for the feruice, and giveing all fatiffaetioun that in reafon can be graunted. So expecting your refolution hearein, I reft,

Tullibardyne, 17th March 1646.

Your faithful freind and fervant,

JO. MIDDLETONE.

For my honored and worthie freind Mr. Robert
Douglas, Minifter at Edinburgh.

LXVIII.

MR. DAVID DICKSON, &c. TO THE SAME.

[Orig.—From the same Volume, No. 33.]

RIGHT REVEREND,

TAKING to confideration the poftur of effairs as now they ar, and the infolenc of this wicked enemie, quha is now fturing, for incuraging of our pairtie, and waikening of the hands of the enemie, wee have beine thinking that it wald be moft conducable for their ends, that fo fuin as the declaration againft thair wicked band beis emitted, fum abill and honeft gentilmen and minifters fhall deill with thes of ther fhyr, and obtein, that the fhyr being conveyned, declair this wicked remonftanc to be deftructiv to our Solemne League and Covenant, and fo to religioun and libertie, and thervpon ty them felfs one to another, that they will, to the vttermoft of thair indevours, oppofe this combination of the enemie, and adher to the declaration emitted againft the famin by Kirk and Stait. This motioun wee have thocht good to communicat with yow, that if yee find it convenient, it may, by yow, tak farther lyf in thes bounds; and withall wee intreat that fo fuin as yee can have the convenience of a beirer, wee may vnderftand that wee think fitt to be don heirin, for if yee allow of it, wee refolve throuh God's help, aetivlie to beftur our felfs in our bounds for furtherance of the famin. Wee ar vpon Tuyfday nixt to cum to be at Hammiltoun, the place where our Synod meits, at that tyme at fartheft wee expect the declaration, and your judgment concerning this overtur. Thus commending yow to the grace of God, wee remain,

Your affectionat Brether,

Falkirk, 2d Apr.
1646.

DAVID DICKSON.

H. BIRSBANE.

GEO. YOUNG.

For the Richt Reverend our beloved brother, Mr. Robert
Douglas, Minifter of Edr. Thefe.

LXIX.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE LORD BALCARRAS, 4TH MAY 1646.

[Orig.—Balcarras Papers, Vol. IX, No. 118. It is indorsed “Priv. Memorandum for Lord Balcarras, 1646,—Anent the King’s coming to the Scots army.”]

THAT their Lordships being acquainted with this bufineffe on Wednesday, wee wonder that wee did heare nothing till Sondag.

If his Majestie fhall come to the army, it is to bee confidered that his stay with them is fitter then his going to the rebels. For that by this meanes it is probable all Scotland will be joyned entirely with the army, without the losse of any, except a few persons especially James Grahame and Alaster M^cDonald. It will keepe together a great party, in the Houses, the body of the City, the whole Affembly of Divines, and all this Kingdome, in pursuance of the Covenant, except Sectaries. Whereas to go to the rebels, will lose all these, unite both Kingdomes against him may lose Scotland when it shall bee brought low and made miserable by intestine warres; but no assistance can be expected by any successe of the rebels in that kingdome, which may be able to settle the King and his kingdomes in a happy peace.

If the King come and follow their advise, then to mak vse of the papers and informations herewith presented, and to shew his Majestie the Ordinances of the Affembly of the Kirk of Scotland, of the Convention of Estates, and Commiffion of the Generall Affembly for receiving, swearing, and subscribing the solemne League and Covenant, that he may truly see what was and is the intention of the kingdome of Scotland for defense of his Majestie’s person and authority. There is also herewith delivered the directory for worship, and the articles concerning Church-government presented at Uxbridge.

If he come, and will not follow their advise, they would be careful that he part not from them and go to the rebels. If he resolve to go to Newcastle, they would send a party to attend him thither for his security; and it seemes fitt that his Ma. have alwayes a lifeguard of persons in whom they may confide.

That if the surrender of the garison of Newark can be procured, that it be done speedily, and that one of the conditions bee for slighting of it, according to the vote of the House of Commons, to the end yow may be disengaged from that service.

That in case Sir Thomas Fairfax marche toward Newarke, or in case forces be levyed behind the army, and Ferribriggs or other paffes bee fortified, which may obstruct their retreat, it is to be taken into consideration what is fittest to be done for their safety.

To inform S^r James Lumfdane of the whole state of affaires, and desire him to provide victualls and ammunition.

To take care that his Ma., by additions or alterations, change not the substance of the letter to the Houses, and render the whole business ineffectually.

To remember what forme King James used in signing the Covenant, and what was the forme used by the Earle of Traquair in signing the first Covenant in his Ma. name, approved afterward by the King himselfe in Parliament.

To make use of our answer upon the whole Propositions sent to the army by the last post, and of the paper about the Militia herewith delivered.

LXX.

LETTER FROM LORD BALMERINOC.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio LXVI., No. 72. This letter is in Lord Balmerinoc's handwriting, and was probably addressed to the Lord Chancellor Loudoun. Lord Hailes printed an extract from it, and says, "I cannot ascertain to whom this letter was addressed, nor at what precise period it was written; neither will I presume upon simple conjecture to determine against whom the charge of a loose life with great seeming zeal, of ambition, and of avarice, is here brought." Mr. Mark Napier (Life of Montrose, p. 205,) quotes these words and adds, "But we must be forgiven for conjecturing that Rothes is here pointed at by his old colleague." This conjecture, however, cannot be correct, as John Earl of Rothes died in August 1641, and the allusions in this letter to Middleton, and to the King's ordering his friends to disband, shew that it must have been written in the year 1646.]

RIGHT HONORABLE,

I WILL writ nothing to Hans at this tyme, least it misse him, but for any thing I heare hee had as great reason to be *pettitikae* as other folkis. Among other mysteries of these tymes, one seemeth strange, that some, having no principles of religion to lead them, should fall fairer in the present course of Church affaires then others that haue both professed and practised, both done and suffered; bot as *crimen ambitus* is against our Covenant, so I see *Φιλαργυρια παντῶν τῶν κακῶν ριζα*, quherin I haue retained so much of the lethargie [Liturgy] as to say, "Good Lord deliver us." I thinke yow may be a quorum without your peeres, as yow were this tyme tweluemonth. As for Baillie Stuart's business, I will say no more then James Smith knoweth, for hee hath a wolfe by the eares, and I wishe it may not be with some, that out of fight is out of langour. I am heere surveying my privat affaires, quher I haue not been these 8 or 9 yeares, and am like to gett one yeares rent of three, the rest from o' owne troupes.

Yesternight Middleton had answer of his order sent to the rebellis, according to his late instructiones, that they must haue six dayes tyme to advyse the articles offered them with the King, who had commanded them to disband

without capitulatione. Hee hath written to the Committee to know thair pleasure, and is much troubled how to carie himself without offence. Yow will haue seen his Commiffione and Instruktiounes from the Committee at Ed^r. They say the Parl^t. at St. Androis past that Act vpon a letter from our Commiffioneris at London, defiring peace to be concluded vpon any termes; this is more then I remember. Mr. Cheeflie would revise his registeris, for my opposing that heere which wes fathered vpon vs there, hath been objected by freindis; but I hope the groundis may faile, els some of our memories doe faile vs. Some such articles, Mr. Cheeflie knoweth, were demanded and opposed. So much for this tyme and place, from

Yo^{rs} in the old fashion.

Dundee, 11th July [1646.]

LXXI.

LETTER FROM THE SCOTISH COMMISSIONERS AT LONDON.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio XXV, No. 38. Another letter from the Commissioners, dated 29th September 1646, is printed in Vol. I, p. 480.]

RIGHT REVEREND,

WE have thought good to fend vnto yow, herewith, a copy of our letter to the Comm^{rs}. of the Generall Affembly of Scotland, that yee may make such use thereof as ye shall see cause for, and that if it seeme expedient to your selves, ye may write your owne opinion to them concerneing the same matter, that there may be the more full and generall consent in the issue. Haveing no further buffineffe to communicat vnto yow at this time, wee comend your imployments and endeavours where yow are, to the blessing of God and rest,

Worcester House,
the 10th of Sept. 1646.

Your loving Brethren,

LOUDOUN.

ARGYLL.

LAUDERDAILL.

SAMWEL RUTHERFURD.

A. JHONSTON.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

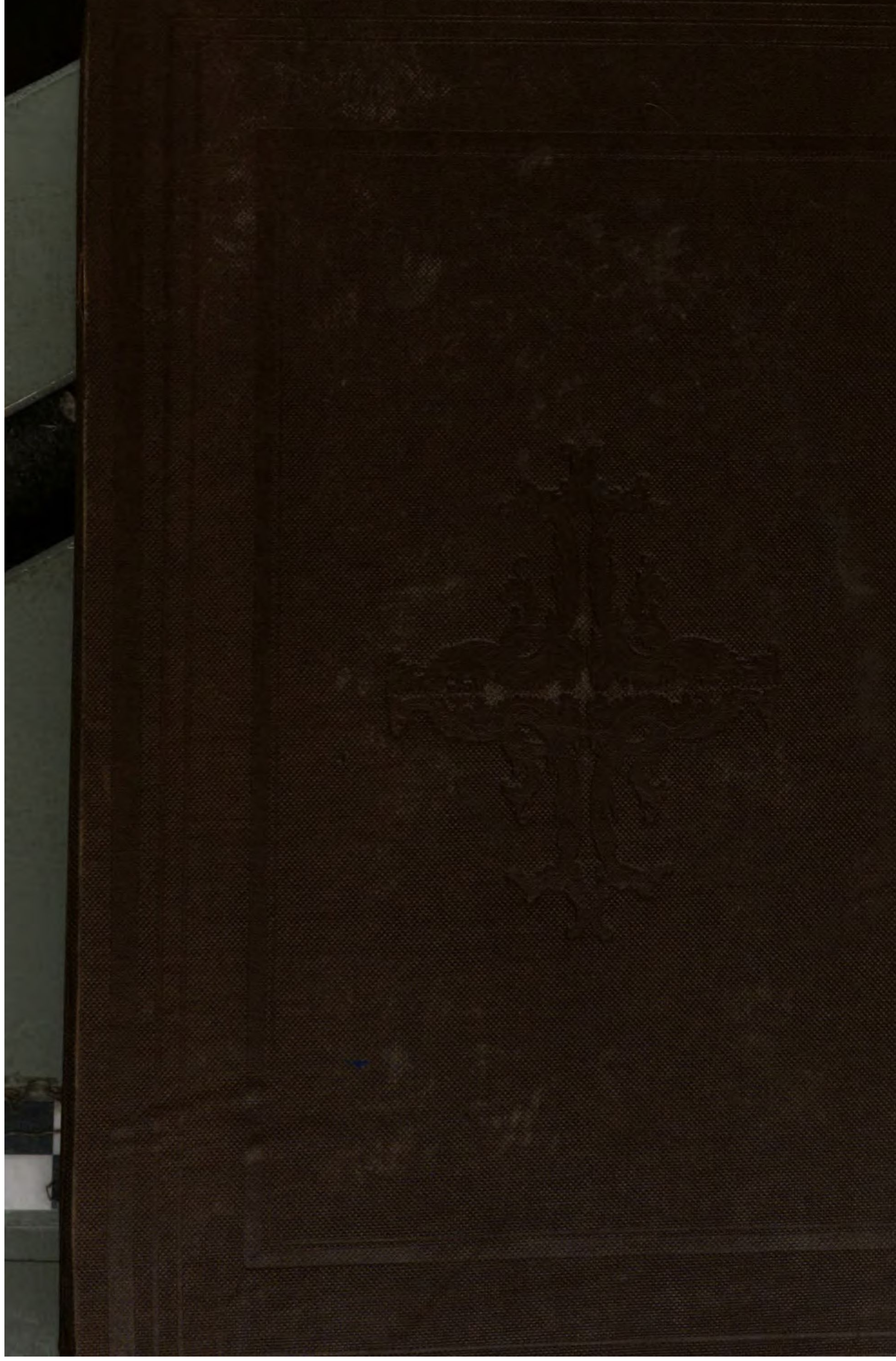
GEO. GILLESPIE.

For the Right Reverend Mr. Robert Douglas, minister at Edinbrugh, Mr. Robt. Blair, minister at St. Andrewes, Master Andro Cant, minister at Aberdeane, and Mr. John Smith, minister at Bruntyland, all now at Newcastle.

L. Longman

Vol. 1.2.

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Baillie, Robert,

The letters and journals of Robert Baillie, Principal of the University of
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